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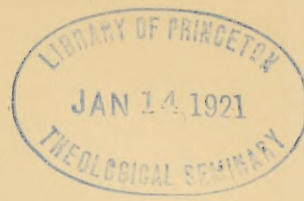






S.L.B.

Old Washington Street.



HISTORY
OF THE
OLD SOUTH CHURCH
(Third Church)

BOSTON

1669—1884

BY

HAMILTON ANDREWS HILL

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOLUME I.



BOSTON AND NEW YORK
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*“For well she keeps her ancient stock,
The stubborn strength of Pilgrim Rock;
And still maintains, with milder laws,
And clearer light, the Good Old Cause!”*

PREFACE.

SIXTY years ago the Rev. Dr. Wisner preached four sermons on the History of the Old South Church in Boston. These sermons were published, with a series of notes which turned to the best account all the information relating to the church then accessible. In 1883 an Historical Catalogue was printed, containing a list of the members from 1669 to 1882, together with the names of those who had owned the covenant. At the annual meeting of the society in 1884 the preparation and publication of a more complete history were determined upon, and, soon after, the present work was undertaken.

The author's plan at the beginning was to print in full the records of the church and society down to a recent date, and all the more important papers which had been preserved, with sketches of the ministers, officers, and members, so far as material could be found for this purpose, and, as a setting to the whole, and in order to its better understanding, to make mention of the principal events, secular as well as religious, which the church had witnessed, and to recall, to some extent, the circumstances in the midst of which its members had lived and labored. It soon became apparent, however, that so far as related to the records, if the work were to be compressed within reasonable limits, it would be necessary either to give only an abstract of them for the entire period of the church's history, or to print them in full for a portion of the time. The author decided upon the latter course, and those with whom he consulted concurred in the decision. Accordingly, the records are given in full for about a century and a half, or down to and including the ordination, in 1821, of the Rev. Benjamin B. Wisner, while only the more noteworthy events of his pastorate, and of the pastorates of Dr. Blagden and Dr. Manning, have

been dwelt upon. The history closes with the installation in 1884 of the present minister, the Rev. George A. Gordon.

After the first part of the history had been written, the attention of the author was called, during a visit in New Haven, by Professor Franklin Bowditch Dexter, to an old manuscript in the library of Yale University relating to the Old South Church. Upon an examination of this manuscript it was found to be an account, prepared by a committee of the church in 1693 or 1694, of the circumstances which led to the formation of the church and of its early experiences. This long-forgotten document, to which we have given the name of the Third Church Narrative, was so much more complete than the record books of the church, and contained so much that seemed interesting and important, that the rewriting of the first two or three chapters became necessary. Professor Dexter superintended the copying of the Narrative, and has taken a most kind interest in its publication. This document, with the diaries of John Hull, Samuel Sewall, and Joseph Sewall, throws much light on the history of the church and its membership for nearly a hundred years. In the transcription of the records and other papers, as the aim of the work is historical rather than antiquarian, the original spelling has been followed for the most part, but not the old-time abbreviations, which too often perplex the reader of the present day and obscure the meaning of the documents.

To any one engaged in historical investigation it is a great privilege to have access to such libraries as those of the New England Historic Genealogical Society, the Massachusetts Historical Society, and the Boston Athenæum, and to the Congregational Library, the Boston Public Library, the University Library, Cambridge, and the Seminary Library, Andover. This has been the privilege of the author, and he hereby expresses his appreciation of the courtesy which has been extended to him in his frequent use of these rich depositaries. He desires to make special acknowledgments to his honored and much esteemed friend, Mr. John Ward Dean of the Historic Genealogical Society, whose advice and assistance from time to time have been most valuable. Important suggestions and aid, also, have

been received from the Hon. Peter Thacher, Professor Edward E. Salisbury, the Rev. Dr. Samuel E. Herrick, Mr. George Lamb, Mr. Samuel Sewall, Dr. Samuel Abbott Green, the Rev. Edward G. Porter, Dr. George Frederick Bigelow, and Mr. Samuel Johnson. To the chairman (Mr. Joseph H. Gray) and members of the standing committee of the Old South Society, the author returns his thanks for their hearty and appreciative coöperation.

To this list it was intended to add the name of the Rev. Henry W. Foote, the beloved minister of King's Chapel, but he has been called away from the associations of earth to join the generations of the redeemed in heaven.

The etchings of Old Washington Street and Old Milk Street, which appear as the frontispieces of these volumes, follow two very interesting pictures owned by Mr. Abbott Lawrence, and painted probably between the years 1830 and 1840. Mr. Lawrence cordially allowed the pictures to be drawn for this work, and took much pains personally that the best result might be secured. Dr. Fitch Edward Oliver, also, afforded every facility for copying the portrait by Copley of his ancestor, Lieutenant-Governor Oliver, and Messrs. Ticknor and Company gave their ready permission to take drawings from the Memorial History of Boston of the mansion houses of Edward Bromfield and William Phillips. The Bibliography appended to the second volume has been compiled by Mr. Appleton P. C. Griffin of the Boston Public Library.

There never, perhaps, has been a better understanding of the fathers of New England, or more clear and just discrimination in reference to them and their work, than now prevails. Their descendants are beginning to judge them not so much by what was external, incidental, and accessory in their lives, as by their character, their principles, and their purposes, and, also, by what they accomplished. Even the Puritan theology, in its spirit and essence, is beginning to be understood more intelligently, and estimated more fairly, under the influence of the intellectual and spiritual quickening which has come, of late, to the Congregational and other churches of New England. The annals

contained in these volumes have been collated and edited with some appreciation of the earnest lives and faithful labors which they serve to illustrate, and with the highest admiration for them. On the part of those who shall read the record, may there be at the least as much appreciation of these lives and labors, and as hearty a sympathy with them.

BOSTON, *October 10, 1889.*

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CHAPTER I.

1669.

INTRODUCTORY. — THE SEPARATION FROM THE FIRST CHURCH.

THE history of the several Congregational churches in New England is the history of New England Congregationalism. These churches are not constituent parts of a compact and comprehensive ecclesiastical organization. John Cotton, in his "Keyes of the Kingdom of Heaven," insists that each single congregation "is endowed with a charter to be a body-politic to Christ." There is no Congregational Church in the United States, in the sense in which there is a Presbyterian or a Protestant Episcopal Church. Should there ever be such a Church, there will be no longer Congregational churches. It is true, there is a fellowship or sisterhood of churches; but those who have entered it have done so without any surrender of their

individuality or individual rights, and they continue in it as peers. The Cambridge Platform says: "Although churches be distinct, and therefore may not be confounded one with another, and equal, and therefore have not dominion one over another; yet all the churches ought to preserve church communion one with another, because they are all united unto Christ, not only as a mystical but as a political head, whence is derived a communion suitable thereunto." The enduring basis of this communion is not an inflexible uniformity or absolute sameness in relation to all questions of faith and polity, but a spirit of harmony, the result of Christian sympathy, confidence, and charity.¹

To understand New England Congregationalism, therefore, we must know what has been "professed and practised" in the churches of New England,² and, so far as possible, in each of them. Every historic church is a source of supply, from which information of value may be communicated, and its records and traditions should in some way be made available for the purpose of adding to our knowledge on the general subject.

The history of the Third Church of Christ in Boston — the

¹ "A company of conscientious Christians, fleeing from an oppressive hierarchy because it hinders the development of pure Christianity, making the wilderness their home because it affords them 'freedom to worship God,' selecting their own religious teachers by popular vote, and these teachers taking the Bible as their 'professed, perpetual, and only directory' in the administration of their affairs, — such a company commence their career in this secluded spot, free from all other restraint than that which Christ, their acknowledged sovereign, imposes. In these untrammelled circumstances, each body of believers assumes its own independent form, — a form which, owing to a similarity of sentiment and condition, will be very likely to have a sameness in its essential features, with considerable variety in its minor details. At length they come together, not to enact a code of ecclesiastical laws, not even to construct an original system of church polity, but simply to compare notes and usages, and commit to writing that system which had already sprung up into use among them, and thus make 'a declaration of the church order wherein the good hand

of God had moulded them.' The declaration thus made was the Cambridge Platform, which has ever since been regarded as the ground-plan of New England Congregationalism." — *A Historical Sketch of the Congregational Churches in Massachusetts from 1620 to 1838*, by Joseph S. Clark, D. D., p. 40.

² John Higginson and William Hubbard, in a Testimony added to John Wise's *Vindication of the Government of New England Churches*, say: "It was a joy unto us, to see and read a book which the reverend president of our college [Increase Mather] lately published, under the title of 'The order of the gospel professed and practised by the churches of Christ in New England:' A book most highly needful, and useful, and seasonable. . . . But we must herewithal testify, that in that worthy book, there is nothing obtruded upon the churches, but what they who were here, capable of observing what was done sixty years ago, do know to have been professed and practised in the churches of New England; (except in one or two) then and ever since, until of late, some who were not then born have suggested otherwise."

Old South — covers a period of more than two centuries. The history of its membership goes back to the emigration under John Winthrop and to the Mayflower. Thus allied, at the beginning, to the first Puritans of the Massachusetts Bay, and also to the first Pilgrims of the Old Colony, it has drawn its inspiration, more perhaps than almost any other church, freely and indifferently both from Salem and from Plymouth. It has always endeavored to uphold the fellowship of the churches, while it has maintained with equal persistency its own individuality and independence. Born in the midst of conflict, and as the result of conflict, it has had a conspicuous part, during the more than two hundred years of its existence, in all the controversies through which the churches of its order have passed, and in all the social and political struggles which have touched more or less closely the religious life of New England. It has had a share, also, in the privileges of Christian service, which, in new and varied forms, have presented themselves to each succeeding generation in the same period, as well as in the abundant blessings with which this service has been crowned. From the nature of the case, therefore, its history and that of its membership must be a history, in part, of the sister churches by which it has been surrounded, and with which it has been associated in the Christian walk and in Christian work.

For twenty years — from 1630 to 1650 — the First Church was the only church in Boston; and for nearly twenty years longer it shared with the Second Church the responsibility of maintaining and representing the established faith and polity in the chief town of the Massachusetts Colony. The Second Church was gathered, June 5, 1650, with the cordial concurrence of the First, for the purpose of meeting the religious necessities of the increasing population.¹ Unhappily, the formation of the

¹ In his *Life of the Rev. John Cotton*, Cotton Mather says: "The gathering of the second church in Boston, was evidently very much to the disadvantage of Mr. Cotton, in many of his interests. But he was a John, who reckoned his joy fulfilled in this, that in his own decrease the interests of the Lord Jesus Christ would increase; and therefore, with an exemplary self-denial, divesting himself of all carnal respects, he set himself to encourage the foundation of that church, out of respect unto the service and wor-

ship of our common Lord. Now, it has pleased the Lord so to order it, that many years after his decease, that self-denial of his holy servant has turned unto some account, in the opportunities which that very church has given unto his children, to glorify the Lord Jesus Christ, in the conduct of it: his son-in-law has been for more than thrice ten years, and his grandson for more than twice seven years, the ministers of the gospel, in that very church, accommodated with happy opportunities to serve their generation."

Third Church¹ was the result of dissension and division in the First, and of a secession from its membership which it strenuously resisted, and for many years refused to forgive.

The death of the Rev. John Norton in 1663, and of the Rev. John Wilson in 1667, left the First Church without either pastor or teacher.² To find worthy successors to such ministers as John Wilson, John Cotton, and John Norton was not an easy task. These were no ordinary men. Exceptionally endowed by nature, carefully trained amid the elevating and quickening influences then dominant in the University of Cambridge, and thoroughly consecrated to the work of the ministry, they had become eminent as clergymen of the Church of England. Driven from that Church and from their native land because of their refusal to conform to a ritual which their consciences condemned, they received a warm welcome on their arrival in New England, and they had a large share in moulding the political no less than the religious institutions of the infant state. Mr. Wilson's ministry covered a period of thirty-seven years, going back to the first settlement of the town and to the gathering of the church. He was the honored friend and counsellor of Winthrop and Dudley, and, later, he was held in the highest reverence and love by the younger generation. As he had been sole minister since the death of Mr. Norton, there was now a double vacancy to be filled. In 1663 the church sent a call to one of the most distinguished Puritan ministers of the day, the Rev. Dr. John Owen, of London. The Governor, John Endicott, in concurrence with the General Court, seconded the call in a

¹ The First Baptist Church, organized in 1665, was the third Christian church gathered in Boston, but not being of the established order, it was not recognized as such. In designating the Old South as the Third Church, we only use the historical name which has come down to us, and do not intend any disrespect to our Baptist friends.

² "A church fully furnished had a pastor and a teacher, whose duty it was to preach and administer the ordinances; the distinctive function of the former being private and public exhortation, of the latter doctrinal and scriptural explanation." — Palfrey's *History of New England*, vol. ii. p. 37.

According to the Cambridge Platform, "The pastor's special work is to attend to

exhortation, and therein to administer a word of wisdom; the teacher is to attend to doctrine, and therein to administer a word of knowledge; and either of them to administer the seals of that covenant unto the dispensation whereof they are alike called." "All this," says Dr. Joseph S. Clark, in his *Historical Sketch*, "appears to us like a distinction without a difference. Practically, these two officers were colleague pastors, as we should now call them."

The Independent Society that afterward worshipped in Silver Street Chapel, London, had at one time as its teacher the Rev. Philip Nye, and as its pastor the Rev. John Loder. — Wilson's *Hist. and Antiq. of the Dissenting Churches*, vol. iii. p. 69.

strong appeal, October 20, 1663;¹ and the correspondence between leading men here in church and state and Dr. Owen, on the subject of his removal to Massachusetts, continued through three or four years. He at length decided, reluctantly, that it was his duty to remain in England. It was not until the autumn of 1667 that two men were found who were qualified to become the "teaching officers" of the First Church, and who were prepared to assume the responsibilities. These were the Rev. John Davenport, of New Haven, and the Rev. James Allen. They had both been educated at Oxford, and had been ministers of the Established Church, in which they had suffered persecution for conscience' sake. Mr. Allen is said to have been ejected from his living by the Act of Uniformity which went into effect on Saint Bartholomew's Day, 1662, but this could have been only by anticipation, as he arrived in Boston in the month of June in that year. He was then thirty years of age, and some of "the great church," we are told, were anxious to secure his services at once as an assistant to Mr. Wilson and Mr. Norton, "the Lord having given him large room in the hearts of the people." Others were not then prepared to unite in calling him, but he became a member of the church and occasionally preached in its pulpit. It does not appear that there was any opposition to his settlement in 1667.

Mr. Davenport at this time was about seventy years of age.²

¹ "In consequence of this pressing invitation, Dr. Owen was induced, in the year 1665, to prepare for a voyage to Boston, but was prevented from his design, first by the plague and fire of London, which took place in the following year; and next by the king's declaration of indulgence to the Dissenters, which opened to him a prospect of greater usefulness by remaining in Great Britain. In an interview, also, with the king himself, by his majesty's special request, at which they discoursed together about two hours, he received such assurances of royal favor and respect as led him to lay aside all purposes of quitting the country. Besides his kind professions, the king gave him a thousand guineas to distribute among those who had suffered most by the late severities." — *Coll. Mass. Hist. Society*, vol. ii. 2d series, p. 266.

Dr. Owen was dean of Christ Church, Oxford, from 1651 to 1659, and vice-chancellor of the university. Increase Mather speaks of his being invited to succeed the other famous Johns, who had been burning and shining lights in that which was the first candlestick set up in this populous town, and of his being diverted by a special providence. See Preface to Cotton Mather's *Johannes in Exemo*.

² Mr. Davenport was born in Coventry, in 1597, and his father was at one time mayor of that city. He was educated at Brazen-Nose College, Oxford, and was vicar of St. Stephen's, Coleman Street, London, from 1624 to 1633. He fled to Holland to escape from the persecution of Laud, then Bishop of London. Theophilus Eaton also was born in Coventry, and was one of Mr. Davenport's parishioners in London.

With Theophilus Eaton and others, he had founded the New Haven Colony ; he had filled an important place in the direction of its affairs, and for nearly thirty years he had been minister of its First Church. He had all the qualifications of learning, reputation, experience, and Christian character essential for the position to which he was invited ; but on the part of an influential minority in the church there were objections to his coming which could not be met or satisfied. He was thought to be too old ; and this consideration was to be speedily justified, for he lived only fifteen months after his installation in Boston. Another and more serious objection was, that upon the question of the baptismal covenant, by which the churches of New England were then greatly exercised and sharply divided, he maintained opinions directly opposed to those which had prevailed among the members of the church to which he was called, and which had been held by its late ministers. To settle him as their pastor was felt by the minority to be altogether at variance with the attitude held by the church on what was regarded at the time as a very important issue.

In order to a proper understanding of this question, divergence of opinion upon which had so much to do with the formation of the Third Church, we present the following clear and condensed statement from the pen of the Rev. Daniel T. Fiske, D. D., of Newburyport :¹ —

“ The early Puritan fathers held most strenuously, in opposition to the views prevalent in their day through a large part of the Christian world, that only regenerated persons should be admitted to full communion and all the privileges of the church. They also attached great importance to household baptism, and held that the children of believers, as included in the covenant of their parents, were in a qualified sense members of the church ; such children were regarded as under the watch and discipline of the church, and were often dismissed with their parents from one church to another. Most of the early settlers were church members in full, and, as a matter of course, had their children baptized. But many of those children, on reaching mature age and becoming heads of families, did not feel prepared to own their baptismal covenant, and come into the full communion and fellowship of the church, and so could not have the ordinance of baptism administered to their children. This was the occasion of much grief to the godly grandparents. As Cotton Mather observes, ‘ The good old generation could not, without many uncomfortable apprehensions, behold their offspring excluded from the baptism of Christianity, and

¹ *Contributions to the Eccles. Hist. of Essex County, Mass.*, pp. 271, 272.

from the ecclesiastical inspection that is to accompany that baptism ; indeed, it was to leave their offspring under the shepherdly government of our Lord Jesus Christ and his ordinances that they had brought their lambs into this wilderness.'

"What shall be done? Shall they, on the one hand, make 'no ecclesiastical difference' between their children, who have been baptized and educated in the church, and 'pagans, who might happen to hear the word of God in their assemblies'? This, they think, will be 'quickly to abandon the biggest part of the country to heathenism.' Or shall they, on the other hand, with the English Episcopalians and Scotch Presbyterians, lower the terms of communion, so that all who have been baptized, and are outwardly moral, though unregenerated, may be admitted to all the privileges of the church? This, they fear, will bring into the church a 'worldly part of mankind, and so work mischief.' In this dilemma they found themselves. To solve the difficulty, at the motion of certain ministers in Connecticut, a council or synod of ministers was convened at Boston, in 1657 ; and in 1662, another and larger synod was convened at the same place, composed of ministers and messengers of the churches.¹ Substantially the same result was reached by both synods in regard to baptism, namely, 'Church members who were admitted in minority,' that is, who were baptized in childhood, 'understanding the doctrine of faith, and publicly professing their assent thereto, not scandalous in life, and solemnly owning the covenant before the church, wherein they give up themselves and their children to the Lord, and subject themselves to the government of Christ in the church, their children are to be baptized.'² . . .

"At first it [this result] met with extensive and strenuous oppo-

¹ [Two questions were submitted for the consideration of the synod. One was, Who are the subjects of baptism? This was "the grand question." The other was, Whether, according to the word of God, there ought to be a consociation of churches, and what should be the manner of it? The synod defined consociationism as the equivalent of the communion of churches, and then, of course, gave its approbation to it. "Communion of churches being commanded, and consociation being but an agreement to practise it, this must needs be a duty also." "There has constantly been in these churches a possession of communion, in giving the right hand of fellowship in the gathering of churches, and ordination of elders ; which importeth a consociation, and obligeth to the practice

thereof." — *Magnalia* (Book V.), vol. ii. p. 301.]

² [The decision of the synod was :
1. They that, according to Scripture, are members of the visible church are the subjects of baptism. 2. The members of the visible church, according to Scripture, are confederate visible believers, in particular churches, and their infant seed, *i. e.*, children in minority, whose next parents, one or both, are in covenant. 3. The infant seed of confederate visible believers are members of the same church with their parents, and when grown up are personally under the watch, discipline, and government of that church. 4. These adult persons are not therefore to be admitted to full communion merely because they are and continue members, without such further qualifications as the

sition, but gradually gained ground, and at length was almost universally adopted by the New England churches. It has often been said that its adoption was due to political quite as much as to religious considerations. By a law passed in 1631, the elective franchise was limited to members of the church, and the half-way covenant scheme, it is alleged, was devised to enable those who were not communicants to exercise the rights of freemen. This view is put forth by scores of writers, and yet, so far as I can discover, it is unsupported by facts.

"1. This reason does not appear in the discussions which the new measure called forth. Cotton Mather gives a summary of the arguments advanced on both sides, but makes no allusion to this.

"2. There is no evidence that persons admitted to this half-way membership in the church were thereby invested with any of those civil rights from which non-church-membership had excluded them. They were not entitled to vote, even in ecclesiastical affairs, and hence we infer that they were not entitled to vote in civil affairs, and so were as much as ever disfranchised by the law of 1631.

"3. The law of 1631 was, by royal order, repealed in 1664, or so far modified that any person obtaining from a minister a certificate that he was a man of orthodox principles and good morals could be admitted to the rights of freemen, even though not a member of the church at all.

"4. The whole controversy on the subject originated in the Connecticut Colony, where there never was any law which, like that in the Massachusetts Bay Colony, restricted the right of suffrage to church members.

"These facts, I think, show conclusively that the motive which led to the adoption of the half-way covenant was not a political one. The originators and promoters of the new scheme were evidently actuated by purely religious considerations. And it would have been comparatively harmless in practice, if its original form and spirit had been retained. But it underwent various changes, all of which lowered it, and increased its mischievous tendencies."

We think it will appear, as we proceed, that the original form and spirit of this new scheme were retained in the Third Church, and that as practised there it was, to say the least, harmless.

word of God requireth thereunto. 5. Church members who were admitted in minority, understanding the doctrine of faith, and publicly professing their assent thereto, not scandalous in life, and solemnly owning the covenant before the church, wherein they give up themselves and their children to the Lord, and subject themselves to the government of

Christ in the church, their children are to be baptized. Two other articles related to children who had been hindered from baptism by the death of parents, or some other providence, and to the baptism of children whose parents had moved away from the churches in which they held their membership. — *Magnalia* (Book V.), vol. ii. p. 279.]

The Rev. Jonathan Mitchell, of Cambridge, was one of the authors of the Result of the synod of 1662, and he has been called "the father of the half-way covenant." Some of his words also first suggested the name. "We make account," said he, "that if we keep baptism within the non-excommunicable, and the Lord's Supper within the compass of those that have (unto charity) somewhat of the power of godliness, or grace in exercise, we shall be near about the right middle-way of church reformation." This middle-way has ever since been known as the half-way covenant.

Mr. Mitchell preached the election sermon in 1667. He took for his text Neh. ii. 10: "When Sanballat the Horonite, and Tobiah the servant, the Ammonite, heard of it, it grieved them exceedingly that there was come a man to seek the welfare of the children of Israel." In the course of his sermon upon this suggestive text, he laid down the following principles for admission to the privileges of baptism and the Lord's Supper: "To leave the children of non-scantalious orthodox Christians unbaptized, will, I doubt not, be one day found a thing displeasing unto Jesus Christ. But on the other hand, to baptize in such a lax and licentious way, as serves to dress men in the livery, without bearing the yoke of Christ, to have his name upon them with rejection of his government, will not suit either the principles of reformation or the rules of Scripture. So though rigid severity in admissions to the Lord's Table is to be avoided, yet to be lax and slight therein, to admit all sorts to full communion, or upon very slight qualifications, is against the principles and interest of reformation."¹

There was a minority, small in number, but highly respectable in character and learning, which dissented from the position taken by the synod on the question of baptism. It included such men as the Rev. Charles Chauncy, President of Harvard College,² the Rev. John Mayo, and the Rev. Increase Mather. President Chauncy and Mr. Mather published their views, but the latter came over afterward to the side of the majority, con-

¹ John Hull, recording Mr. Mitchell's death "9th 5th mo., 1668," speaks of him as "the chief remaining pillar of our ministry."

Increase Mather writes: "That blessed man, concerning whom I may say, as sometime Beza concerning Calvin, now Mitchell is dead, life is less sweet, and death will be less bitter unto me."—

Felt's *Eccles. Hist. of New England*, vol. ii. pp. 416, 417.

² President Chauncy was not so set in his opinions that he could not take part in the installation of Mr. Thacher, the first minister of the Third Church. His grandson and great-grandson, both of whom bore his name, became members of this church in the next century.

vinced, in part, by the arguments of Mr. Mitchell, and influenced, also, by his venerable father, the minister of Dorchester.¹

In this controversy, Mr. Davenport, of New Haven, was not only on the opposite side from that on which Mr. Wilson and Mr. Norton had stood, but he was the leading champion on that side; according to Cotton Mather, he was "the greatest of the anti-synodists."² It was inevitable, therefore, that when it was proposed to invite him to the vacant pastorate in the First Church there should be serious opposition, and that when this purpose was persisted in two parties should find themselves

¹ In view of the controversy which prevailed with regard to the formation of the Third Church, and its favor for the half-way covenant, and the opposition of the members of the First Church and others to it, Increase Mather wrote, May 1, 1671, his preface to the following work: *The First Principles of New England*, concerning the subject of Baptism and Communion of Churches, collected partly out of the printed books, but chiefly out of the original manuscripts of the first and chief Fathers in the New England Churches, with the judgment of certain learned divines of the Congregational way in England, concerning the said questions. The author says that his design is to "commend a few things to the serious and Christian consideration of the anti-synodalian brethren," and that he was formerly of their persuasion. He observes that some who dissented from the late synod decided for the enlargement of baptism; the minority of that body thought the rest of it had apostatized; his father, Richard Mather, gave his dying counsel to him, that he should endeavor to have children brought under the government of the church, and when grown up, to have baptism for their children. — *Felt's Eccles. Hist.*, vol. ii. p. 478.

"My father," says Mather, "when he was leaving the world, did commend it as his dying counsel to me, that I should endeavour the good of the rising generation in this country, and in special, that they might be brought under the government of Christ in his church, and when grown up and qualified, as in the late Synod book expressed, have baptism for

their children. What impression those words; since they were the words of a father, and of such a father, and dying words also, have had upon my heart, is known to the Father of Spirits, who only searcheth hearts, and converseth with the souls of men, nor am I able to utter it."

² Cotton Mather tells us that Mr. Davenport held views (as he himself did) in reference to the fulfilment of prophecy such as are now called millenarian. "In the earliest of the primitive times, the faithful did in a literal sense, believe the second coming of the Lord Jesus Christ, and the rising and reigning of the saints with him, a thousand years before the rest of the dead live again: a doctrine, which however some of later years have counted it heretical; yet, in the days of Irenæus, was questioned by none but such as were counted hereticks. . . . But here was the special favour of heaven, to our Davenport, that so many years ago, when in both Englands the true notion of the Chiliad, was hardly apprehended by as many divines of note, as there are mouths of Nilus, yet this worthy man clearly saw into it, and both preached and wrote those very things, about the future state, and coming of the Lord, the calling of the Jews, and the first and second resurrection of the dead, which do now of late years get more ground against the opposition of the otherwise minded, and find a kinder entertainment among them that search the Scriptures. . . . Even, then, so long ago it was, that he asserted, A personal, visible, powerful and glorious coming of the Lord Jesus Christ unto judgment, long before the end of the world."

arrayed against each other. The majority, however, was in his favor, and they carried their purpose, as, from their point of view, certainly, it was right that they should. They were not to blame for insisting upon having their own way; nor is there any evidence that the minority, "the dissenting brethren," as they came to be called, opposed them in this in any spirit of faction. Before final action was taken, but when it was foreseen what this would be, the brethren of the minority, as will appear presently, proposed to submit the question in dispute to a mutual council; and after the call had been given, they begged permission to withdraw and to organize another church, for which there was ample room in the growing town.¹

As the discussion proceeded, another objection arose to the settlement of Mr. Davenport over the First Church. This had reference to the methods employed to detach him from his New Haven pastorate and bring him to Boston; and it soon came to overshadow, in its importance and seriousness, all questions growing out of the synodical controversy.² We have hints as to what these methods were in the various histories of the time, but we find them fully set forth, with many other interesting particulars, in a Narrative prepared under the authority of the new church, and compiled from the original documents then extant, which, so far as we know, has never been printed until now.

"The Third Church," we are told, "after great travell and trouble being furnished and supplied with officers and ordinances, did agree that there should be a narrative of the whole progress of their proceedings, drawn up and kept among the Churches Records for Posterity." This compilation was not made immediately, but in 1691, probably, a committee, consisting of Samuel Sewall, Jacob Eliot, Theophilus Frary, and Joshua Scottow, drew up a statement of what took place during the years 1667 to 1674. A copy of this document, authenticated

¹ Dr. Abiel Holmes, following George Chalmers, says that in 1673 the town of Boston is supposed to have contained fifteen hundred families; but Dr. Palfrey regards this estimate as altogether too high. — *History of New England*, vol. iii. p. 36.

² At the end of the next century, the question of the half-way covenant had dropped out of the thought of people

generally, in connection with the formation of the Old South Church. Thomas Pemberton, descended from one of the founders, in his *Description of Boston*, published in 1794, speaks of the brethren who separated from the First Church as being dissatisfied "on account of the Rev. Mr. Davenport's leaving his church at New Haven for a settlement here." — *Mass. Hist. Collections*, vol. iii. p. 258.

to state their reasons for opposing the call to Mr. Davenport, but in vain.

DISSENTERS REQUEST.

. . . office in this Church they supposed they had good reasons against it, and desired before they proceeded to vote they would heare what they had further to say, the Elder and Brethren answer[ed] they desired not to heare their reasons, and proceeded to vote, some of the Brethren dissent[ing] then desired the Elder that he would at least be pleased to take notice of the number of the persons soe minded, and that without offence they might give in their names and reasons nex[t] Church meeting, he Answered they might against the next Church meeting give [in] their names, together with the reasons of their dissent if they pleased in writ[ing]. And soe the major parte went on (in a full concurrence) to vote letters to be writ[ten] persons to Draw them up, and Messengers to goe with them to New Haven.

The Church mett againe and found the Brethren since called dissenting Brethren presenting [the] Elder with a writting ^{30 Sep., 1667.} containing their humble request that they would not [] hastily proceed, and after reading of it, Pathetically intreated that the Church would harken to the request of their Brethren, which writing is here inserted.

HUMBLE REQUEST OF THE DISSENTING BRETHREN.

Honoured, Reverend, and Beloved Brethren

When we consider how long the Good hand of the Lord hath bin extend[ed to] this Congregation, in the mercifull injoyment of all his holy appointments [in] peace, through the vigilance and dextrous guidance of those (never to be forgotten) renowned labourers that the Lord of the harvest was pleased to set in th[is] parte of his vineyard, the remembrance of whome, their faithfull pious and profita[ble] labours for winning of soules to Christ, and stablishing our heartes in the fait[h] and order of the Gospell should never be forgotten, according to Heb: 13: 8. it is the great greife of our hearts, to thinke that after their departure Satan doth take advantage against us, through our watchlesnes soe as to threaten the distur[bing] if not totall bereaving us of our future peaceable Communion in the thing[s] of God, unles the ffather of mercies, open the eyes of the Congregation, really [to] see our impending evill, and by a timous and unanimous application of our sel[ves] to a regular observance of the rule to and with one another, to Counter worke the enemy; Deare Brethren it is our ffurther trouble that we cannot see our way cleare [to] so act with yourselves in what you have proposed, and seene cause to proceed in [with]out us, wee humbly desire you not to interprett it to be willfullnes in [us]. We doe as before the Lord profess the contrary, but a Religious tye of Con[s]cience that is upon us, to attend

our Duty in waiting the answer of him wh[o] is soe much desired. We therefore desire you to put on charity, and not to thinke of us, nor act otherwise towards us than become Brethren, as we [] desire to carry it to you ; And if we cannot all speake the same thing [] judging yourselves to exceed us in number, yett shew the spirit of Christ Jes[us] in a patient bearing with us and regular indeavour of our convictions [if] we erre in not acting with you, we trust through grace we sh[all] attend your ffull indeavours that way, that soe if it be possible we ma[y] be of one heart and mind in the Lord, whereby they that seek an advantage [over] us, and would rejoice in our division may be disappointed, we therefore beseech [you] to surcease that prosecution of your votes till we may have opportunity for [a] free and full consultacion together with yourselves of what may most conduc[e to] the glory of god, the wellfare not only of this Church but of all the Churches he[re] and elsewhere, and if upon a deliberate

consideracon of things we cannot We hereby declare
 30: (7) 67. ourselves ready and willing and oblige ourselves to acquiesce in the advice of a Councill of Elders and Messengers of Churches mutually to be chosen, we shall add no more but that of the Apostle 2 : Phill : 2 : 3 :

subscribed by the dissenting Brethren 28 : (7) 1667.

Notwithstanding this our petition or addresse some of the Brethren desired they might not be hindered in the work they were met about and that the Elder would attend to the work of the day, although the Elder did affectionately with teares in his eyes desire that the motion of the dissenters might be harkened unto, but he could not prevaile being overruled to read the letters agreed to be sent unto Newhaven Church and Mr. Davenport a copy whereof followeth.¹

The church of Christ at Boston to the church of Christ at Newhaven wisheth all grace and peace may bee multiplied.

Reverend and beloved in our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, wee know you cannot butt have heard of the dispensations of the Lord in his afflicting of us, by his righteous bereavings of those pretious instruments who sometimes were as stars in his right hand, and officers, having the oversight of us in the Lord, under whom, and their Administration of his ordinances, wee had greatt delight refreshing and ædification through his rich grace, butt nott soe improoving under enlargements, we are straightned, and breaches have beene made upon us one after another, and that which adds to our affliction before wee could obtaine a repayre of the first (notwithstanding our endeavours) a second hath overtaken us, whereby we are made to sitt solitary, which our condition we are providentially led to present unto you, hoping to find

Boston Churches
 letter [to] Mr.
 Davenports
 [church] at
 Newhaven.

¹ [We have corrected the copy of this draft, now in the possession of the Mass. letter by what appears to be the original Hist. Society.]

that Christian sympathy and fellow feeling with us, that your pure minds will bee ready to contribute to our assistance thereby forwarding the work of the Lord amongst us, by your willing resigning to the will of the Lord your sometimes settled pastor the Reverend Mr. Davenport, though now as wee understand providentially loosened from those engagements hee sometimes were under to and with you, unto whome wee have sent as to yourselves, by our beloved Brethren Mr. Ed. Tyng, C[apt.] James Olliver and L[ieut.] Richard Cooke whome wee desire you to receive in the Lord and to give credit to in this matter; and although the call of the Church is nott soe unanimous as were to bee desired, yett itt it is soe *full free and large*, that wee account it our duty to make this Essay by our Brethren and letters, that thereby wee may have discovery of the mind of the Lord in the case, hoping that the *houre of temptation passing over our Brethren nott so minded with us*, they will nott onely acquiesce, butt rejoyce in the accomplishment of the will of the Lord, when they shall see his work to prosper among us though *by an instrument they did nott so eye with their Brethren*: wee cannott butt be under a good degree of sence how exercising itt must needs bee for you to part with soe Reverend a person as the Reverend Mr. Davenport is, who is so richly furnished, that wheresoever hee is or shall bee disposed, hee may bee as a polished shaft in the hand of Christ coming in the fullness of the blessing of the gospell: yett resignations in the most desirable blessings circumstanced with the highest grounded expectations, have beene testimonies of loves sincerity to him that gives, and to and for whome wee ought to part with all when hee calls thereto: itt was enough to make free to send, when by him itt was said the Lord hath neede, that itt is so in this case wee speak as wee beleive the Lord hath need of Mr. Jno. Davenport att Boston, and that you may so beleive and accordingly doe, wee pray the mover of all hearts to work you up together that you may say wee have a little sister and shee hath no breasts, and what shall wee doe for our sister in the day when shee shall be spoken for, and wee further pray that you and wee may in all conditions tryalls changes bee so managed in our day, that when our Lord shall come, wee may bee so watching and doing that wee may bee counted worthy to enter into his joy through the meritts of him that hath purchased us to be a peculiar [people] to himselfe, zealous of good workes, unto whom with the ffather and the eternall spirit the onely one and true good bee glory for ever, in whome we remaine.

yours in the highest and best bond

28: (7) Boston.

J. P.¹ in the name of the Brethren.²

¹ [James Penn, ruling elder in the First Church, Boston, from 1650 to 1671.]

² [On the back of the paper with which we have compared this letter we find what we suppose to have been a postscript, as follows:—

“In the last Letter our church received from Rev. Dr. Owen it is [] he had such a valedictorie speech to our reverend Pastor Wilson that iff the wise orderer of all things should soe design that he should not see him in this world

At the same time we presented them with the reasons of our dissent, intreating they might have bin read before they voted their letters, but could not prevaile untill their letters were read and voted:

Reasons of our dissent from calling of Reverend Mr. Davenport unto office relation with us and subscribed by 30 Brethren were as followeth.

REASONS OF DISSENT.

1. ly ffrom the state of the Church he stands now an officer unto, which is a state of peace and amity wherein they have lived without the least breach unto us knowne, [which] hereby may be broken to the occasion of the hazard of the ruine or rent both of Church and towne.

2. ly from the state of the person called who as it hath bin reported by some of our Brethren looketh at himself as free from the Church but by what doth appeare hath not bin dismissed from them, whose temptation may hereby be heightened to dessert his flock without any cause that ever we heard of unlesse alteration of civill government which hath not put any impositions upon them nor abridged their Church liberties.¹

3. ly from the persons calling whose acting as we humbly conceive hath bin sudden and not soe suitable unto the order of the Gospell and discipline which we all profess as a matter of such high concernment might require. Gall: 5. 13:

1: in respect that free debate in matters of such import was not without reflexion upon the dissenters.

2. in respect where as it was agreed that what was to be voted should be written, yet that all votes did passe and none were written.

yet att that great Assembling there would be A glad meeting. And he earnestly desired our church would not hinder themselves from Enjoyment of Able Teachers for soe unworthy a one as himselfe who was hindered yet withall Promised that he would take the first oportunity that the Providence off god should offer to him off coming unto us wher in he might but Rationally hope to have the free exercise of his ministry when he should come.”]

¹ [“There was one point,” on the part of Mr. Davenport, “which made it desirable for him to change the location of his ministry. This was his strong disapprobation of the policy adopted by Connecticut to compel the union of the New Haven colony with them, and his aversion to live under the government

which had so acted. There was another particular which brought the leading men, such as Leverett, to like him more than they had disliked him for what he wrote against the half-way covenant. This was the decided and strong encouragement which he gave the authorities of Massachusetts to deny the offensive claims of the royal commissioners, and to hold out in their independent attitude. In addition, he and his Boston friends seem to have so far tolerated each other in their different views of such a covenant as not to disturb their friendly coopération in other respects.” — Felt’s *Eccles. History*, vol. ii. p. 421.

Mr. Davenport declined a call from the Second Church to become its minister at the time of its formation. The Rev. John Mayo was settled over it in 1655.]

3. in that the dissenters though soe considerable a number appeared declaring ourselves ready to render our reasons before the vote was passed, yet soe violently was it carryed on by our brethren manifesting that they desired to heare none, we suppose that [in] a civill Assembly the like would not have bin done, much lesse ought our brethren soe to have acted, who in diverse Church administrations of far lesse concerne than this of dreadfull obligation to office, and when pressed by lesse than the 7th part of ourselves, yet the body of the Church rather than to act unto their greivances hath desisted therefrom.

4 in that when we desired an orderly councill our motion was not complied with but they proceeded unto action.

5 that the Reverend Mr. Allin hath bin acknowledged by our Brethren the voters as unmeet to lead and rule our congregation alone, and therefore another must be first voted to guide and rule him, which we conceive may tend unto the confirmation of Prelacy, and we see not but that it may be contrary to that of the Apostle, who requireth a sufficiency in the Ruler to Rule well.

6 in that some of the cheif voters saw not ground to admit Mr. Thatcher to be a member of our body for deserting his flock [at Weymouth] although they were supplied with another officer, amicably parted with him, and had recommended him to our communion, yet now as we conceive encourage that in one which they condemne in another.

4 [1.] from the state of the dissenters who lay under an awfull ingagement to maintaine *the travelling truth relating to duty unto the children of the Church* and Heb: 13: 8: to remember those who have spoken the word of the Lord unto us, which now we should forgit plucking downe what they have built and in stead of following their faith, should now divert from it, and cease to consider the end of their conversation Jesus Christ the same yesterd[ay] and to day the same forever:

2 we should walk contrary to Rev: 3: 3: not holding fast what we have received Coll: 2: 6: nor should we as we have received Christ Jesus the Lord soe walk in him, it having bin a received and professed truth, by the body of our Church having voted it in the affirmative, and that after much patience with and candour towards those otherwise minded diverse daies having bin spent in inquiring about this great Generation truth which (since hath bin confirmed by the Synod) full liberty also being granted unto those (who scrupled) to propose their questions and were answered with such Publique satisfaction; that those few who remained unsatisfied promised to sitt downe, and leave the Body to act, excepting one or two; accordingly there was an entrance upon the worke, But the Lord lay not to the charge of those that hindered the progress therein; which with

great blessing and success hath bin and is practiced in neighboring Churches :

Thirdly our Churches double experience of her widdow hood, and the difficulty of meat supply, causeth us in prudence to conceive, a person of soe great an age not soe suitable to that end.

4ly and lastly in that we take ourselves regularly bound by an unanimous consent of the Church, further to waite the determinate answer of the Reverend Dr. Owen which [were then by an ordinary¹] disappointment of providence and hath bin hether to retarded.

The Reasons were then read and no answer was made unto them for 9 months time (onely mr. Stodder said they were irregular, irrationall and he was ready to say ungodly) but after 9 months in the Publique a paper was read which the Elder said was an answer to the Reasons, the dissenters desired to know whether it was from him[self or] the Church, he said from the Church, then up stood mr. Ed: Ting an honourd Brother of the Church and said he doubted the Elder might not say the Church, for he knew not that he had ever heard them read before ; the dissenters desired a copy, the Elder said he would give no copy ; neither was it any more than once read at that or any other time untill the councill sate and then it was read.

After the Lord brought in Ships from England and they could heare of no letters from Dr. Owen many of them together went to the Elder to sollicite and intreate for a Church meeting freely to consider and debate about any persons meet to be called to office in the Church but the Elder totally refused to grant any.

Mr. Davenport wrote to the Church where in he saith he considered
 the clearnes and strength of the call of christ by the Church
 s (8) 67. and that they may take notice and be assured of his strong
 inclination to obey this call, and hoped to be with them before winter.

COPPY OF MR. DAVENPORT FIRST LETTER TO THE CHURCH: 8 (8) 67.

Honourable Reverend and dearly beloved in our Lord Jesus

The hast of your Honoured Messengers to returne unto you, compelleth me to be more briefe than other wise I should have bin, Let it please you to accept many harty thanks for this reall expression of your love in your invitation of me to such a service, as I accout the minnistration of the Gospel in your Church to be, both in respect of those eminent lights, which have formerly shined in that Golden Candlestick, and in reference to the Generall Influences from thence through out the Country, In which respects I am apt to be discouraged from such an undertaking, being—conscious to my selfe of my nothingness in myselfe, yett when I consider the clearnes *and strength* of the call of Christ, by you unto worthless me, to come and helpe you in such atime of your streights, I finde myselfe incouraged

¹ [These words are erased in the MS.]

to beleive that his power will be glorified in my weaknes; and his grace in my unworthynes where upon I wholly cast mysele, and rely through the helpe of his spirit, waiting upon God in Christ to manifest his will, and my way soe clearly to mysele and to his people, that we might be brought into a full acquiescence therein and obedience there unto, In order here unto this Church being assembled on the 7th day of this month I read your letters one directed to them and the other sent to me, and having some thing touching two things to be considered in a call of God, viz: that it be from such a place, 2ly to such a place; And cleared my call from them by some arguments which were of force with me (and it appeares) that one of them was confessed by the ablest among themselves to be unanswerable: And for clearing my call to you, the letters read before them were in my apprehensions sufficient; The conclusion was that the matter under debate was looked upon, and that Justly soe weighty, as that a day for extraordinary humbling of ourselves to seek the face of God and guidance by his spirit, before the question be Issued: should be set apart the weeke following, and on the day after they would Consult and conclude with Gods helpe, After that you will receive from them their full answer, In meane time you may be pleased to take notice and to be assured of my strong inclynation to obey this call, which seemeth to me to be a call of Jesus Christ the Lord, your Lord and our, And accordingly I hope to be with you this winter with the consent of this Church if God permit, by the first opportunity after the fast is over in reference to all the premises, I humbly and earnestly begg the helpe of your fervent prayers and rest in Jesus Christ

yours engaged to serve you in my worke
where unto Jesus christ shall call me

JO: DAVENPORT: Sen:

THE CHURCH OF NEW HAVEN LETTER IN ANSWER TO THE BRETHRENS
LETTER RETURNED BY CAPTAIN CLARKE.

Directed to Elder Pen.

Reverend Sir

we received your letter Dated the 28: 7 mo: 67 subscribed with your name and with the consent of the Brethren, your-
selfe and the Brethren in whose name you writt, we ^{1667.} salute in the Lord with this returne. Your letter to the Church was read at a Church meeting on the 7th Instant, the Contents where of have put sundry pretious soules among us, on a farr greater tryall and exercise than they are able to beare, unles supported by the same hand, and power that made and doth uphold the world; your loss of such eminent lights and guides, which God hath bereaved you of is also our and all New Englands, where of we cannot but be deeply sensible; It hath bin and shall be

Church of
New havens
letter.

our earnest prayer to the Lord of the Harvest to send forth some faithfull labourers according to your need in to his harvest at Boston ; But your motion to part with our Deare Pastour, for soe many Children to part with such a father, who hath bin an Instrument in Gods hand, and through his blessing on his ministry of the conversion of many soules amongst us, And of the Edification and building up of many more ; (you are pleased in your letters thus to express yourselves) your some time settled Pastour Reverend mr. Davenport, though now as we understand providentially loosened from those ingaigments he was sometime under to and with you ; we doubt not but by this time, your Honoured Messengers have informed you that here in you are mistaken, for when they were present with us, they were both eye and eare witnes of his Pastourall officiating in Publique, both in preaching the word and in Administring the Lords Supper ; (and though our Revrend Pastour) hath some time declared his apprehension, concerning his *liberty for to lay downe his office upon the Change of the Civill Goverment*, the report where of may be the ground of that passage in your letter, and we yeild it for to be true that this hath bin his firme apprehension, and he hath formerly expressed soe much ; yett with due Reverence to our Pastours Judgement, we can not but let you understand, that the Brethren have unanimously declare[d] themselves to be of a different aprehesion in this matter, we are also the less forward for to attend your motion (from what yourselves express) that the call of the church were not soe unanimous as were to be desired, fearefull we are what his tender
 * spirit now in his old age may meet with all on that account and what may be the sad consequence of trouble that may arise in a Church divided about his call both to him and to yourselves ; The premises considered we see no cause nor call of God to resigne our reverend Pastour to yourselves, or to the Church of Boston, by any immediate act of ours, But such is our tender respect to him that we have soe declared ourselves to his satisfaction as we hope ; As he is able for to give you a more full answer not only of his owne minde but of our also in this weighty matter, as he shall see cause (to whom wee refere you) now the father of lights grant that in his light our Reverend Pastour may see light for to guide him in his way, And the father of mercy supply both his and your need according to the riches of Glory by Jesus Christ

N. STREET in the name of the Church ¹
 this letter directed to Eld : Pen. to be communicated. 28 : 8 : 67 :

¹ [The Rev. Nicholas Street was ordained teacher of the church in New Haven, Nov. 26, 1659. It is not known in what year he came from England. He was settled for twenty years at Taunton, in the Plymouth Colony, as associate

with the Rev. William Hooke and as his successor, and he was called to be his successor also at New Haven. Dr. Bacon says : "Of the character of Mr. Street, as of his life, we know but little. He appears to have been a pious, judicious,

A SECOND LETTER OF MR. DAVENPORTS THAT CAME PER CAPTAIN
CLARKE.

Reverend Sir

In my last sent by your Honoured Messengers (which I heare was publicly read before the mixt assemblje) where my humble desire is that this may be read also, *I declared my acceptance of the call tendred to me by the Church of Boston*, in hope that this Church of Newhaven would have consented thereunto, wherein I was strenghtned [by] your approving my reason for warranting my remove from hence, grounded upon 1 Timoth : 5 : 8 : I looke at your call as the act of the church it being consented there to by the major part by farr, for otherwise nothing shall pass as a Church act if the minor part dissent, which is contrary to the scripture and to Reason, and constant aproved practices of all publique societyes, hence I Looke at your calling of me as cleare and full on your part, And accordingly signified my hope and purpose of coming to you, with the consent of this Church after we had sought God in an extraordinary manner, for the guidance of his holy spirit in this weighty afayer, this being done the Brethren result, about an Answer unto you, the result where of you will receive from themselves where by you will finde *they decline giving a possitive answer, but leave that to me*, (where as it is my judgment) that I should be puerly passive in a matter of this Importance concerning my selfe, that I might more clearly discerne the holy will and hand of God appearing in the whole busines, But soe farr as they doe answer it is a refusall of Consent which was a matter of no small exercise to me, and that was increased partly by the greife of the whole Church and Towne, and of many godly people in sundry townes aboute us, upon their feare of my departure hence, and partly by constant reports, of, not only the dissent, but of *the strong oposition of above 40 Brethren of your Church* against my coming to you, some of them saying if I should come thither, it would be breaking of that Church, and some here fearing that would be the breaking of this Church If I should remove hence, yet at our last meeting I presented my desire of *making a journey to Boston for this winter, and part of the spring* for a further triall for to finde out the minde of God, to my full satisfaction, *promising for to returne to them* againe, in case of my dissatisfaction, And if satisfied yett *not to ingage myselfe for office untill I had given them account of the event* (and shall receive theire answer) (*Against this they exprest themselves unanimously*) I haveing thus farr proceeded, considered the difficultie and hazard of winter voyage and modest man," and "no inferior preacher." He sympathized with Mr. Davenport in his anti-synodical views, and wrote in support of them. After the removal of the latter to Boston he was sole minister of the New Haven church, and so continued until his death, April 22, 1674. See *The Ministry of Taunton*, by the Rev. S. H. Emery, vol. i. pp. 156-164.]

journey, and in hope for to see the Church better settled by that time, I consent to stay with them this winter, yett telling them I must make a journey to Boston by the will of God, before the hott monthes of the next summer, for the reason before noted from the 1 Timoth: 5: 8: and all were satisfied.

What remaines Honoured and Beloved in the Lord but that we conclude if this Counsell be of God it shall stand if not the will of the Lord be done.

my fundamentall Reason from the Church agreement with me in our first begining for my being at liberty to follow the call of God, either in any other place or to continue here is of the same force with me now, *as it was two years since when I pleaded with them against my going to Delaware*, though while I stay here I am their Pastour, and doe accordingly officiate, with them passed without opposition

It is onely the will of God that I looke at, and wait for to be clearly manifested to mee in this weighty buysines, being desirous for to be approved of him in all my waies, and to act in all things to his honour. I shall humbly crave leave to ad[d] a word or two for your peace, the Prophet saith love the truth and peace, truth and peace are sisters, and will not be separated, let the truth be first regarded and minded and your hearts be united to the truth of the gospel and yourselves for the truthe sake, It is recorded concerning Jehoshaphat that the Lord was with him because he walked in the first waies of his ffather David 2 Chr: 17: 3: soe will the Lord be with you Honoured and beloved in the Lord if you walk in the first waies where in you walked according to his Rule under that faithfull and blessed servant of Christ mr. John Cotton; But if you fall into divissions amongst yourselves, by different principles, some striving for one way, some for another: I feare I feare [*sic*] and forewarne, that the Isshue will be a rent amongst you, unto Gods great dishonour, to the corrupting of the Church from the symplicity that is in Christ Jesus, which God in mercy avert; and I doe humbly Beseech you in the name of our Lord Jesus: The Bretheren that have declared themselves oposite to my coming to you, let nothing be done throug[h] strife and vaine glory; And that there be noe scisme amongst you for my sake, but that you be perfectly joyned together in the same minde, and in the same judgement striveing together for the faith of the Gospel, and for the holy order where in Christ hath appointed his Church for to walke, then will be given teaching officers according to his owne heart, which shall feed you with knowledge and understanding, and god will Bless their Administration for the spirituall Good of yourselves and your posterity. The God of patience and consolation graunt you for to be like minded one towards another according to Jesus Christ, that you may with one minde and one mouth glorify God, even the father of our Lord Jesus Christ.

J: D

28 october 1667.

Att a Church meeting Some of the Brethren spake as if they were called to deale severely with their Brethren dissenting, citing Joshu : 7 : 10. to 15 up Joshua the accursed thing must be removed else God will not be with them &c : Deut : 22 : 1 [] And if a virgine of Issraell be defamed it is an jnnjqu[i]ty to be punished by the judges here is a virgin Church defamed &c : Rom : 16 : 17 : marke them which cause divisions &c : Sundry of the Brethren called out publiquely to the said dissenting Brethren why doe yee not aske for your dismission, others why doe they not depart in peace and fall upon practise of what they beleive Robert Walker presently move[d] to the Elder in the same publique meeting that he might be dismissed, the Elder tells him this is no [] a season, But be assured Brethren the Church shall not be a prisson to any ; the dissenting Brethren as they had often besought the Church to take advice of sister Churches soe now urge them no longer to neglect it, it being Gods way when any church wants light or peace ;

Another time some of the Brethren met at the Governours and press the Elder to admonish the dissenting Brethren and be cause the Elder hearkeneth not, they were much displeased ;

2 (3) 68 Mr. Davenport cometh to Boston¹

Then a Church meeting is called, and the Church urged to make an address to Mr. Dav[enport] The dissenters intreated them not to proceed further without Councill the Church hearkneth not att all to their motion, but choose major Leveritt, to goe in the Churchs name to give mr. Davenport a fresh invitation, he inquireth whether the Church is agreed, and because not telleth them he cannot give them any answer, but waiteth to see the mind of God. Elder Pen further considerd, soe as that he will call no more Church meetings untill either the dissenters consent unto Mr. Davenports call, or the other Brethren are willing to have a Councill. And at a Church meeting —

The dissenting Brethren having liberty and incouragement by the Church to goe unto and treat Mr. Davenport they thankfully accept thereof, and upon their address unto him he freely consents to appoint them a time which they attended. and came about 20 but when they come they find him unwilling to treat with them, without the presence of some of the other Brethren, they tell him they would not have any occasion of strife before him, at least this being their first opportunity with him, they only desiring to informe him of the true state of matters, at length he consents to heare them, but desired to be excused

¹ ["May 2, 1668. In the afternoon John Davenport and wife, with his son and family, reach Boston, and are welcomed by many of the inhabitants. They are sheltered from a heavy shower by the coach of Mr. Searle, sent out to meet

them." — Felt's *Eccles. Hist.*, vol. ii. p. 427.

Daniel Searle married Deliverance, daughter of Edward Tyng ; her sister, Eunice, became the second wife of the Rev. Samuel Willard.]

from giving a present answer to any thing, whereunto they readily consented, they proceeded and declared the whole case impartially, Mr. Davenport according to his liberty above maketh no answer to any thing, the Brethren ready to take their leave *requested him to Commend them to the Lord by prayer but himself not free unto it they take leave and depart.*

About a week after W D and I H¹ gave Mr. Davenport a visit and treated with him of the whole matter with loving acceptance and respect and soe parted. but soone after Mr. Davenport without signifying any displeasure to any of the dissenters upon a lecture day had these expressions in his prayer before sermon in the presence of a great part of the Countrey: viz:

This Church sometimes famous for unity as a Citty compact within itself, but now there are risen up a company in opposition to the rest, even to the multitude of the Church about the choice of their officers, and will not consent but upon such a Condition as neither Christ himself, nor his Apostles gave any warrant for, or the highest Councill in the world can impose upon any Minister of the gospell persisting therein peremptorilly, whither it be from error in judgement, or whither it be a designe it is not yet manifest, but it is evident Satan hath a great hand in it.

Where as these Brethren desired no Condition of the Church before their falling upon Election but the liberty which Christ Jesus had purchased for all his people viz liberty of a free debate, and hearing of their reasons, or in case of their non agreement that the help of neighbour churches might be called in as doth appeare by their addresse unto the Church before they had made any application unto Mr. Davenport: The dissenting Brethren seing themselves thus engaged against by mr. Davenport before the whole Country, without any cause to them known, began to thinke if the Lord opened a doore of departure from their relation to the Church, they were called to imbrace it, and in conjunction with this Elder Pen told Sundry of them, two of which especially who before this prayer were in serious thoughts, that haveing frequently and publiquely testified to the truths under labour, (viz) the truth of order relating to the liberty of the *Brotherhood to choose their owne officers, And that relating to the relation of the Children to the Church,* and the Churches duty to them, and to the ordinance of Councils as necessary to the well being of these Churches, they might sit downe silent, and the Lord they hoped would accept their sincere desire for the progress of truth, but said Elder told them he had put the Question to mr. Davenport, whether it would not satisfie him, if the Brethren could be brought to *sit downe silent*; And he answered *if they did no more, he could not officiate as a Pastour to them.*

Mr. D: expressions in prayer upon a lecture day.

¹ [Probably William Davis and John Hull.]

The active Brethren of the major parte of the Church had a private debate with the Elder relating to the censuring of the dissenters, for their non concurrence with the Church (which since some have publicly bewayled the loosing of its opportunity) but the Elder consented not, their way of Censure being not cleare unto him, where upon a Church-meeting was called, and the Elder propounded to the Church for a Councill, which was good newes to the dissenters who gave thanks to the Church for it, where at some of the Church publicly declared, that it was not at all in favour to them, but that they might know what to doe with them, nor were they permitted any vote, nor influence either in framing the question to be put to the Councill, nor in nominating any one Church to be sent unto, its end being to take advice in order to Censuring of them, — but God diverted it as the sequell declareth, the question solely stated by the major parte and the Churches nominated and sent unto only by them, was considered and determined by the Councill when they met, and accepted of and submitted unto by the dissenting Brethren

The Councill then met at Boston, where Elder Pen and Major Generall Leverit by Church vote managed the churches case against the dissenters the churches narrative was read and voted unto by the Church the dissenters narative and preceeding reasons of dissent were also read, and after a free debate in the face of the Country, it pleased God to direct the Councill to give the advice following,

An answer of the Messengers of the Churches, called by the first Church of Christ in Boston to give their advice and Councill according to God, in reference to their Brethren who have dissented from the Church in their present proceeding in calling of teaching officers

August 6 (6) 68.
Result of the
first Councill.

1. We cannot but sadly lament this awfull dispensation of God, in depriving this eminent Church of Christ, of teaching officers And his sollemn ordinances soe long a time, and that in parte by leaving the Church to such differing apprehensions, in their endeavours to obteyne soe great a blessing, which we humbly desire the whole Church seriously and deeply to lay to heart.

2 Yett with thankfullnes to God acknowledge that good measure of moderation and grace appearing in their agitations aboute the case, together with their affectionate desires, and indeavours that have bin used to attaine the unitie and Cconcurrence of all in this sollemn worke, there by manifesting that the spirit of love and unity is yet active in the Church.

3 It appeares to us that notwithstanding all endeavours herein, As on the one side the major parte of the Church profes their clearnes and full satisfaction in their way, and that they can not condiscend to

the desire of their dissenting Brethren, who profes that there is an awfull ingagement upon them, and that in a matter of waighty concernment where by they cannot concur with their Brethren in their choice.

The premises considered together with the grounds of the dissention more fully appearing in those writings that have passed from one to another, and have bin publicquely read and delivered to us, Also considering that the Honour of our Deare Lord Jesus, and of the holy Institutions, and the edification of the Church: of Christ is soe much depending upon his peoples walking to gether in Brotherly love one towards another, which in this Case not being attaineable by continuance in one Church Body, yet finding it to be the prayers of the Apostle for the Church of the Thessalonians that the Lord would give them peace all wayes by all meanes, 2 Thess: 3: 16:, And also it being apparent that through the blessing of God upon the Towne, the Inhabitants there of are now soe numerous that the two places of their publique Assembling to worship God can not entertaine them, by reason where of many persons that are not Conscientious of sanctifying the Lords day, doe make it an opportunity of great profaneness we doe judge meet to propound our Councill and advise in the Case as followeth.

1. That mutuall greivances that have fallen out through humaine frailtie, and the temptations of Sathan in the transactions of this matter may now be coverd with that love, that is not easily provoked, that hopeth all things, beleiveth all things, endureth all thinges, 1 Cor: 13: 7: And as the elect of God holy and beloved to put on bowells of mercy, kindnes, humblenes of minde, long suffering, forbearing one another, forgiving one another, even as Christ forgave you soe also doe yee. Collos: 3: 12: 13: v.

2. In case the dissenting Brethren can not yett consent with their Brethren in their call of officers, nor sitt downe quietly, and submitt to the act of the rest therein, That then the Church upon their desire to be dismissed from them would give them up to the Lord with love and prayers, Recommending them to the grace of God in order to the propagation of another Church, to be sett up in the Towne of Boston according to the rule of the Gospell, yett soe that in the meane time they may have Communion with this church, or some other in the ordinances of God. This issue of the differences we conceive to be a way of peace Consonant to Scripture example for ending of strife, not only in civill matters as in the case between Abraham and Lott Gen: 13: 7: 8: 9: But also in a religious case, between Paul and Barnabas, that were by the spirit seperated, and called to the worke of the Gospel Acts: 13: 2: 4: yett by the only wise God being left to a sharp Contention aboute the choice of John Marke, they departed

asunder one from another, Acts : 15 : 39 : But as to proceeding to Church censure in such a case as this is we finde no rule in Scripture

DAN : GOOKIN RICH : MATHER SAM : DANFORTH WM PARKES
 THO : DANFORTH JOHN ALLINE ED : FFROST : ROGER CLAP
 ELIAZ : LUSHER JOHN ELLIOT JO : HUNTING HOP : FFOSTER.¹

BOSTON the 8th Aug: 1668.

Elder Pen upon reading the Councils advice by the moderatour before the whole Assembly, declared though those Brethren were very deare unto him, yet seing now it appeared to be the will of the Lord, he would say with those Acts. 21 : 14: the will of the Lord be done : the moderatour of the Council having declared that it was their advice unto the Church to dismisse their Brethren before they proceeded to ordination of Mr. Davenport, some of the Church expressed they know not whether the dissenters would not make the Church wait many yeares, before they declared their owning of the advice of the Council, or desired their dismission (which the Brethren should have otherwise pawsed upon had they not upon this occasion bin soe suddenly put upon it) upon occasion of which speech one of the Reverend Council declared, there needed no long time for the dissenters to suspend their owning of the Counsell, for they might doe it at present, and they having bin formerly warned by Mr. Davenport interceding to God against them above mentioned, declared in the presence of the Council that if the Church would give them their dismission they would accept of it.

Twenty nine of them went with their request unto Elder Pen for their dismission subscribed with their hands as followeth
 desiring him to present it to the Church. 10: (6) 68.

ffor the Reverend Elder and the rest of our Honoured and Beloved Brethren of the Church of Christ at Boston. It having pleased God soe to direct the late Council of the Honoured Reverend and beloved Messengers of the Churches held among us, as that (upon the hearing of the cause depending between us) they give in this advice as that they judge according to the word of God, to be best Conducing to the Desired issue of the late and unhappy difference between us, that upon our Desire the Church would give us up to the Lord with their Love and prayers, recommending us to the grace of God in order to the propagation of another Church to be sett up in the Towne of Boston according to the rules of

¹ [In the records of the Roxbury church, by the Rev. Samuel Danforth, it is said : "1668. 5 mo. [? 6 mo.] A Council of 4 churches called by the Elder and major part of the church of Boston in reference to their dissenting brethren. Their advice was to dismiss them in order to the propagation of another church in Boston." The churches represented in this council were those of Dorchester, Dedham, Roxbury, and Cambridge. Mr. Mitchell, minister of the Cambridge church, had just died.]

the Gospel, we doe therefore (though not without a very affectionate sence of the present dispensation of Divine Providence in this Day of our trouble, as also our owne unmeetnes for soe great a worke) Testifie our acquiescing in the decission of the Councill, and

1668. humbly request that, the advice may be attended, And therefore that you would pleas to grant us that dismission, which we now here by crave, who have subscribed our names unto that Church relation, and orderly constitution which (through grace) we are desirous ready to attend, And accordingly that our Deare relations who are in Covenant with yourselves may pass forth with us, unto that Church fellowship aforesaid; thus praying that the father of lights and mercies may abide with us, by the gracious presence of his glory both while wee are together, and when we shall be come as two Bands, But still under the same banner of love, and may also be present[ed] at length faultless before him, without spot or wrinkle, or any such thing at his coming, we remaine your Dearly loveing (And we hope no lesse beloved) Brethren in the Lord

ED: RAWSON	WM. DAWES	JAMES PEMBERTON
THO SAVAGE	THEOP: FFRARY	THEO: ATKINSON
JOHN HULL	JOS: BELCHER	ED: RAINSFORD
JOSHUA SCOTTOW	JOHN SANFORD	PETER BRACKITT
PETER OLIVER	JOHN ALLDEN	JOSEPH ROCKE
HEZ: USHER	THOMAS BRATTLE	JOSEPH DAVIS
ROBR. WALKER	JOHN TAPPIN	BEN: THIRSTON
JACOB ELLIOT	EDW: ALLINE	JOHN PEASE
JOS BELKNAP	SETH PERRY	BENJ GIBBS
	WM. SALTER ¹	

This (10) 6th mo. a day being apointed by the Elder for the Church to meet in, And when met told the Church he had received a writing from the dissentors requesting their dismission which he would read, And when read sundry Brethren desired the dissenting Brethren might be absent, who answered if they desired their absence to consider of their motion they thought it reasonable, But if the Church had busines to transact that concerned all the Church they durst not absent themselves.

The Elder againe and againe declared to them Itt was the Churches Desire they would withdraw, which accordingly they did, when they were departed some of their wives continued in the Church: some of the Brethren spacke to the Elder, that they also should depart as well as their husbands, because as they desired — their owne dismission —

¹ [There are only twenty-eight signatures on this paper, although it is said that twenty-nine joined in the request to Elder Penn. William Davis was absent

from the town at this time. We do not find the signature of Edward Alline or of John Pease on any other paper, or in the list of members.]

soe they desired their Relations might be dismiss with them, where upon the sisters were desired by the Elder and ordered to withdraw, which accordingly they did. when they were departed, immediately two of the Brethren were sent from the Church to mr. Davenport who suddenly returned, and mr. Davenport with them to the meeting house, where the Church was met, *they gave mr. Davenport a call to office*, and he gave account to them that, the writing of his letter, and coming to Boston was not upon any sudden motion, But there had severall letters passed in order there unto the yeare before, which the dissentors had not heard of, since this meeting where they were thus secluded, the Major parte mett at the Governors house, and agreed to send Messengers and letters to New Haven church, never acquainted the dissentors with the second meeting, appointed a fast and called before them Deacon Ransford, and Deacon Elliot dealing with them for their dissent after the[y] had transacted and finished their letters for New Haven &c :

The 19th of Aug: was appointed by the Church to be a fast, day to seeke Gods presents with their Messengers who were gone with letters from their Church to the Church of New haven for mr. Davenports Dismission, which day accordingly was Celibrated by mr. Davenport who in his prayer publicly complained to God of the sufferings which he here had met with and that being Gods servant as Elias was left alone, and also sollemly apealed to God that he depended upon the advice of the Church now sent unto, relating to the owning of his call to this church of Boston, upon returne of these Messengers it was by them declared, and generally beleived to be true that the Church of New haven had not then sent any answer to the letter sent to them by this church, but suspended their answer concerning mr. Davenports dismission, untill they had received an answer from mr. Davenport to the letter which they had sent him, but this was untrue for *they brought a letter along with them which was concealed from the Church*, it never being publicly read, though the Church had kept a sollem day as before to seeke the Lord about the same, and Mr. Davenport he told God depended upon its advice but instead thereof it *was read (as the dissentors were informed) to aboute 22 of the Church* which managed the whole as to a conclusion with mr. Davenport upon whose counsell he cast him selfe instead of the major parte of the Church, if this letter had bin read our trouble had bin over, for the Churches of New Havens *answer was in the negative* and the publique profession of many of the active Brethren of the major parte of the Church and their *promise was, that if the church of New Haven did give them one deniall*, they would never send more ; but they did break this promise, in sevrall of these their meeting there was not the major parte of the church Body and their meetings were in a private house.

COPPY OF THE CONCEALED LETTER.

Honoured Reverend and Beloved the Church of Christ in Boston

Grace mercy and peace be multiplied in the Lord Jesus Christ.

Your letter by your Honoured Messengers hath bin read befor this Church, a passage in the beginning of it we make bold to speak a little to, viz: (The benifit we have of these late monthes this sommer received by your resigning your Reverend Pastour our Mr. D: to the will of God for the more clear discovrie of his minde in our motion to you and him) Answer: We doe not know that we have soe done, either by word written or spoken, or by any act of ours towards him or you, but against it we pleaded at our last meeting we had with our Pastor, and were not driven from it, That it was his onely way to attend and judge of a call of God in and with the church, not to goe to Boston for a discovrie of Gods mind in this matter, — to this we hold and suppose ever shall, In our former letter to yourselves, we declared sufficiently our dissent from our Reverend Pastors apprehensions, about the maine ground of his pleah for his freedome from office, and likewise gave reasons why we could not consent to your call of him from us, therefore concluded, we could not resigne him up to your call of him from us, And therefore concluded we could not resigne him up to you by any imediate act of ours, we are still the same, we doe not to this day see light to give him up to you, by any voluntary act of ours and therefore can doe nothing in order to the writing and sending such a dismission (which would be a voluntary act) as yourselves and our Reverend Pastor hath sent for, we are not ignorant of, that our refuseall may expose us to blame and censure with some, we can better beare that than God's displeasure by wronging of our consciences, we can truely say it is purely from principles of Conscience, that we are withheld from acting according to your desire, you may deeme it our weaknes, be it soe, weake consciences may not be pressed and urged too far: 1 Cor: 8: Rom: 14:

As for the last clause in our letter (but such is our tender respect unto him selfe that we have soe declared ourselves to him as that he is able to give you a more full answer not onely of his owne minde but of ours allsoe) this passage doth onely speake our Due respects unto our Reverend Pastor, and doth show our readines to yeild as far as we could to give him satisfaction, but no voluntarines in us, nor the least approbation of the motion in hand, yet we acknowledge this passage singly considered as separated from the rest, is capable of a strained interpretation of a vertuall dismission, But yet we thinke it had not bin Honourable to yourselves, and our Reverend Pastor for you to have proceeded upon, considering how fully we expressed our dissent from your motion, and to tell you the truth we know not any

N. Haven
Churches letter
which was con-
cealed.

1668.

two first or last, that clearly expressed their consent in this matter, but all as one man have bin against it, and one thing more have we to say, If this passage had bin in it selfe improveable in the way and to the end that now is expressed, yet some passages between our Reverend Paster and ourselves (at a meeting before winter and after our letter to your Church is a sufficient prohibition to the improvement of it in any such way) doe make null, what ever may be looked at to be of any for[ce] to such an end in our concession. our Reverend Pastor was willing to know the minde of God in the Church, concerning his call to Boston he bing unsatisfied that the Chur[ch] had left it to himself, (a meeting was apointed and called to that end) sundry things were spoken by the Brethren against it, some expressed that if he left us the — the Church would be broken, this tooke with him, he answered that indeed is considerable, and here upon resolved to stay the winter, onely expressed his desire to make a journey at the spring, and to stay the 3 hot moneths in the summer for hi[s] wives health and settlement of his son, where unto the church freely consented — we generally toke it, that he intended onely a journey as before, and to the ends as befor[e] and we expressed in his hearing this our sence of his words which he did not gaine say, we gave him then thanks for his willingnes to continue with us, and the Teacher was called upon to returne thanks to God for bowing our Pastors hearte to speake soe fully to the Churches satisfaction which he did, and soe concluded the meeting these passages are avouched and testified by very many and we suppose not one can gainsay, through streights of time we cannot enlarge: The Lord of the Harvest thrust forth faithfull labourers into your fields and guide you and all your motions in your weighty affaires, committing you to God and his grace, we crave your prayers a poore afflicted Company and rest

your Brethren in Christ and fellowship
in the name and with the unanimous
Consent of the Church.

New haven: 25. 6: 1668

N : S.

This letter being kept from the cognisance of the Church (yea considerable time it was before there was any owning of any such thing) when it leaked out it was acknowledged, but renderd full of mistakes and nonsense, and therefore not fit to be communicated to the Church, meanwhile an expresse was forthwith sent, with a letter from Mr Davenport to the Church of Newhaven, whose purport may be guessed by the next letter which they returne to the Church as will appeare in its place.

The dissentors went to the Elder for an answer to their request for dismission but could not, obtaine their desires. 1668 4: (7)
1: (8)

Att last upon the 9th of October the Elder called a church meet-

ing, the dissentors intreated him that they might have their answer for their dismission in writting, and that they might neither by their absence give any occasion to judge them sullen, nor by their presence give offence, they appointed some to acquaint the Elder in case he should approve of it they would be at Captaine Davis house being next doore to meetinghouse¹ and if the Church did desire their company they would come in, and if not they would there wait the Churches answer,² accordingly they waited there the whole meeting time being near night.

Mr. Edw. Tyng, Elder Pen, Captaine Clark, Mr. Belcher and Mr. Everill came to them, and told them they were sent by the Church to give them this answer. That the Church did earnestly desire their reuniting, and also that this was not a season for them to move for their dismission, nor the Church to consider of their motion, they being then (as the dissentors supposed by reason of N. haven letters) unlikely to proceed unto Ordination.

News came of Mr. Davenports dismission from Newhaven Church
 22: (8) and upon the 25. October the Elder propounded him to
 25. the Church for admission. the dissentors thought then they ought to urge againe for their dismission, and upon the 26. 27. 28. October went in severall Companies in the name of the whole, humbly desiring the Elder that they might obtaine their dismission, before he proceeded to Call Mr. Davenport forth for admission. Some of them also told him they had just offence against Mr. Davenport for his publique charge upon them before the Countrey, in his prayer fore-mentioned, and desired it might be orderly removed before his admission, the Elder promised the Deacons who were of the dissenting Brethren that he would not call Mr. Davenport to be admitted before
 1: (9). there was a meeting about it, but upon the next sabbath day some hearing, that the Elder did intend to call him forth, they went that noone unto him, and desired and besought him that the dissenters might be first dismissed, but what they said was not harkned unto, and Mr. Davenport was admitted a member of the Church of Boston upon his pretended letter of dismission, which then was read in the face of the Church but how this contrivance was brought about, and how much of the originall letter was concealed, there being onely an extract of it drawne up as much as might make up a pretended dismission but the substance of it being left out, and the extract how it spake against the intent of the letter sent by the Church

¹ [According to the Book of Possessions, William Davis's first house and lot were on the south side of what is now State Street, part of the site occupied by the Merchants Exchange. In 1645, he bought of Valentine Hill a house and lot on the high street, having the meeting-

house on the north, and the prison garden on the west. The garden of Richard Trewsdale adjoined Mr. Davis's land on the north in the rear.]

² [The words "which was acceptable to the Elder," following the word "answer," are erased in the MS.]

of N : haven, the comparing of them both together will demonstrate : and how the providence of God revealed this work of darknes the sequell will declare though it lay hid diverse moneths :

Coppy of the letter abbreviated and read to the Church of Boston by Elder Pen, drawne up by Mr. James Allin and Elder Pen, Mr. John Davenport senr knowing and approving of ^{1 :} (9.) 1668. the same, transcribed and subscribed by his son Mr. Jo : Davenport Junr and sealed by them, none of the Church knowing of this transaction but these 4, untill Mr. Street came downe next summer by whome this mystery of iniquity then was revealed and made manifest.

Honourd, Reverend and Beloved

Grace mercy and peace be multiplied through Jesus Christ our Lord. In answer to a letter from your Church subscribed by your Reverend Elder in the name and with the consent of the Brethren bearing date 28 : 7. 67, we made a returne as yourselves know : , and since both yourselves and Mr. Davenport have written to this Church for his dismission, such is our honorable respect to him, our love to peace, our desire of your supply, that we shall goe as far as we can safely in order to your and his satisfaction in this matter, if this will satisfy we are conten[t] to leave both yourselves and him, to make what improvement you see cause without any clog or impediment from us upon that Account, of the liberty mentioned, in order to his joyning to your Church and if he doth proceed with you in order to membership and taking office in your Church as he hath bin a faithfull Labourer in gods vineyard at N : haven for many yeares to the bringing home of many soules to god and building up of many others, soe it is and shall be our prayer to God to lengthen his life and tranquillity in Boston, to double his spirit upon him, assist him in his work and make him a blessed instrument of much good to yourselves and many others, the good Lord pardon on all hands what he hath seen amiss in these actings and motions, that no sinfull malignancy may obstruct or hinder god's blessing upon Churches or Church administrations, as himself and his son both desired, we doe dismissee unto your holy fellowship Mr. Jo : Davenport Junr Mrs. Davenport Elder and younger, desiring you to receive them in the Lord as becometh Saints and imploring Almighty God for his blessing upon them from his holy ordinances in your Communion and walking with you, the God of all grace supply all your and our need according to his riches in glory through Jesus Christ, thus craving your prayers for us in our afflicted condition we take our leave and rest

Yours in the fellowship of the Gospell.

N : haven : 12 : (8) 68.

N. STREET.

In the name and with the consent of the Church
of Christ at N : haven :

To the Reverend Elder of the Church of Boston Mr. JAMES PEN &c

Mr. Streets name was written in this letter with another hand to counterfeit his handwriting: and the transcript was sealed:

Copy of the Originall letter sent from New haven the words drawne with a line under them are the Extract read, the rest being the mind of the Church declaring against his dismission left out and concealed about 8 moneths as the sequell doth declare fol: 49: 50.

Honoured Reverend and Beloved. Grace mercy and peace be multiplied through our Lord Jesus Christ. In answer to a letter from your Church subscribed by your Reverend Elder in the name and with the consent of the Brethren bearing date 28: 7: 67. we made a returne as yourselves know

this letter concealed 8 months from the Church and not known untill 17. (4) 1669 as there appeareth. fol: 49: 50.

wherein we gave you to understand for reasons exprest that we could not approve of our Pastors grounds that had bin alledged for his removeall or the Church of Boston call, therfore thus concluded. The premises considered we see no cause or call of God to resigne our

Reverend Pastor to yourselves or to the Church of Boston By an immediate act of ours, But such is our tender respect to himselfe, that

we have soe declared ourselves, unto him as that he is

1668.

able to give you a more full answer not onely of his own minde, butt of ours also in this waity matter as he shall see cause, to whome we refer you, upon which latter passage you have proceeded soe fare, as we understand by our Reverend Pastors letter that the Church of Boston hath not onely given him a call (as he doth exprest it in your own words) renewed and confirmed your call of mr. Davenport to be a teaching officer to them and that was done unanimously and mr. Davenport fully accepted and soe the matter is made up: *and since both yourselves and mr. Davenport have written to this Church for his dismission*; we suppose that should have proceeded: A man can not have the essentials (which are the Churches call, and the person called his acceptance there of) of a Church officer put upon him in your Church that is not first a member of your Church soe that your hands are tied up by your own act, It is not for us to dismiss to the Church of Boston one that is all ready called to be a teaching officer to your Church at Boston, and if the match is made up as you say, what need a dismission from us to helpe make him a member or officer in your church, but that which doth most strike with us is matter of conscience though yourselves and our Reverend Pastor are fully satisfied in these

No evils tollerated in the Country by others, which this might prevent unlesse Church duty to its subjects before reckoned namely the children of the Church.

motions, yet the church of Newhaven is not soe, and though you judge it the best expedient for your releife and remedy of some evils growing in the countrey, as also we might doe the same, if we had nothing before our eyes but his accomplishments, and fitness for high service to God in his Church, But being soe much in the Darke about his way in leaving this Church and joyning to yours,

but we are not without doubts and feares of some uncomfortable

issue, there fore cannot clearly act in such a way as is expressed and desired, we are of the same mind as when we returned an answer to your first letter, thus expressing ourselves, we see no case, or call of God to resigne our Reverend Pastor to the Church of Boston by an imediate act of ours, therefore not by a formall dismission under our hands: It is our great greife and sore affliction that we can not doe for him (whome we soe highly esteem in love for his worke sake and profitable labours among us) what is desired without wronge to our Consciences, any thing that we have or are, besides our Consciences, we are ready to lay downe at his feet: *yet such is our Honorable respect to him, our love to peace, our Desire of your supply we shall goe as fare as we safely can in order to your and his satisfaction in this matter;* having before us our warrant, Acts. 21: 14 — when he would not be perswaded we ceased, saying the will of the Lord be done, Therefore to suppress what we could say touching that passage in our first letter, whereof such hold have bin taken, and what we have said in our last letter to you of our Reverend Pastors making null the liberty before granted, which we doubt not we are able clearly to demonstrate, *yet if this will satisfy (but not otherwise) we are content to wave and bury in silence and leave both yourselves and him to make what improvement you see cause (with out any dogg or impediment from us upon that Account) of the liberty before mentioned in order to his joyning to your Church;* and if he shall see it in his way soe to doe, following what light he hath from the word of God for his guidance, as we doubt not he will carefully attend, though ourselves are in the darke about these motions, yet we shall lay a law of silence upon our tongues, that in our mouthes may be no reproofes nor repro[a]chfull speeches upon this account, as judgeing ourselves rightly worthy of such a bereavement for our great unprofitablenes, onely we shall reserve liberty to defend ourselves against the tongues pens or speeches of any, by whome we may unjustly suffer in this matter; *if he doth proceed with you in order to membership and taking office in your Church As he hath bin a faithfull labourer in Gods vineyard at New haven for many yeares, to the bringing home of many soules to God and building up of maney others, soe it is and shall be our prayer to God to lengthen his life, and tranquility in Boston; to double his spirit upon him, assist him in his worke, and make him a blessed instrument of much Good both to yourselves and many others. The good Lord pardon on all hands what he hath seen amisse in these actings, and motions that no sinfull malignancy may obstruct or hinder Gods blessing upon persons, churches or church administrations;* here in we have gone as far as God and Conscience doe permitt us; we are come to the utmost bounds, and there shall stop we have forborne to say very much of what we could say, where by it may appeare to all men that we are for peace, and that we are not yea, and nay in anything, we pray you that Brotherly love may

continue, if matters issue beyond and better than our feares, it shall be no greife of heart to us, butt matter of rejoicing and of thanksgiving if there be a procedure in your church with mr. Davenport *than as himselfe and his son have desired, we doe dismiss unto your holy fellowship mr. John Davenport Junr. mrs. Davenport both Elder and younger, desiring you to receive them in the Lord as as becometh saints, and imploring the all mighty God for his blessing upon them from his holy ordinances in their communion and walking with you : The God of all grace supply all your and our need, according to his riches in glory by Christ Jesus thus craving your prayers for us in our afflicted condition we take our leave and rest yours in the ffellowship of the Gospel.*

New haven the 12th: (8) mo 68

NICOLAS STREET

*In the name and with the consent of the
Church of Christ in New haven*

To the Reverend Elder of the church of Boston, mr. James Pen to be communicated to the Church.¹

A church metting was called, the dissentors acquainted the Elder they would attend the Church pleasure at Captaine Davis house, where after they had bin some time me[t] they sent for the dissenters, the Elder proposed their motion for dismission to the church who instead of granting it, did desire them to become one with them and returne againe, yet proposed no one thing to them as a motion thereto, but their forgiveness of all past matters, the dissenters professed their adherence to the advice of the Reverend Council, and did humbly intrea[t] them a dismission, the Church refused, professing they saw not light to concur with the Council, and at the same time proceeded to give Mr. Davenport a full and authorative call, he being then one of them, the dissenting Brethren manifested

¹ [It was a fragment of this letter which was before Dr. Wisner when he wrote the notes to his history (pp. 74, 75). After copying it, he added: "Then follows, on the bottom of the page, these notes in another hand: 'The Elder labouring to convince, 24, 4, 69, Mr. James Allen [minister of the First Church] of his iniquity of dealing deceitfully about the letter from New Haven, and in saying Mr. Davenport was innocent in that matter, he acknowledged that Mr. D. knew the matter as much as he and his unckle, and that he had sinned in saying Mr. D. . . .'"

Mr. Emery, in the *Ministry of Taunton* (vol. i. p. 164), with the same fragment before him which was before Dr. Wisner when he wrote, has drawn from it the

following estimate, a very just one, as it seems to us, of the Rev. Mr. Street:—

"This fragmentary production of Street speaks volumes for him as a man of wisdom and grace. He certainly showed himself the equal of his eminent colleague in prudence and forethought. The letter could not well breathe a better spirit. It reveals a man rid of that petty jealousy which cannot endure a rival, which covets not copartnership. The extreme reluctance of Street to part with his distinguished associate indicates an unfeigned attachment towards him, and no fear lest 'so considerable a Gideon as Mr. Davenport' (as Hooke was pleased to style him) should leave no room for one of the 'lesser lights' to revolve."]

their dissent thereunto, yet Mr. Davenport dec[la]red his acceptance of it said that which was the dissenters cheif reason of non compliance therein was his Crowne

The premises considered and the Church preparing in order to Mr. Davenports ordination and the dissenters desires being as far as they knew their own hearts that their motions might be becoming the gospell they wrote as followeth to foure neighbour Churches

Honourd, Reverend and Beloved

Our undoubted expectation of a speedy ordination in the Church, the remembrance of the Councill declaration, whose advice was that we should have our dismissal before such ordination, together with the consideration of what may be the sad consequence, if the said advice be not obtayned before their proceeding, occasion us to give you this trouble of sending your former Messengers if it may be, who are already soe far acquainted with our case as renders them we humbly conceive, most meet to further advise therein, that we may neither be discouraged in the work of God among us, nor oppressed by our Brethren, nor yet be left for want of advice to doe any thing that may have the least evill savour, .to these that seriously and impartially consider both our present and former actions and conditions craving the help of your prayers. &c. The time in which we intreat your help is upon 23 : (9) at Captaine Davis house :

These letters were directed to the Churches of Christ at Roxbury : Dorchester Cambridge and Dedham.

On the day appointed these met and treated at Mr. Davenports house That as to the dissenters the Ordination might passe without publique opposition they obtayned a promise of Mr. Davenport, Mr. Allin, and Elder Pen viz : ^{23 : (9).}

In order to healing of the present differences between the Church of Boston and sundry of their Brethren Refering to their Election of teaching officers (it is propounded) that the dissent of those Brethren being all ready manifest there in, they observing the advice given by the Messengers of the Churches ; not to make any further disturbance in the Churches proceeding, Their silence in the day of ordination shall not conclude them, as Coactors with the Church there in, and that mutuall love and amity should be maintained in walking together untill the minde of Christ may further appeare for direction, to any other way ; the 23 (9) mo. 68 this agreement above though it was not signed by mr. Davenport and the two other Gentlemen yet it was writ in their presence read unto them and by them faithfully promised that it should be made good to the dissenters and to that Ende a copy of it left with them by the members of the late Councill.

Three Questions sent by : J : A : [the Rev. James Allen] to the dissenters to have their answer

1 Question In case any words, have unadvisedly fallen from any of you in publique or otherwise that are justly offensive, whether you have bin ready to tender regular satisfaction or are willing soe to doe.

Answer wherein any of us singly or all of us unitedly have given any offence publicquely or privately in the management of a Case soe labouring among us, we doe seriously professe ourselves ready as according to rule bound to acknowledge the same, as we have cause to reflect upon ourselves, and indeed to be ashamed before the Lord and his people, for what hath bin humane in our motions, and doe heartily beg pardon of the Lord and of the Church for the same.

2. Question whither may you not conceive to be most for peace and edification to submit to the election of the Reverend Mr. Davenport, in case the Church with at least one of the teaching officers will owne the Church seed, exercise Church watch and discipline to them according to the late Synod.

Answer To this was answered in the Negative.

3 : Question In case your dismissal be yet thought requisite, to remove all jealousies, all of you would solemnly professe your cleaving to the present government of this Collony, and in gathering into another Church to be carefull in admitting into the Church or unto full Communion therein, such as may be sutable to the purity, peace, safety, and good of the Church and Commonwealth.

Answer 1 : That we doe all of us solemnly professe our faithfull owning of and fixed cleaving to the present Government of this Collony, and shall be ready upon all occasions to demonstrate it, if we have given cause to be suspected herein we are very sorry.

2 : That referring our gathering into another Church to be carefull in admitting &c. we declare in the name of all our Brethren that we intend no other than the word of god to be the rule of our motion therein, and as made knowne to us by the joint agreement of the
Elders and messengers of Churches in the booke entitled
the platforme of Church discipline and the result of the

Synod 1662

Subscribed by severall Brethren.

Those proposals or quires of the dissenting Brethren to
the Reverend Elders

1 Question. whither a Church which is lytigrant, wherein a numerous partie (from conviction) of duty to god unto the Church and themselves, and from conscience of sincere love unto any fundamentall of order in the administration of any ordinance dissenting from their Brethren in the Election and ordination of any person or persons unto Church office, and managing of their dissent without offence in a way of order unto peaceable issue on their parts by the Councill and advice of neighbour Churches wherein they are willing to acquiesce :

we humbly inquire whither such a Church though affectionately and importunately solicited thereunto by their dissenting Brethren, may without breach of Communion within itself or Communion with those Churches proceed unto such election or ordination.

2 Question whither such Brethren who have received any divine truth in the plain evidence and demonstration of it unto their consciences from the word of God, and have bin settled and established in the knowledge and beleif of that truth, by the sound doctrine of these able and faithfull Ministers whose ministry they have lived under, and that have had the truth delivered unto them in the forme of sound words according to analogy of faith cleared from all these Controversies which it hath laboured under by the contention of Brethren and commended unto them by publique and solomne declaration, as a present truth unto these Churches, and also that doe find themselves obliged to professe and practise that truth, from an awfull apprehension of that great concernment of gods glory and the salvation of soules in the sincere profession and practise thereof we humbly inquire whither such Brethren may or can with peace of their owne consciences and safety of their owne soules, doe, or consent to the doing of any thing which doth tend to the hindrance of their profession or practise of that truth in that Church of which they are, and whither they are not bound in a way of peace and order to manifest their Contra dissent, and with love and meekness to contend for the truth.

3: Question whither such a part of the Brethren be not bound in duty unto the improvment of the intherest of liberty which Christ hath betrusted them with all, for the regular and orderly managing of the affaires of his Church or whither they may divest themselves of that liberty, by a voluntary and designed secession or silenc[e] or whither they may suffer themselves to be divested of that liberty by their Brethren by a seclusion from Communion with them in Church acts, or whither to desert the intherest of liberty be not unfaithfullnes and breach of Covenant.

4. Question whither a Church having secluded such Brethren from their meetings and transacted any weighty affaires of the Church for the most part without them, soe as that they doe not throughly understand the ground of the Church proceedings therein.

We inquire whither such Brethren can Act in faith and in ^{1668.} a way of order with the Church or whither the Church can require or desire such secluded Brethren to concurre with them in the issue of that proceeding whether the Church may regularly, orderly, and effectually, call and elect an officer, or officers in the intirim of that suspension, and in the absence of theire Brethren whither a parte, though a major parte of a Church may call an officer, secluding a great though a minor parte of the Church from their Communion therein.

5 Question Whether the Church hath power to hold any member

or members standing free and cleare from offence in their Communion, such member or members desiring their dismissal in a way of order, either to some other church that is orthodox and walking orderly, or to the propogation of some other church according to rules of gospel order (espetially) when such dismissal is by the Councill of other Churches offered, and by those Brethren accepted, as a regular expedient, to issue Controversyes in a way of love and peace, by an orderly improvement of christian liberty, in such a way of secession, or whither such restraint of inofensive members, be not a violence offered to their Christian liberty, and in consistent with the freedom of Church Communion, and repugnant to the peace and edification of the Church, whether any Instance can be given of such a Coercion and exercise of Church power towards in offensive Brethren

6 Question Whether any person can receive a divine call from a major parte of a church during the dissent of a minor parte, espetially himselfe being concerned as the subject of the dissention, And deeply Censured the dissentors, or whether the church circumstanced with such, and soe many difficulties may orderly proceed unto election and ordination.

Boston : 4 : 10 : 68 : given into the Elders of neighbor churches and signed by

4 : (10) 68.

RO. WALKER in name of the dissenting Bretheren —

The Elders met at Boston at H V¹ to consider of the foregoing queries presented to them in the name of the dissenters
7 : but no answer returned.

The 9th of (10) being the day of ordination appointed by the Elder on the saboth before he acquainted the Church with their
9 : purpose, after prayer and blessing was over and the people going out saying he had forgot to mention the desire of sending to other Churches for their messengers but no vote passed upon it, yet the Churches were sent unto, one if not two of the Churches had their letters before any mention was made to the Church of sending letters : The day of ordination being come ; the Elder passed the vote in the affirmative, and soe worded as it reached not the dissenters at all as will appeare, but were disinabled from expressing assent or dissent :

(1) vote Brethren this Church that have formerly chosen and called the Reverend Mr. Davenport, if you hold in the same mind and god keep you in the same mind to give Reverend Mr. Davenport the call to be a teaching officer, for to be a Pastor over you, manifest it by your usual signe :²

¹ [Hezekiah Usher's. This was in King Street, on the north side, opposite the town house. The property had formerly belonged to the Rev. John Wilson.]

² ["2ly. you in this congregation who are not of this Church if you have any just exception why we should not proceed to the callin[g] Mr. Davinport to be a pastor to this Church you have your

The vote reached onely those who had given Mr. Davenport a call and continued in the same mind that he should be a Pastor unto them, Mr. Davenport being desired to declare himself whither he accepted of this call, thus expressed himselfe

An outward call could not satisfy mee, if I had not an inward call, it hath bin the greatest exercise of my soule, next to the clearing of my good estate towards God in my effectual calling, this call from New haven, and I have desired the Lord to show mee his way, and not leave mee to any temptation, but lead mee in a plaine path because of my observers, and in this way I have waited for a long time, for sundry months at New haven, and sundry months here, and soe continued untill I received my dismission from New haven, and joyned in membership here, and soe to office here: Now I look upon it as a call from the Church an authoritative call, I being a member with them, the former I looked on it as an Invitation, and still kept mine ey on Christ to cleare his will unto mee, which I confesse he hath now done to the full satisfaction of my conscience, I am soe ully satisfied in it, that I can plead it to god in Christ in prayer, in the time of any difficulty or danger what ever difficulty I may be in. Thou Lord knowest I did not make hast to be a Pastor over this people, but waited on thee to know thy mind, and I can plead this also to all the world, and am ready to publish to the world the grounds whereupon I see myselfe called by Christ to this service, I speak it the rather because of some uncomfortable speeches I have heard, that put mee upon a necessity to declare thus much &c.¹

Mr. Davenports
speech at the
day of ordina-
tion.

There was a church meeting called, the dissenters observed the same method that they had done the two former meetings and signified to the Elder they would wait at Captaine Davis house unlesse the Church desired them to come in: when the Church had bin met about an houre they sent for the dissenters in, where when they came and were sit downe the Elder with great displeasure demanded of them:

January
1: (11) 68 [69].

whither they did acknowledge them for a Church of Christ and whither their officers were true officers, and told Mr. Rawson he demanded the answer of him, who answered they did acknowledge them to be a Church of Christ and their officers to be true officers, and desired to walk in communion with them according to the advice of the Councill.

6: Another Church meeting called the Elder proposed that the end liberty to declare it: the like votes passed for Mr. James Allin to be Teacher."

The above paragraph appears to be erased in the manuscript.]

¹ [John Hull writes Dec. 9, 1668: —

"Mr. Davenport and Mr. Allen or-

dained. The dissenting brethren humbly, earnestly and frequently entreated for their dismission before the ordination, but could not obtain it; neither could they, without much trouble, enjoy communion at the table."]

of it was to remove all offences, and that with unity of Spirit we might sit downe at the Lords table, Captaine Davis then humbly desired satisfaction of the Elder who had said the last meeting before a great part of the Town, and some of the Countrey, that dissenters were not desired by the Church to with draw, then Major Leverit and Deacon Trusdale testified that the dissen[] were not willing to goe out, and declared if there was any Church buynes to be done that concerned the whole body it concerned them to be present, though if the Church desired their absence whiles they considered of their petition for their dismissal they did not looke at it as unreasonable, then Mr. Davenport acknowledged that the Church ought to have called the dissenters in before they proceeded to any act relating to the calling of him to office. Deacon Trusdale complayned of [something] that was greivous to him spoken by James Everill in a former meeting, who said that if the dissenters were suffered to goe on, it would open a doore to all licentiousnes, whereas this partie viz: James Everill was he who publicquely declared formerly that if the Brethren would manifest themselves to be seekers of the peace of the Church, they should not obstruct the Churches proceedings, but quietly let them proceed, and fall themselves upon the practise of what they looked at themselves obliged to performe unto the children of the Church, the said deacon complained of a letter which he had heard was sent to the Church from the Church of New Haven but was not read to them Mr. Davenport answerd him, it was in the power of an Elder to forbear to read a Churches letter, in case it was not for edification: he reflected upon the Church of New haven as having sent a letter full of mistakes, and such as did not concerne the Church of Boston to answer but himself and that he had answerd that, which letter is the concealed letter before mentioned, and was sent to our Church but not read unto them, and himself then being neither an officer nor member of our Church was pleased to censure the Church of New haven by his answer unto it this letter had it bin publique[ly] read had put an end to the question about Mr. Davenports call, being a call for him to returne unto his flock as may appear by said letter:

Offer was then made by the Elder and Mr. Davenport to the dissenters if they had anything against any Brother if they would prove their charge they might.

The dissenters by the advice of the Councill being to bury all offences against them before the advice, and supposing it bootlesse to speak of any greivances since by way of Complaint against such as were the onely Judges, told them they desired to let all passe, onely standing under the guard of the Councill they wayted for their dismissal, and that they did desire to forgive forgit and bury all things in this late houre of temptation, that had bin

Seclusion
owned by 2
witnesses.

Janr 6: (11).
1668. [69]

greivous to them and to Judge themselves before the Lord for their owne miscariages, and to come in true love to God, to his ordinances, and to their Brethren.

Then the Elder proposed if any of the Church had any thing to yurge upon the dissenters either by word of mouth or by writing they might proceed. Mr. Stoddard made this motion that the Church might humble themselves before god and renew their Covenant with God and one with another: Some of the dissenters told him that to come regularly to the Lords supper was to renew their Covenant with the Lord and one with another: Mr. Davenport looked over the Pulpit once or twice to Mr. Stoddard, and said, if there were anything further by word or writing to be brought forth, let it be attended, then Mr. Stoddard replied, he had three morall evils to charge upon two of the dissenters.

charge was drawn up in writing but not brought forth.

Mr. Thatcher then moved, that if any such thing were, that they would please to mention them, being of such a nature they ought to be removed.

Mr. A. Stoddard¹ would not presently mention either person or thing but because the dissenters had earnestly moved that they might walke in Communion he said if they were soe desirous of Communion he would say to them, as the Prophet Amos did, chapter 4. 4. 5 come to Bethell and transgress, goe up to Gilgall and multiply transgression, bring your sacrifice of thanksgiving and offer them with leaven:

At length out came his Charge, two morall Evills against Captaine Davis first he had said the church did not begin with God

Secondly that it was not the Church that wrote to New Haven. And one morall evill against John Hull for saying the church had wrested their liberty from them, all which he said were transgressions, against the 9th Commandment.

A. Stoddards charge of 3 morall evils.

The said dissenters desired to know whether this was onely mr. Stoddards charge, or whether the church did make it their charge. But neither Elder or any Brother would make any answer though they begged it Sundry times. It seemed to the dissenters by the managing of matters that mr. Davenport, mr. Allen, and mr. Pen, mr. Everill, Captain Clark mr. Cooke, and the hands of many of the Brethren were in this charge, as well as mr. Stodder; — Captain Davis answerd, where as I am charged with two morall evils the one, that I should say that the church neither begun nor ended with God — he desired to know of that Brother whether that was his whole speech or parte of his speech — Answer was replied he could not tell

[o]ther wise they would have testified against it and Sundry Brethren desired mr. Stodder to forbear the [c]harge before [h]e had declared []

¹ [Mr. Anthony Stoddard. He married as his fourth wife the widow of one of the dissenting brethren, Thomas Savage, who died in 1682. The Rev. Solomon Stoddard, of Northampton, and

Simeon Stoddard, an active member of the Old South in the next century, were his sons, and Deacon Charles Stoddard of the Old South was a descendant in the fifth generation.]

whether it was the whole or not. — Captain Davis replied if it, were not my whole speech, the speech was his owne and not mine, if that were my whole speech I desire you to prove it, and the rather because I am confident, no one in the Congregation ^{1668.} can or will say it was soe, It is true there was a time when the church was in a strife, and I did say upon that disorder that was among us, that I did feare we had not begun with god: at which time one of the brethren replied, did we not begin with prayer? I then answered my meaning was not, that the Elder had not begun with prayer, but apprehended we had not begun with the rule, that is not to begin with God, this was all that I said, and therefore the charge is unjust, for the second charge saying that the Church did not send to New Haven, that remains yet sub judice: but my speaking at that time was lesse expedient, and better I had forborne, — but wherein I have given any offence to any in anything for matter or manner I am sorry.

We interrupt the Narrative at this point, to present a letter written by the Rev. Nicholas Street to a correspondent in Boston, probably Increase Mather, which throws much light on the meaning and object of the letter from the New Haven church of October 12, 1668, suppressed by Mr. Davenport and his friends: —

Reverend Sir

Yours dated Nov. 17, 68 I received wherein you have ingaged me to you by the Intelligence I have from you of news from England as also how matters are in Boston, no other nor worse than I expected, and it will be a pity if the fire kindled there doth not spread further I am not without more sad apprehensions and fears than I am willing to express. As for the true sense of our Letter sent to the church of Boston the Letter itself doth shew, our intendment in it is Playnly expressed without the least obscurity. The letter doth not run in the ordinary form of dismissions, yet it is (and so we intended it) a dismission ad placitum Reverendi magistri Davenport et ecclesiæ Bostoniensis, if they should see it that way so to improve it *we could not give such a dismission in form as was desired without wrong to Conscience, which is a tender thing, not being satisfied either in Mr. Davenports call to the church of Boston or grounds of his moving from us, — that we were not satisfied we have signified so much in our letter to Boston church, The reasons and grounds of our dissatisfaction we have not layd before them, — out of our honourable respects to mr Davenport but have in a private letter sent them to himself* And though we saw it not our way to give him a dismission in form for the reason expressed, yet after sundry overtures between us and him, we finding his Spirit to be so strongly

even unalterably bent and bound in spirit for Boston, we thought it our way no further to struggle with him, but to leave him at his liberty to doe as God should guide him, resting our warrant from Acts 21. 14. when he would not be perswaded we ceased saying the will of the Lord be done. This first narrative I suppose may be sufficient to satisfy understanding ones (if unbiassed) and our actings and carriage in this busines. *If any should asperse us on the one hand, that we have not given so fair and full and honourable a dismission as may be thought Mr Davenports desert might challenge at our hands you have our Answer we were not satisfied in the motions in this matter, therefore could not without injury to conscience act in such a way or resign him up to the church of Boston by an immediate act of ours as we signified so much to the church by our letter from very first. Had we bin as clear at his leaving this church and joyning to Boston church as himself seemed to be, and had apprehended that his settling there in office would quiet and compose all matters in that church as some seemed to be of that mind, though our loss would have bin [incomparably] great, yet I think we should have denyed ourselves, and have given him as full and as honourable a dismission as our understandings could have reached to have framed.*

It is our great greif that we are so bound up even in conscience that we could not answer his and others desires and expectations, but the truth is we were so in the dark about these motions, and so full of fears of a different effect (and it seems by your letter that our fear was not vain) that we could not act that way with any liberty of spirit or conscience. If we are aspersed on the other hand, because we yielded so farr as we did to leave him to his liberty, the Holy ghost seemeth to answer for us in the text before alledged Act. 21. 14 wherein we suffer in these matters we have the testimony of our consciences, that we have bin true to our present light, faithfull to Christ and his rules in the management of this busines, though accompanied with human frailties. And if we suffer herein we must bear it, and shall look higher than men even to the hand of God which hath bin upon us of late very sore (though below our demerits) since this troublesome exercise began, our ways and hearts are known to him. our [name] is with him. to whom we commit our Case, not doubting but hee will bring forth our righteousness and plead our Cause for us in his owne time and way.

the Lord be with you and yours and rest
your brother in the fellowship of
the Gospell

N. H. 2. of dec. 68

I pray be careful to whom you Communicate this, that I may not suffer for my readines to answer your desire.

due respects to your wife to [] and his.¹

¹ [Evidently a copy of this letter was stroyed, so that Mr. Street might not be made, and the original was then de- drawn into the controversy. The copy,

We now return to the Third Church Narrative : —

Mr. Davinport in his sermon held forth that the dissentors partaking in the supper, would actually and really demonstrate
 17: (11). their acceptance of the teaching officers, as well as if they had consented from the beginning ; and spak also in excuse of the Church and said they had fully tendrd satisfaction, and the dissentors had offred something that way, but it did not reach, the Church wearyed with contests desired to have the Lords supper administred, and the officer could not deny to administer to any not under censure, all which made the dissentors feare some did intend a snare for them viz. if they did partake they would never give them their dismission, but tell them they had lost their case by their owne consent, and if they did not partake, they would improve it against them in order to censure, the Lords supper was appointed to be celebrated the 24th (11).

The dissentors sent therefore 3 Brethren with their request in writing to all the Elders that they did humbly intreat, that
 21: they might partake at the Lords table now in the season agreed upon by the Church ; according to the advice of the Reverend Councill, and the agreement made by the severall Reverend Elders and Honourd Brethren of other Churches before the ordination, without any such condition imposed upon them as was the last Lords day by Reverend Mr. Davinport insisted upon but the Elders would not concede to their motion. The dissenters considered that unlesse they had some opportunity publicuely to declare, that they onely came with a full salvo to their Case, it would not be safe for them to come, and there was no opportunity in their power but on the saboth day just before the Administration and to speak then might hazard the peace of the Church and therefore thought it not safe, and waited untill
 23. saturday in the afternoone to see if the Elders would show them any compassion, the three deacons also had
 - told the Elders that they could not partake unlesse that snare were removed, then the dissenters sent 4. brethren in all their names, to the Elders with a writing directed to them and rest of the Church contents is as followeth.

Revrd and beloved we desire to hold Communion with you in all the ordinances of Christ according to the advice of the Reverend Councill which we looke at ourselves bound to adhere unto, but in asmuch
 Coppy of a as Reverend Mr. Davinport did on the last Lords day declare, that if we should sit downe at the Lords table with
 writing [] to the Elder upon occasion of forbearing the
 Lords supper. you, we should really and actually demonstrate our acknowledgement and consent to the teaching officers which

which has been preserved in the *Mass. Archives* (vol. x. p. 56), is without a signature, but there can be no doubt as to

the authorship of the letter. At the foot are the words : " Received 19. 10. Transcribed 1 mi. 1 mo."]

the Church hath chosen, asmuch as if we had consented to their Election from the beginning, we in respect thereof are forced to forbear, and intreat it may not be an offence to the Church. But the Elders shewd no pittie unto them neither ¹ reading to the Church the letter signed by the dissenters nor expressing any word to ease or encourage them. Soe when as the time of Administration came all the dissenters after a pause to see if the Elder or Church would offer any ease unto them or give them any opportunity of declaring themselves by their invitation thereunto they all withdrew themselves except the deacons. The 3 deacons staid least if they had left their charge to wait upon the table, they should have bin found Culpable but they durst not partake least they should be ensnared. 24: (11) 1668.

A Church meeting was appointed, and it appeared by the sequell, it was to deale with the deacons, but in the interim between they gave them no knowledge of any offence taken, the Church being met the 3 deacons were called forth (two of them being dissenters from the first and the 3d not cleare in the Churches call and actings relating to Mr. Davinport) they were charged with high contempt of the holy ordinance of god, and agravated, in being present waiting upon their office and not partaking, that it was a willfull presumptuous contempt of the Lord Jesus Christ and his body and blood, and deserved cutting of according to Num: 9: 13: a sin against the Institution of Christ against the Church of Christ and against the Officer or Administrator. 1: (12th).

The deacons desired them not to construe it as contempt, their desire being not to give offence but considering their office charge Rom: 12: 6. Acts 6. they doubted their absence would have bin much more agravated against them, and therefore chose rather to shew utmost willingnes to serve them, they had taken what paines and care they could before to have the cause removed, speaking to the Elders themselves and by their Brethren, but at that time as matters were circumstanced, they judged they could not safely partake according to Rom: 14: 23: and if it was an evill it was through their owne darkenes, and intreated the Church to passe it by.

Mr. Thatcher offerd to moderate between the Church and them, but was with great displeasure commanded silence, and because he offered speech the second time, he was taken up sharpely, telling him he showed how litle he knew what belonged to be an officer, who had bin so many yeares in office and could not be silent when required. Mr. Thatcher said he ought indeed to have ben silent ² and therefore desired pardon, Mr. Davinport much undervalued all that the deacons

¹ [These words are crossed out in the MS.: "But the Elders shewd no pittie unto them neither."]

² [The words "when required" follow the word "silent" in the MS., but have been erased.]

said, saying that they had cleare light held forth unto them, and their acknowledgments were Jejune and poore, soe they kept the deacons untill nigh evening, then concluded the meeting and gave them time to consider untill that day seven night which they appointed for another meeting.

8: The Church when met applied themselves to the deacons as men under great offence, and used exhortations as if they had great care of their soules good, which the unintherested bystanders toke it as if their reall indeavour was to minister occasion to them to slip into some unadvised expression that they might take advantage to censure them for, some of the dissenting Brethren spake on the deacons behalf but were sharply reprov'd for diverting the Church from their work with them at length Deacon Ellyot was vehemently urged by diverse Brethren to speake unto sundry things, he declared he had some trouble and doubt in his mind about the regularity of Mr. Davinports dismission, which word was snatched up and with much violence managed against him, and agravated as being that which highly reflected dishonour upon Mr. Davinport, upon this Church, upon the Church of New Haven, and upon 6 Churches more, who were present by their messengers at his Ordination, and gave him the right hand of fellowship.¹

The honest² deacon presently owned it was his folly to mention that which he did not soe [well] understand and was freely willing to beare any blame for it, thus they held the deacon upon the rack this day likewise, and it seemed to be no litle provocation unto the Church and Elders that in these two daies they could find no more against them, yet because the evening was come they concluded the meeting, but would not cleare them, and therefore appointed another meeting for the same end.

12: (12). A third time the Church met for the same buysines, and all these meetings were publique, neer five hundred persons present and diverse not of the Church, the deacons acknowledgment was much the same, and now the matter became publique talke, and people ready to cry out upon them for their severity, — the Church therefore toke what had bin said for good satisfaction for this their highly aggravated offence. but then some of the Church used another stratagem, seing they had soe far and soe well satisfied the Church that now the 2 deacons would compleat all by withdrawing their hands from a letter upon Church record for their dismission, saying all were as nothing unlesse that were done, and the Elders said it would declare their hearts to be cordiall unto them but otherwise not,

¹ [The following words in the MS. are erased: "but indeed this Church and the other Churches were grossly deceived about his ordination and the pretended

letter of his dismission as hath bin partly declared, but as then it was not known unto them."]

² [The word "honest" is erased.]

but the deacons could not come up unto them in that and the Church concluded them unmeet to be continued in their office, and did therefore vote them out,¹ and at the same time elected 3 other deacons in their roome.²

Mr. Bridgham was the first new deacon nominated and chosen, and being called to shew his acceptance, said he had rather indeed they had chosen some other, but seeing the holy ghost had elected him, he did give up himself to the work, the other two desired time to consider of it, but upon the next Lords day they were all three ordained by Mr. Davenport &c who read Acts. 6: 1 to 7: Rom: 12: 7: 8. 1 Tym: 3: 8: 13. and then said if any had any objection against the men as to these qualifications laid downe in those scriptures they might speak.

The dissenting Brethren sate downe with the Church at the Lords table. 21: (12).

Mr. Davenport the last Church meeting acknowledging that what he had spoken in his sermon the Lords day before the first supper did not alter the state of the dissenters from that which the Councill put them under: The dissenters sent foure of their Brethren in the behalf of all the rest with a request written and subscribed by them all (because their former writing delivered in by 26: (12). them to Elder Pen was by Mr. Davenport called clandestine) this was declared to all the Elders, desiring according to their former request upon Church record their dismission: and by word of mouth in the name of the rest of their Brethren was proposed,

1. That they would call the Church together in convenient time in order to their dismission. That was denied.

2. That they would promise to give them a dismission in 4. 6. or 8 months time when they should have built a meeting house for the Lords service.

this was denied allso.

3. That the Church would recall Councill, or give way that the dissenting Brethren might doe it. this was allso denied.

4. That they would then please to dismisse them unto some other Church. this allso was denied.

¹ ["On 12 Feb. 1669, Edward Ransford and Jacob Eliot were dismissed from the office of deacons for setting their hands, with other brethren, to desire their dismission from the church, because the church had chosen Mr. Davenport for their pastor."—Ellis's *History of the First Church in Boston*, p. 117.

The following words in the Narrative are crossed out: "onely one of them was

not voted out then [Richard Trewsdale] (he being none of the first dissenters) but none of these votes were put in the negative, supposing (as there was cause) that many of the Church besides the dissenters were against, and did not goe along in these strange motions."]

² [The three deacons chosen at this time were Henry Bridgham, Robert Sanderson, and Henry Alline.]

The Third Church Narrative does not contain a memorial which at or about this time was addressed by the "dissenting brethren" to the Governor and Council. The copy of this memorial which has come down to us bears no date, but it is indorsed "Petition to the Governour and Councill /69," and is in the following terms :¹ —

To the Honourable the Governour and Councill of the Massatusett now sitting in Boston —

The Humble Petition of us whose names are subscribed

Whereas the uncomfortable differences under which wee have divers months laboured, are butt too well knowne of all, to the no small greife of our owne hearts, and to the greatt scandall of religion, which wee hoped would have beene eased and issued, by that remedy which the Lord Jesus hath appointed in case of such a prevailing malady : vizt : the Councill of Churches (concerning which wee att the first professed ourselves willing to acquiesce in, as also did our Elder in the face of the church) who in their Advice declared our dismissal (as expressed) to bee the best expedient for the issue of our then differences, and agreeable to the mind of Christ, since which wee have travailed and with patience waited for itts accomplishment, upon our frequent desires thereof, butt hath beene hitherto denyed us ; yea though some dayes since, wee renewed our motion in writing under our hands unto the Reverend Elders of our Church to promove itt to the church by calling a meeting to that end, yett this endeavour also hath beene fruitles, either as to a church meeting or hopes of ever gaining our dismissal according to the advice of the Reverend Councill ; nor to dismiss us to such a church as wee should desire, nor to have further Advice from sister Churches, ishatt wee ought to doe in such a case ; Butt are wholly shutt upp and deprived (as wee conceive) of that Christian liberty, which Christ hath purchased for his people in church estate, and contrary to the professed practise of our churches our studiousnes to avoid schisme and scandall being improoved against us, as if wee had deserted that cause and interest of truth, which ought to bee dearer to us then our very lives.

Worthy Patrons (in the failure of all endeavours hitherto) under God wee are necessitated to take sanctuary att your Altar, and to implore your aid, as from those who are the nursing ffathers of our Israell, and who by divine appointment are made the keepers of our Libertyes both Ecclesiasticall and Civill, that under your Covert wee may have such encouragement, as that withoutt offence (the numer-

¹ The copy, which, with the signatures, we think is in the handwriting of John Hull, belongs to Mr. Walter Lloyd Jeffries, who has kindly allowed us to

make use of it. It will be noticed that Edward Rawson, who was an officer of the Council, did not sign it, nor did Richard Trewsdale.

ousnes of inhabitants, together with the confluence of strangers calling for enlargement) to build a house for our seasonable assembling to worship God :

And that you will please to provoke the churches unto that duty and help that our condition calls for (that so our greivances (which lye heavy upon us may bee removed) [which] have beene multiplyed since the last Councill, and more especially the ejection of our faithfull Deacons) that wee may doe our duty to God, our owne soules, the churches of Christ and our Posterity.

Wee further beseech you to accountt of us (how ever traduced) as true and faithfull both to the Civill Government here established, and to the professed interest of Christ Jesus in these Churches, according to the Platt-forme of church Government here established, and declaration of the Synod in 62, withoutt any desire of innovation upon either in any measure. Thus craving your Honours candid consideration of our present application to yourselves, and your seasonable releife, wee shall further pray for your prosperity, and that wee may long live under you a quiett and peaceable life in all godlines and honesty.

PETER OLIVER	THO: SAVAGE	ROBT. WALKER
JOSEPH ROCK	JOSH. SCOTTOW	WM. DAWES
JOSEPH BELKNAP	HEZ. USHER	JNO. HULL
PETER BRACKETT	EDWD. RAINSFORD	THEODE. ATTKINSON
JAMES PEMBERTON	JOSIAH BELSHAR	JNO. TAPPIN
JNO. WING	JNO. ALDEN	WM. SALTER
JACOB ELIOT	BENJ. GIBBS	JOS. DAVIS
THEOPH. FRARY	BENJ. THIRSTON	THO BRATTLE
WM DAVIS		SETH PERRY

We return to the Third Church Narrative: —

A motion was made by the Church that deacon Trusdale might have his dismissal from his office because of his many bodily infirmities which passed, giving him thanks for his former faithfull service: then it was moved that all the former deacons might have some appointed to give them a discharge, which allso was voted.¹

The Elder told the Church that they intended to call forth Brother Negus his daughter a child of the Church who had committed fornication, but that she was not well enough to come abroad, it was supposed by this motion they did now intend to shew some Church care towards the Church children.

¹ [The following words are crossed out in the Narrative: "One of the dissenting Brethren desired to make a motion unto the Church, the Elder bad him forbear, pretending it was not a season, but gave him no liberty that meeting."]

Being the saboth day the Elder in the latter part thereof, declared
 28. that now they should have proceeded in the matter of
 Brother Negus daughter, but her mother would not suffer
 her to come forth into the Congregation. therefore the matter being
 soe fowle and haynous, we doe declare her to be none of us, and this
 past without any vote of the Church.¹

The whole Church met in the towne house private, the dissentors
 29: (1) 1669. again humbly desired the Church to give them their dis-
 mission, or to Consent that a Councill of Churches might
 be called to heare the whole Case, and they would oblige to sit downe
 by their counsell and determination, the dissenters then desired of the
 Church that if the Lord should favor them in their application unto
 Churches of the neighborhood, that they would please to give them a
 meeting when they should convene in order of a Councill, the dis-
 senters were often charged with willfullnes and obstinacy and that
 they had not one sillable of rule, but of will.

Then severall Brethren urged for the admonition of the dissenters
 and Mr. Davinport said, he thought that had bin meet to have bin
 done before now, and because it was not, therefore they were thus
 hardned, for he discerned nothing but will as the cause of all, and if
 now they did not hearken he should looke at them as under great
 hardness. One of the dissenters told them if there were but a free
 passage of the just scripture liberty of the Belovd the owning of
 scripture Councill with a decisive power according to the judgement
 of our best Orthodox divines, and the owning and attendance of
 Church duty to the children of the Church he should asmuch delight
 in the Church as formerly.

In this meeting was put to vote whether the church would grant the
 29: (1) 69 dissentors their dismission, which vote was expounded
 both in the Negative and afirmative by mr. Davenport; It
 was caryed in the negative by the lifting up of hands.²

conference being, about the dissenting Brethren desiring of a Coun-
 cill. That also was resolved in the Negative though not
 by any stated vote which they did decline but by personall
 conclusion of many against it both Elders and Brethren,
 as instances some speeches: viz: That to grant a Coun-
 cill tends to overthrow the Congregationall way. That

Assured that
 there was no
 major or minor
 part in a
 church it being
 one intire com-
 plete body.

¹ ["Mary Negosse, the Daughter of
 our brother Benjamin Negosse for com-
 mitting fornication was declared to be
none of us, and *so left till* God shall give
 repentance, on the 28. 1 mo. 1669." —
First Church Records. In this instance
 the church was dealing with a baptized
 child not in full membership.]

² ["On 29 March, 1670, [? 1669] at
 a meeting called about our dissenting
 brethren, the question, whether the
 church see light from the word of God
 to dismiss our dissenting brethren that
 desire it, was answered in the negative,
 unanimously." — *Ellis's History of the
 First Church*, p. 117.]

there was no releife for a greived Brother or Brethren in a church unless the Church will releive them untill the day of judgement and That the church itselfe is the sole and alone Judge (infin[e]) they tooke offence at the dissenting Brethren for pressing for their dismission, and indeavoring to procure a councill, for which both Elders and Brethren did exhort them to repent, with some intimation that otherwise, they should be looke[d] upon by the church, and proceeded with, as those that did harden their hearts, and not harke[n] to Counsell according to God.

The dissenting Brethren met to seeke the Lord to direct and guide them in considering what the Lord calld them to doe in this their present distres, seing the Church was soe pro-^{31 (1) 69.} voked, on the desire of their dismiss[ion] and on the deniall to call in the helpe of other churches, it was agreed to make their request by sending letters to severall churches the copy thereof (as followeth)

Honoured Reverend and Beloved &c :

We cannot but with much greife of heart be waile the sad occasion of this our present application to yourselves, and that at such a time when it is a day of Jacobs trouble abroad in other parts, the Bush on fire ready to be consumed and the Tremendious dispensations of the holy God, in a vicissitude of providences upon our Nation all which calls for the most deep and serious thoughts and sorrow of heart in all Sions lovers, And especially among his outcasts in this Country. Yet as if this were not enough, but that they should be increased by the noise of hammers in a tribe of our Israell the sound where of is gone through the Country viz : The divissions of our Rewben, This as it calls for great searching of heart in us, and is that for which we have cause to lye with our mouthes in the dust, and to be a shamed before the Lord soe fare as we have bin any just occasion there of, soe all soe it provokes us to seek all regular endeavours for the removeing of the same, that no scandall may be layed, upon the Church of Christ for our sakes

What essay for the healing of our differences ; hath bin heither to used proves successles : viz : The result of the late reverend Councill (called by Elders and Brethren) to grant us an amicable dismission in order to the propogation of another church Body among ourselves upon our desire, which advice was proposed by them as the next expedient to an issue of our uncomfortable contest, with our Brethren in the church, and declared publicly by the moderator as meet to be compleated before their procedure to ordination, This advice of the said Reverend Councill hath bin attended by us, who have accordingly severall times moved for our dismission, but in vaine. We are therefore necessitated to make our addresse to yourselves, with other churches as the onely next refuge in order left us by christ in his

word, Assuring you that how ever, we are traduced, yet we are not in the least Alienated from the forme of Government according to Pattent under which God hath soe long blessed this Collony ; But are ready to spend and to be spent for it, according to that sollemn oath which we have taken Neither are we for any other way respecting church order than sollemnly declared from the Scriptures in the Plat-



54

forme of discipline, and the last Synods determination about the subjects of Baptisme, and consociation of churches, nor is there any averseness in us, but a firme resolution to mainetaine due Brotherly love with our church, in all things consistent with what we have professd whiles we are with them, and when we shall be parted from them (as the Lord shall dispose) as with a pretious Church of Christ and much Honoured mother in Israell Honoured Reverend and deare bretheren we humbly againe and againe request you in the bowels of Jesus Christ, that you receive no such reports against us, whose travile of soule is to mainetaine the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace with you, and all the churches of Christ, we humbly beseech you to spread our case before the Lord in your fervent prayers, and to send your Elders and Messengers to meet in Councill at Boston, upon the 13th of Aprill next at 8 Oclocke in the morning, to consider, consult, and give your helpfull advice in our labouring case, and we and ours shall be for ever engaged to Blesse God for you, Thus we commend you unto the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and subscribe ourselves

Your distressed Brethren members
of the first church of Boston

Subscribed by 28 hands of the dissenting Brethren 31 (1) 69

Memento : just as a Messenger was dispatching to Lyn Sallem and Ipswich this under written was brought by Goodman Chandler to Captaine Davis one of the dissenters.

3 (2) 69.

HONOURED SIRS According to the desire of the writer I have sent you this inclosed that (if) upon perusall you judge it expedient you may by some faithfull messenger send it to the persons to whome it is in scribed The busines as he saith requiring a speedy trusty and private Conveyance who also ads, that he shall willingly beare his parte in the charges, I shall ad noe more but commend you to him who is perfect in wisdome and councill take leave and remaine

your affectionate freind

SAM: DANFORTH.¹

Subscribed for my Honoured friend Captain Wm. Davis

¹ [Mr. Eliot's colleague at Roxbury.]

Reverend and Dearely Beloved

We thought it needfull to acquainte you with the present state of the church of Boston which doth not a litle exercise and afflict our thoughts, upon the 2d day las[t] in a Church meeting, The dissenting Brethren wer charged as disturbers of the Church by desiring of their dismission according to Counsill given by the neighbour churches in conclusion it was voted (not to dismis them) with intimation of further proceeding against them if they submit not (as they conceive) the consequences where of are like to be dangerous not onely in the suffering of the dissenters, in a Good cause as they in Conscience judge it to be, but also it will tend much to the dishonour of God and the scandall of the way of those churches as haveing noe meanes to heale breaches and other Evills in our churches, yea to cast aside that ordinance of Communion of churches by way of Counsill, And it will occasion much disturbance in our neighbour churches here upon it was yesterday amongst us thought to be high time for the Elders to Interpose by such reasons as the Lord may helpe us with all to perswad the Elders of Boston to graunt their dismission as the best expedient to themselves. we do not feare to justify that Council for dismission to be regular expedient and necessary. We are here few to appeare in the case, mr. mather cannot travell nor mr. Syms the Elders of the new Church of Boston¹ are not free to appeare in respect of their vicinity, wherefore we earnestly request you to assist us, with your Council and helpe in soe needfull a case, if you would come to Charlstowne upon the 4 day next, some of us God willing, will meet you there, and prepare our thoughts for a conference with the Elders of Boston, after the lecture on the 5th day. If we should not prevaile, yet we shall discharge our Duty soe farr, and discover what need there may be of some more sollem way to be taken in this sad case, thus not doubting of your readines unto this service of Christ, Beseeching the God of peace to tread downe Satan under the feet of the saints shortly, with tender of our love and respects we leave you in the arms of everlasting mercy and rest with desire of mutuall prayers.

2 (2) 69

Yours in the Lord

JO: ALLINE.

JO: ELLIOT.²

Superscribed

To the Reverend Elders of the churches of Christ in Salem, Lyn and Ipswich these —

The church had a meeting upon short worning and private notis given to some of not twenty four hours before the time appointed, Att the begining of it Elder Pen declared the

9 (2) 69

¹ [The Second Church.]

Dedham and Mr. Eliot of Roxbury, and

² [This letter was from Mr. Allin of was written probably by the former.]

Cause of it to be in as much as the time of the Lords Supper drew neer, some Brethren had given offence, That offences might be removed soe as that there might be a comfortable sitting downe, (or words to that purpose) and then he first singled out Captain Davis, and mr. Hull as haveing layed a false charge upon the Elders in saying that they did not desire the last church meeting Captain Davis being upon some publike employment was absent.

Captain Davis
Mr. Hull
Charge[d]

Mr. Hull stood up and pleaded his integrity that he had layed noe charge upon the Elders nor that he had spoaken any falsehood, mr. Stodder, mr. Houching,¹ Lieutenant Cooke and Captain Hutchinson and severall backed the Elders charge And Captain Hutchinson said that Captain Davis and mr. Hull had charged the whole Eldership with a lye, in denying whatt they had declared, mr. Hull stood up and further vindicated himselfe, and desired seeing other Brethren were there as well as himselfe that they might be heard, Jos: Scottow being one of those Brethren and being desired to speake stood up and said, If what he knew to be truth might not be interpreted according as mr. Huchinson had spoken, as charging the lye upon the Eldership he should speake, if not he should choose to be silent, mr. Davenport encouraged him to speake, where upon he did justify mr. Hull speech, soe did Mr. Usher and mr. Bratle, who were present with the Elders at the first discourse it being private []

Elder Pen
charg against
all the dissenters
what rule doth
the Church at-
tend to hold
communion with
the dissenters [if]
not remove the
offence regular

Some of the Church would have wrung something out of their speech to have confirmed the charge, This designe failing then Elder Pen declared, that all the dissenters had given offence to the church by absenting themselves from the Lords Supper, and that they had come to the Lords Supper without giving satisfaction to the Church, but now it was expected that they should give it, and singled out mr. Rawson, mr. Hull and Josh: Scottow.

Mr. Rawson and Captain Savage were spoken unto, mr. Rawson said as to forbearing of the Lords supper it was but once, and occasioned upon what hath bin given in writing to the Elders, which we gave as our reason of our then forbearing And that we looked at ourselves as those in a journey.

Mr. Ting stood up and said that the dissenters action in communicating with the church afterward did speake, that they had seen their errour, and that this was not a time to draw hard upon them, Captain Savage and the others spake (soe as there was satisfaction given on that account). In discourse mr. Rawson spake In case that were true that he had heard reported that at Last Church meeting, viz: that mr. Alline in answer to a Question what releef should be aforded unto

¹ [Jeremiah Houchin. He died April of the second John Endicott, became the 14, 1670. His daughter Elizabeth, widow second wife of the Rev. James Allen.]

Brethren oppressed. that [] there was none untill the day of judgement it was ground enough to call a Councill, there was much discourse upon it, soe as he very hardly escaped without a Censure: This device faylling Brother Abell Porter who had desired once or twice to speake was called upon by divers to speak: — Whoe layed a greivous charge upon all the dissenters, as guilty of scisme and making divisions in the Church, and that it was the Church duty, to lay them under censure, expetially the ring leaders and seducers of others, mr. Stodder desired him to name some of them, where upon he named Captain Davis mr. Rawson and mr. Hull, at whose houses they had often meetings, many of the dissenting Brethren stood up and said that Abell Porter had laid a false charge upon Captain Davis &c: — and therefore desired he might make Good his charge, and said that they were noe ways led by them or any other, Elder Pen proposed that we might all sit downe at the Lord[s] table together and he could pass all by:

mr. Rawson
hard escaped
Censure.

Brother Porters
charge.

Where upon mr. Davenport manifesting great displeasure against Elder Pen for soe speaking declared that he could not sitt downe at the Lords Table with the dissenters, untill they had given him satisfaction which was backt with mr. Houchin, mr. Stodder and others the offence was for absenting from the first Lords Supper. At last they apointed a meeting next fourth day at two of clock to charge the dissenters in a better method than they had done and Captaine Clark expressed it, viz to have their charge written, and to be Commended to the Elder and managed by him, and to be attested by the Brethren, every word the dissenters spake was strained to the utmost, any Brother might charge as much as they would and all very well liked.

mr. Davenport
declared he was
not satisfied
with the dissent-
ers act in com-
munion and yet
not regular in
removing that
offence.

The Councill met at Boston, and Convened 13 Aprill — 1669 —

The humble Apologie of us whose names are subscribed, brethren of the first Church of Christ in Boston, together with the sume of our case for which we have desired the Convention of the Reverend Elders and Messengers of churches in Council at this time.¹

Second Coun-
cills meeting

A councill being called by the first church of Christ in Boston, to give them advice according unto God in reference unto us theire brethren who dissented in their proceedings in calling of teaching officers: and the Answer being given by Councill unto the church being in sume.

first that the mutuall greivances that have fallen out through

¹ [We have corrected this "apologie" by a copy of the document in the possession of the Mass. Hist. Society.]

humaine frailty and temptation of Satan in the transaction of this matter Should be covered with love, and that in case we could not consent with our brethren in the call of officers, nor sit down quietly and submit to the act of the rest therein, that then the church upon our desire to be dismist from them would give us up to the Lord with love and prayers recommending us to the grace of God in order to the propagation of another church to be set up in the town of Boston, according to the rules of the Gospel, and yet so that in the meantime we might have communion with this church or any other.

And the church having after our humble and earnest pressing before the ordination and since, voted the negative unto such, our dismission advised unto, our Consiences continueing still bound to indeavour the obtaining thereof, and restrained from consenting to those transactions of our Brethren.

We have bin necessitated to intreat your respective churches to send their Elders and Messengers to sit in order of Councill to consider, consulte, and advise concerning the regularity of the sayd decision, and our right to injoy the benifit there of.

There fore God having by his gratiouse Providence brought you together: we humbly beseech the advice of you this Reverend Councill concerning the said decision, and our right to the benifit there of, sith that the non observance there of by our brethren hath upon our continueing steadfast in our desires of it, occasioned noe small greife and trouble, from which we could hope for no releif but in our application to yourselves as the onely ordinance of God provided in such cases,

Being bold humbly to signify further, that we have many other reasons in a readyness to present why the decision advised to should be necessary for the peace and ædification both of our brethren and ourselves which we desire if it be possible to bury in eternall silence— Provided that we may have the releif which God in the former Councill hath seemed unto us plainly to provide, without the making mention of them.

Presented with the subscription of the names of the dissenting brethren to the Councill.

the 13: Aprill: 1669

THE 2D COUNCILLS FIRST LETTER TO THE ELDERS OF THE CHURCH
OF BOSTON.

To the Reverend Elders of the first Church in Boston

Itt is not without great affliction of spirit that we have so sad an occasion to meet here this day being assembled as sent from our respective Churches to endeavour a passification among our Honoured Reverend and deare Brethren of this 1st Church in Boston, In order to which we doe intreate the Reverend Elders of this Church to vouch-

safe now to give us a meeting, to obtaine a right and mutuall understanding of Things labouring in this case befor us, to consider thereof, and advice there in as the Lord shall please to direct, and graunt a favorable and Christian assistance and concurrence

RICHARD MATHER

BOSTON 13: (2)^o 69

THOMAS COBBET

In the name and by the desire of the rest of the messengers of the churches assembled at Boston at the time above mentioned . . .

THE ANSWER OF THE ELDERS OF THE CHURCH OF BOSTON TO THE
LETTERS OF THE CHURCHES MESSENGERS. 13 (2^o) 69

We agree to propound the desire of the Reverend Elders to the Church that when they come to a conclusion about our dissenting Brethren, they would be willing to give them the reasons of their proceeding, which we for our owne parts judge to be most agreeable to the congregationall way, if they have any suspicion of any male administration, till which time we can not give them a meeting without offence to the church which we humbly desire the Reverend Elders candidly to Interpret.

This answer was sent without any hand to it.

THE 2D COUNCILS 2D LETTER TO THE ELDERS OF THE CHURCH OF
BOSTON.

To the Reverend Elders of the first Church in Boston

REVEREND SIRs Haveing Received your answer to our letter, wherein you intimate to us your unwillingnes to give us a meeting till the Church hath come to a conclusion about their dissenting Brethren We request that there may not be needless delayes of accepting that our motion now repeated againe and againe, therefore, earnestly we besech you that we may unite in an indeavour speedily and all together to promote a peacable issue of these present differences, for the glory of Christ and the edification of his people in this pretious flock of Christ in the Towne of Boston.

RICHARD MATHER

BOSTON, 13: 2d 1669.

THO: COBBET

In the name and with the consent of the rest
of the Assembly present

THE ANSWER OF THE ELDERS OF THE CHURCH OF BOSTON TO THE
2D LETTER OF THE MESSENGERS OF THE CHURCHES.

REVEREND BRETHREN, The answer was not to the writing which you were pleased to send by Reverend Mr. whiting &c But to a motion made by him or some of them present, nor did I purpose to give you a meeting or Account of the offences given by the dissenting Brethren, when the Church should come to a conclusion, for I doe not

see that you are an orderly Councill, but my true meaning is that when the Church had done their duty to their dissenting Brethren, the Elders would move the Church to send in convenient time, copies of their light held forth for conviction of the dissenters unto your Churches wee cannot meet and act with you in matters that concerne this Church against the expressed mind of this Church.

JOHN DAVENPORT Senior

JAMES PENN.

13: (2) 69

14: April 14th the whole Church being met together to proceed against the dissenters the Councill sent the Reverend Mr. Richard Mather, Mr. whiting, Major Symon willard and Captaine Mason being members thereof with a letter to the Towne house where the Church was assembled, the doore was locked against them upon knocking Richard Taylour came to the doore and returned answer that Mr. Mather &c was at the doore. Mr. Davenport replied tell them we desire to be in private and not to be disturbed, Mr. Allin said Elder Pen had better goe and give them the answer, who went and returning said that the Elders had prevailed with him to bring a letter to the Church from the neighbour Elders Mr. Davenport replied it is not for us to take any notice of it, Mr. Davenport had sundry times moved that the meeting might be put of[f] that they might not be disturbed by the Assembly, these messengers though Reverend Honoured and aged Gentlemen wayted soe long at the doore before they could deliver their message, that Mr. Peter Oliver went to fetch chairs for them to sit downe at the doore, and others of the Church coming and finding the doors locked against them said let us goe home againe, though the letter was at length taken in from them, yet they were not permitted to come in though the Councils desire, and their request was to have delivered it to the Church with their owne hands, but it would not be granted: It was put to the vote in the negative unto the Church whither the letter should not be read and soe it was carryed, the affirmative not being voted: Major Generall Leverit expressed trouble that these Reverend Elders should have no answer returned unto them, affectionately expressing although it was a day of temptation with them yet they should desire to be kept from the evill of it: whereupon it was voted that himself, Elder Pen, Mr. Allin, Mr. Houchin, and Mr. Cooke should goe and have a private conference with the Messengers of the Churches (who were met at Mr. Ushers house¹ to wait the event) who went thither, and upon their returne to the Church it was voted in the Affirmative whither the letter sent should be read, and it was soe carryed, the negative not being then voted, which letter followeth.

¹ [See *ante*, p. 40, note.]

Honoured. Reverend and Beloved.

Be pleased to understand that we are at this time by the providence of God convened under an Ordinance of Christ (wee hope) in observance of the right rules, and in pursuance of the good ends of consociation of Churches, and with a faithfull designe, and sincere and fervent desire to promote your peace and prosperity, In particular having bin called together by letters unto our severall Churches from a considera[ble] number of your brethren (by all due means) to mediate unto a comfortable issue of an uncomfortable dissention which hath bin between you and them and trewly the fearefull apprehension which we have, of a common danger by the prevalency of a spirit of Division in the country especially as it now begins to appeare circumstanced, with many sad and dangerous signes of a Judiciall evill working more and more strongly even unto the shaking of foundations, hath moved us with all readines to take the present opportunity in a regular way to make this interposure, wherein we desire to approve the solemnity, simplicity and sincerity of our soules both unto god and unto you, we are not without a due sense, of our owne personall insufficiency to transact in matters of soe great concernment unto gods glory and his Churches good, but from the consideration of our present publike capacity as Messengers of Churches we have bin incouraged to implore and to expect divine Assistance in de-
pendance upon which alone we have made both our entrance upon and our progres in this our present weighty undertaking, wherein we have been engaged, onely as your servants for Christs sake, not assuming unto ourselves any undue power over you, or presuming to offer any violence unto your Christian liberty, which Christ hath purchased for you, and betrusted you with for the managing of the affaires of his kingdome among yourselves, but onely as your helpers in Christ, to give you the right hand of fellowship for your present assistance, And therefore we doe beseech you for Christs sake, let it not be greivous or offensive to you, that we doe desire, with all humillity and meekenes in bowells of Christian love and charity, In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ to close in with you in this way of Communion, by that great rule of Gospell order directing unto Councell, but let it be very gratefull unto you we pray you, that Neighbour Churches are jealous with a godly jealousy and sollicitous for you with an earnest care of your estate, the safety of which is of great concernement, to the common weal of our Israell: the preservation and promoting of which is the labour and travaile of our very soules, finally therefore Reverend and dearly beloved, we doe by these our letters instantly and importunately intreat you that you will be pleased to admit of us, into your present Church assembly: Now to give us an opportunity of treating with you before you doe make any further proceedure against

Letter of the 2d
Councill to the
Church of
Boston.

1669.

your dissenting Brethren, that we may give you full assurance of our reality in all the premises, by our faithfull indeavours, with all gentleness meekenes and moderation to issue your dissention in such a way as may best conduce unto the preservation of the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace, hoping (that through grace) we shall treat you and be treated by you with that wisdom which is from above, which is pure peaceable gentle and easy to be intreated : confidently beleiving that when you shall be quietly and peaceably settled under the administration of the kingdome of Christ it will be no greif of heart unto you, that we have made this interposition in this houre of your temptation, but that you will hereafter have cause to say, blessed be god &c. The blood of our Lord Jesus Christ which is the bond of the everlasting Covenant is running through all sanctified soules in an indispensable obligation to love peace and union (then which) we have no stronger argument to assure you, that we have you in our hearts, and that we are moving towards you by the present exercise of our spirituall love and charity in this act of Communion, for the deare sake of our dying saviour, under which soule-binding compellation, wee leave you waiting and attending the instant opportunity of speaking with you, as wee are messengers of the Churches now convened.

BOSTON 14 : (2) 1669.

Subscribed by

RICH. MATHER	SAM : TORRY	HUGH MASON
SAM : WHITING	TH : SHEPHEARD	ROG : CLAP
EDM : BROWNE	EDW : BATES	WAL : PRICE
THO : COBBIT	JAMES HUMPHRY	THO : LYND
EDW : BULKLY	JOHN HALE	JO : COOLIDGE
JOHN SHERMAN	JOS. ESTABROOKE	LUKE POTTER
FRAN DANE	ANTI : NEWMAN	JO : HAINES
JOHN HIGGINSON	JO : FRY	HEN : PALMER
WM. HUBBARD	TH : FISHER ¹	WM. WHITE
SAM : PHILLIPS	SYMON WILLARD	JO : SANDLY ²
JO : RAWLINSON		WM. STILLSON

Subscribed for the Honoured Reverend and beloved the Elders and Brethren of the first Church in Boston.

This preceeding letter being read, they voted to take no notice of it, and laid it by, but proceeded to that which they called the worke of the day. Mr. Davenport proposed that they who had any paper of charges against the dissenters would produce them, Elder Pen brought forth a paper called a narrative of charges against them, some being finall against them all that they had ob-

¹ [Probably Thomas Fisk.]

Smedly, whose signature is on the Result

² [This is probably the same as John of this Council.]

structed the Churches proceeding in their election, and had divulged a paper of pernicious queries to hinder other Churches from assisting in the day of ordination, that they had refused to partake at the Lords supper with the Church, and that they had partoke with the Church againe without giving satisfaction, Captaine Davis and Mr. Hulls morall evils for which they were formally questioned and satisfaction given for, were called over againe, Captain Savage was charged for saying that Mr. Davenport left the Church of Newhaven for worldly ends &c. which occasioned Mr. Davenport to labour to cleare himself, that he came not rashly to Boston, but was invited by letters from sundry diverse moneths before the Church sent to him, and that he came not for any worldly ends or advantage, but much to his disadvantage instancing in his farme &c. this meeting broke up and they could not make it to beare against the dissenters. Captaine Savage denying his charge, as to the first it was pleaded to be before the advice of the first Councill and that they judged it no fault in them, and for the rest satisfaction was given for in former meetings and not to be set on the tainter-hookes againe.

The Councill dissolved upon the 16th of Aprill who drew up and declared the result which followeth, advising to all love and amicablenes and that the copy of it should be delivered by the dissenting Brethren unto the Church which accordingly was performed. 16: (2) 69.

BOSTON Aprill, 16th 1669.

The result of the consultation of an Assembly of Elders and messengers chosen and sent in the way and order of Consociation of Churches, upon the regular and orderly sollicitation of a considerable number of the Brethren of the first Church of Christ in Boston to give them counsell and advice (according to God) in a difficult case, concerning their duty in pursuance of the grave advice of a former Honoured and Reverend Assembly of Elders and messengers (called by the Elder with the consent of the Brethren) unto effect given by the said Assembly for the issuing of a dissention in that Church by the peaceable and orderly dismission of these Brethren unto the grace and guidance of our Lord Jesus Christ for the constitution of another Church in order of Communion with that Church of Boston, and all other neighbouring Churches further to Counsell and advise as the matter might require and god direct.

The which result is as followeth.

First we find that there was a momentous difference of apprehensions about the call of teaching officers in the first Church of Boston.

Secondly we finde that the Elder fore seeing the dangerous consequence of that dissenti[on] afore said, (if not timely prevented) and that they could not agree in their choice of officers did therefore with

the consent of the Brethren, according to God call a council of the Elders and Messengers of neighbour churches to meet at Boston on the 5th. 6mo. 1668 — impartially to heare and give their counsell and advice in the case.

Thirdley we finde that the Reverend counsills advice, was, that mutuall greivances that had fallen out through humaine frailty, in the transaction of that matter might be covered in a way of mutuall forgiveness, And that in case the dissenting Brethren could not yet consent with their Brethren in the call of officers, nor sitt downe
 1669. quietly, and submit to the act of the rest therein, that then the church upon their desire to be dismissed from them would give them up with love and prayers to the Lord, recommending them to the grace of God: in order to the propogation of another church to be set up in this Towne of Boston according to the rules of the Gospel, yet soe that in the meane time they might have communion with this Church or some other in the ordinances of God &c: But as to proceeding to Church Censure in such a case as this is they found no rule in the Scripture.

ffourthly We finde no other condition as to the dissenting Brethren left by the counsell in order to that dismission a fore said (excepting the for giveness befor mentioned) but their desire to be dismissed from them; to be given up by the Church to the Lord and to be recommended to the grace of God unto the worke above said.

5ly we finde that the dissenting Brethren did according to the Councils advice, seasonably — earnestly, frequently, and humbly desire of the church the said dismission.

6ly We finde that the grounds held forth by the former Reverend Council for such a dismission were both weighty and such as carried convincing light with them: —

7ly we assert therefore that the first Church in Boston, desiring the Councils advice according to God in that matter before them; and this respecting the non Censuring and the dismission of the dissenting Brethren being a principall parte thereof the church was obliged according to order to acquiesse therein, especially considering that no reasons that we have ever heard of have bin returned from the church unto the council for the rejecting of that advice.

8ly The church of Boston being obliged to dismise the dissenting Brethren upon their desire of it, and that being duely attended as above said by them It was the right of the dissenting Brethren according to order to have bin dismissed.

9ly We finde that not withstanding the desire for their dismission according to the advice of the Council, yett it hath bin denied them by the church which deniall nevertheless, wee conceive doth not invalidate that right which the dissenting bretheren had unto their said dismission.

10ly The regular sentence of a council of churches in order and orderly called by the Church concerned, adviseing to a dismission may (not withstanding that Churches not hearking to it) stand valid and regular as to immunity from censure, And secession from that particular church relation and the Brethren concerned (as if formerly dismissed) may seasonably proceed to unite according to order in Church fellowship by themselves.

11th finally this whole Assembly having unanimously and with one voice instantly and affectionately solicited the Reverend Elders of this Church by two addresses in writting made unto them, for an amicable and Christian conference aboute matters in difference, in order to a right and cleare understanding, And have bin by the Elders plainly and positively denied any opportunity of such conference with expressions of their deepe disgust of our interposure in this way of order, as will more amply appeare by their answers in writing, and also having made their application unto the whole Church (Elders and Brethren Assembled) by our letters wherein we did with all meekness and humillity desire a meeting with them, onely to mediate by all due meanes unto a peaceable issue of their dissenting, have bin also utterly denied by a vote of the church, not so much as to read our letters, we are therefore hopeless of any issue then what we nextly propound.

The premises being seriously considered and consented to by the Messengers of Churches conveined sent to for advice in this matter. Wee judge that the dissenting Brethren may seasonably make use of their christian liberty unto a regular coalition in an other church Body :

first the holy covenant of God binding these Brethren to endeavour after communion with God and his people in all his ordinances Dut. 32 : 46 : 47 : 1 Chro : 28 : 8. Math : 28 : 19 : 20 : As in particular the administration of Baptisme and ecclesiasticall discipline to the children of the Covenant, And consociation of Churches according to the late synod in 1662. which we see not that they are other wise like to obtaine, —if they make not use of this their christian liberty : not to insist upon the danger of seduction in these dayes : in which cases when the matter is too weighty, the Apostle cautions all christians to be ware 16 Romans 17 : —

2ly from the nature of the liberty of the Brethren granted to them by Christ, for their free election of Church officers 6 : acts : 1 : 9 : and 14 : 23 : Ezek : 23 : 2 : which free election is the ground of that affection and subjection due from the people to their minister (2 Thess : 5 : 12 : 13 : Heb : 7 : 17 :) the deprivation of which liberty is reprov'd as injurious by the holy Ghost : Ezek : 34 : 4 : , but with force and cruelty have they ruled them, the just reproch of the prelaticall way of imposing ministers.

3ly ffrom Heb : 13 : 17 : remember your rulers who have spoken to

you the word of God whose faith follow, considering the end of their conversation, whence we argue that the dissenting Brethren if they should not make use of their christian liberty above said, would neglect the duty incumbent upon them of remembreing them which have had the rule over them, (as the Renowned and Reverend willson, Cotton, Norton) who have spoken to them the word of the Lord, in platforme of discipline touching this matter they must not onely doe nothing against it but they are to follow it.

4ly from 15 Acts 37 : 40 : the instance of Paul and Barnabas who departed the one from the other for peace sake in a sharpe contention, and proportion of like liberty of secession to church worke else where may be allowed those Brethren, see more in the Reverend mr. John Allins his defence of the resulte of the advice of the Messengers of the churches convened, 6 August 1668.

5ly Because the doctrine of the churches of this Collony publicly declared from the word of God by the Synod att Cambridge Anno 1648 And approved by the act of the General Court in 1651 And particularly consented to by the Brethren of the first church in Boston, at a Church meeting when they urged the Reverend mr. Norton to give his full assent unto their call of him to the office of a teacher among them the same doctrine holding forth a parity of reason in this case, and that the withdrawing of such members, as are there spoken of, from their owne church in order to Church fellowship, elsewhere, is as if they had bin orderly dismissed thereto from their owne Church, the contrary principles, and practices where unto would Render the (Yea) of such Churches to be (Nay)

6ly ffrom Math: the 6 : 11 : Lead us not into temptation from whence we argue, that these dissenting Brethren if they should not make reasonable use of this their christian liberty, are in danger to be led into temptation (as in case of soe great a paroxysme) the preventing or removeing of which is their duty to endeavor.

7ly Because there is sufficient ground for the use of their christian liberty, above mentioned in cases of Lesser concernment as in case of providing for those of his owne house and cleared in the platforme of discipline — (chapter 13 Section 3 : 4.) in these or like cases a member (much more number of such members) may lawfully remove, and the church can not lawfully detayn them.

8ly Because we see not any rule of Christ, that will be broken by these Brethren in the use of the above mentioned liberty: affirmanti incumbit probatio.

9ly finally the improvement of this their christian liberty, unto such a secession is the most probable meanes unto Edification, and to the preservation of the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace as this case is circumstanced — 1 Cor : 14 : 26 : 2 Cor : 13 : 10 : 4 Eph : 5 :

And now Brethren we haveing laboured according to the measure

of grace received, faithfully to discharge our duty to God, and unto all his people concerned in this transaction, and being likewise under an awfull Apprehension of that account, which we must give unto our Lord Jesus christ our great Lord and master of this our Negotiation, in this great affaire of his Kingdome.

We doe with reverence of Gods gracious presence in his name and feare, — offer you this result of our consultation as the product of the poore prayers and weake (though we trust sincere and faithfull) endeavours of us your servants for Christs sake. We desire to be deeply humbled under the sence of our sinfull weaknesses, and infirmities, appearing in this as in all other services, for God, and for his people which we undertake, we are also through his grace humbly confident of his acceptance of us in this our poore weake service for Christs sake, it is therefore a very small matter for us that we should be judged of man or by mans judgement he that judgeth us is the Lord.

Therefore deare Brethren wee beseech you to humble yourselves deeply before the Lord acknowledging all your sinfull Aberrations that you have bin incident unto in these past transactions, and with all selfe deniall and humillity to seek unto God for a sufficiency of Wisdome and grace, to make a right improvement of this Counsell and advice given you unto his glory and your owne and others good, and to waite upon him for further discoveries of his minde and will concerning your duty.

finally Brethren we committ and commend you to the grace and guidance of him, who is the God of peace that brought againe from the dead our Lord Jesus that great Shepheard of the sheep, through the blood of the Everlasting covenant, he make you perfect in every good worke to doe his will, working in you that which is well pleasing in his sight through Jesus christ, to whom be glory for ever and ever Amen.

SYMON WILLARD	LUKE POTTER	THOMAS COBBITT
HUGH MASSON	JOHN SMEDLY	EDM : BROWNE
ROGER CLAP	JOHN FREY	EDW : BUCKLY
THO : LYND	HEN : PALMER	JOHN SHERMAN
WM. STITTSON	WM. WHITE	FRAN DANE
JOHN COOLEDGE	THO FISKE	WM. HUBBARD
JOHN HAINES	SAM : PHILLIPS	JOS : ROWLEYSON
THO SHEPHEARD	ANT : NEWMAN	SAM TORRY
JOS : EASTERBROOKE	EDW : BATES	JAMES HUMPHRY ¹

¹ ["13. 2m. 69. A great Assemblie of Elders and messengers of several Churches in the Bay, who upon the Call of their Dissenting Brethren at Boston, met together to consider and advise them what to do. They judged that the Dis-

senting Brethren might seasonably make use of their christian libertie unto a regular coalition in another church-body." — *Roxbury Church Records*.

The Roxbury Church does not seem to have been represented in this Council, as

We whose names are subscribed though we were not sent by our churches as others of the Councill to vote therein, yet being desired by our churches to be present at the councill and to doe what Good we could, finding meanes used for mediation to be in vaine we doe approve of this Judgement of the Councill subscribed by the members there of as the next probable meanes for edification and peace.

SAM: WHITING

JOHN HIGGINSON

THE LETTER OF THE REVEREND MR. JOHN ALLIN MEMBER OF THE
FIRST COUNCILL TO THE 2D COUNCILL

To the Honourd Reverend and beloved Elders and messengers of the Churches assembled in Boston. 13: (2) 1669

Grace mercy and peace be multiplied

Reverend and Beloved in our Lord, the Brethren of this Church in Dedham not being convinced of their duty to send messengers at the desire of the Brethren of Boston calling for a Councill, I thought it my duty notwithstanding to give in my testimony to the sentence of the Councill at Boston 5: (6) 68 which will necessarily fall under your consideration¹

And first to remove the uncharitable censure of such as say, we did onely accomodate the dissenting Brethren with neglect of the Church I can truly profess with good conscience (and I doubt not but it will be remembered and attested by others) that our first and cheif care was that the Church of Boston might be furnished with an able ministrie, and considering how difficult it is for soe populous a congregation to agree in one in their choice, Therefore our care was that the dissent of these Brethren might not interrupt the Major part of the Church in seeking after Reverend Mr. Davenport, if regularly they might obtaine him with consent of his Church in Newhaven, and this was manifested by the indeavours of many that were of that Councill to perswade unto their dismissal before the ordination that no objection might be made, yea when that could not be obtayned, we were soe carefull and desirous of the peaceable proceeding of the ordination, that upon the promise of those that now are the Reverend Elders, that if the dissentors would be silent upon that day, their silence should not be taken for consent, but they should stand in the same state they then did, we upon this perswaded the dissenters to silence, and many of us concurred with other Church messengers, in giving the right hand of fellowship to these teaching officers, soe that the names of Mr. Eliot and Mr. Danforth do not appear in the Result. Mr. William Parke, a prominent member of that church, and, then or later, a deacon, seems to have been on the other side.]

¹ [Mr. Allin's church seems to have

been on the other side of this controversy from himself. Joshua Fisher and Daniel Fisher, of Dedham, voted against the report adopted by the House of Deputies in 1671, as will appear in the next chapter.]

if we erred in anything, it was in too much forwardnes to promote the desires of the Church in the choice of officers with neglect of the dissenters, and of the councills sentence which should have bin performed before ordination, or at least some reason given to us against that sentence, to the great disadvantage of setling the peace of the Church and to the losse of the use and benifit of Councills, the truth is we were led on with hopes of their dismission afterwards when offences they lay under were removed, and matters quietly settled, but now being frustrate of those hopes by the late vote of the Church not to dissmisse them, which hath occasioned these Brethren to crave counsell of the Churches, I shall take this opportunity to present unto your judgment, what reasons I have to prove that sentence concerning their dismission to be according to God, and therefore that it should have bin attended.

The Regular sentence of a Councill of Churches in order and orderly called to consult in a Case ought to be observed. But that sentence to dissmisse the dissenting Brethren in order to the propogating of another Church in Boston according to the rules of the gospell is a regular sentence of such a Councill.

And therefore ought to be observed.

Reason: 1: the proposition is proved part from the example of that patterne of Councills Acts. 15: whose sentence was joyfully received Acts: 16:

Objection: Show us such a councill as can say, it seemeth good to the holy ghost and us and we will obey it.

Answer: the same may be objected against most other primitive examples where the Apostles ordered all the affaires of the Churches. 2ly: there were diverse things in the Councill ordinary: as 1 the presence of Elders and Brethren. 2ly disputations and allegations of scripture: 3ly if the matter was carryed by the extraordinary power and authority of the Apostles, why might not Paull and Barnabas being Apostles have determined the case at Antioch:

2d Answer: the sentence of everie minister in his office work rightly grounded upon the scripture is a sentence of the holy ghost, who speaketh in the scriptures Heb: 3: 7: 2 Tym: 3: 16. the same may be said of the sentence of a Councill rightly grounded on the scripture.

Reason 2: because a Person or Church calling for Councill and refusing to observe it being regular, doth highly take the name of god in vaine contrary to the 3d Commandment:

Reason. 3: Because if the regular sentence of such a Councill may be rejected, we are deprived of all meanes under God for healing of differences, errors, scandall, or maladministrations in Churches to the great scandall of the doctrine we professe.

Assumption is proved thus, approved examples of scriptures espe-

cially in the New Testament, are Paternes for the Churches to walke by in all like cases — Math: 12: 39 Heb: 12: 1: 1 Cor: 12: 1: 4 Phill: 9: But that example of Abraham Counselling a departure from Lot, in a case of Contention, was an approved Example, for God gave him a large promise when Lot was departed — Gen: 13: 14: and the case is like to this, they being family churches living together had no doubt neere Communion in the worship of God, yet to end Contentions, parted to the losse of that neere Communion, which is the Case in dispute.

2ly This proved by the Example of Paul and Barnabas, who departed one from another for peace sake in a sharp contention Acts 15: 39: 40: which was an aproved example, at least on Pauls parte who was the dissenter in that contention, for he had an Infallible guidance in the worke of his minnistry Acts: 16: 7. and 19: 21: and 28: 22: 2ly Paul was approved in his departure from Barnabas by the Church of Antioch: who Commended him to the Grace of God.

2ly: That this case of the dissenters is a like case or rather more cleare, appeareth by comparing them in all the substantialls thereof as Are these joyned in memberly relation to the church from which they are to parte; Paul and Barnabas were joyned in a greater and nearer bond of union, Being joyntly seperated by the holy Ghost to the worke of the gospel, and set apart there unto by laying on of hands with fasting and prayer, Acts 13: 2: 3:

2ly This difference and dissent arose upon a like occasion which was the chusing of John: Marke A Good man, a profitable minnister: 1 Tim^o: 4: 11: yea an Evangelist.

3ly The reason of Pauls dissent was because Barnabas determined to take him that departed from them at Pamphillia, and went not with them to the worke Acts: 15: 38: which was one reason of those dissenters in reference to the worke of God at New haven to which also they add another Reason.

from an awfull ingagement upon their hearts about the Exercise of the watch, And of the discipline of Christ to their seed, which was said in the Councill is a matter of great weight (seing to disowne them) as having no part in the Lord, is to cause them to cease from fearing the Lord Josh: 22: 23.

4ly As then the contention grew Sharp to a paroxysme, Barnabas holding firme his determination to take John Marke, And Paul still dissenting on his former reasons (soe he) after long endeavours to unite both parties they held soe strongly to their determinations without councill.

5ly As both Paul and Barnabas in their parting promoted the worke of the Gospel, soe the sentence of Councill was such, as both parties should freely attend the worke of God, in promoting the Gospel and ordinances of God, The Paralel thus cleared affordes this

argument (*a pari*). If Paul dissenting from Barnabas in choice of a fellow minister, in a sharp contention departed from him, and was there in Commended to the grace of God by the church of Antioch, Then by the like reason may the church of Boston, commend their dissenting Brethren for peace sake to the grace of God, for the furtherance of the Gospell, yea the argument ariseth from the greater to the less, in three respects, first in that Paul and Barnabas parted asunder being engaged in stronger bonds of union than Brethren in a church:—

2ly In that these Brethren have a further reason to depart than any Paul alledged.

3ly In that here is an intervening of the Councill of the churches which we read nothing of in their case. — (Objection) But there is nothing said of dismission Acts 15 : and therefore it doth not suite this case.

Answer first they parted asunder, and Paul the dissenter was recommended to the grace of God, which is the substance of the thing here advised.

2ly for the manner by dismission of members we have no Example that I finde in the New testament, what if the church will give way peaceably and lovingly to their departure it might suffice.

objection 2d Paul and Barnabas were equalls, and might depart by mutuall consent but these are under the power of the Church.

Answer. A minor parte of a Church have an Equall right with the major part to consent or dissent in choice of an officer.

2ly The Power of a Church is for Edification and not for destruction, what power have a Church to compell such to submitt themselves and seed to any officer they never consented unto, when they profess they cannot doe it in faith, and what soe ever is not of faith is sin, Rom : 14 : 23 : not onely in things indifferent but in whatsoever, were not this to be Lords over their faith and not helpers of their joy 2 : Cor : 1 : 24 : —

objection 3d. The difference is not such but that Brethren might beare one with another.

Answer Itt is one thing to beare with one of a different judgement, but it is another thing to submitt themselves and children, to a practice contrary to their Conscience a practi[se] of disowning the seed of the Church which was never heard of in Scripture, or any orthodo[x] reformed church till this time.

2d. Reason from the necessity of another congregation in Boston, unto which worke none appeared and these by the Councill, were judged both fitt and able to carry it on a thing frequently practised and even in case of dissention as in the case of Hartford.

objection Those set up a church in a nother place not in the same Towne.

Answer In Cittyes and populous townes Multiplinge of churches is noe just offence, but for Common Edification by the various Gifts of Elders more frequent opportunities of hearing &c :

objection 2d. If there be need let the Church Chuse and send out, whome they thinke fitt.

Answer But that being neglected Providence cast the worke upon these whoe are approved by the Churches, and doe sollemnly professe their soundness in Doctrine worship and discipline with these churches. Deare Brethren pardon my prolixness unto tediousnes accept my will and affection to truth and peace and pray for your unworthy Brother

JOHN ALLIN.¹

DEDHAM 12 : 2 : 1669.

LETTER SENT TO THE CHURCH BY THE DISSENTING BRETHREN WITH THE RESULT OF THE COUNCILL AND MR. ALLINS LETTER FOREGOING.

Honourd Reverend and Beloved Brethren

By the bearers here of we have sent unto you the result of the Honoured Reverend and Beloved the Messengers of the Churches, to whome we saw ourselves necessitated to make an application, for advice and Councill in our present difficultyes, wherewith the holy and

¹ [The Dedham church, as we have already intimated, was not altogether in agreement with its minister in reference to the controversy in Boston, and did not accept the invitation to the council. Mr. Allin therefore, wrote this letter for his own justification, as a friend of the "dissenting brethren." But when his church heard of the alteration and suppression of the New Haven correspondence, it wrote to the First Church, asking for an explanation, and received a reply drawn up by a committee appointed for the purpose.

"At a general meeting of the [First] church on 16 August, 1669, it was voted by the church, that our honored magistrates do draw up instructions for Capt. Clarke to New Haven, that they might declare the owning of the letter sent from them to this church to be a true dismissal for Mr. Davenport."

"At a meeting of the church: on the 20 of August: 69, It was voted by the church that major generall, the elders, with Capt. Clarke, Mr. Stoddard, and Mr. Cooke, do draw up a letter in answer to the letter sent from Dedham Church,

enquiring after the proceeding of the church about a letter or letters from the church of New Haven to this church, and to sign it in the name of the church."

"On 25 Aug. 1669, the church met to hear the letter read that was sent to Dedham; and they did unanimously concur with it, as their own mind." — Ellis's *History of the First Church*, pp. 117, 118.

The Rev. John Allin died August 26, 1671. His wife, Katharine, widow of Governor Thomas Dudley, died three days later. "Mr. Allin was among the chief founders of New England, in its principles of Church and State, and in its elements of character. He was able and faithful as a pastor, indefatigable and patriotic as a member of the Commonwealth, beloved and beneficent in all his relations in life." In Johnson's *Wonder-working Providence* he is thus described: The "humble and heavenly-minded Mr. John Allin, a man of a very courteous behaviour, full of sweet Christian love towards all, and with much meekness of spirit contending earnestly for the faith and peace of Christ's churches." — Felt's *Eccles. History*, vol. ii. p. 483.]

wise God hath seen meet to Exercise us, wee hope we need not to apologize for seeking advice from the Churches, the holy ghost having stiled the church the pillar and ground of truth, nor for ourselves the subject thereof our act here in speaking the sence of our infirmities and submission to the heavenly Orakle, who hath said in the Multitude of Counsellors there is safety, and as to the subject matter of that advice, such hath bin the presence of God with his servants the Messengers of the churches whose character and esteeme is such in the Lords account, as that the holy Ghost hath stiled them the glory of Christ 2 Cor. 8 23: such hath bin his gracious presence with his servants, giving them that unanimity and clearenes in discovering the mind of Christ as that we are not without hope, it may satisfy all concerned, and yourselves much Honoured in the Lord, will with Israell of old, blesse the Lord that there is no such evill found in their Brethren, who stand convicted of no other trespasse than the interprising an Altar of witnes and not of Apostasy, as some have groundlessly charged us with we also having bin desired by the Council to deliver to your Reverend selves (and by you to be communicated unto the rest of the Church) a copy of the advice in pursuance hereof, we doe here present you with a copy of the same as it is attested by one of the Secretaries of the assembly, trusting through grace likewise, that as we have expressed ourselves in our letters of request unto the respective Churches (who sent their messengers hither to give us their Counsell in our labouring case) we shall still continue stedfast, such who are not the least alienated from the forme of Government according to pattennt, under which God hath soe long blessed this Collony, but are ready to spend and be spent for it, according to that solemne Oath which we have taken, neither are wee for any other way respecting Church order, than that solemnly declared from the scripture in the platforme of discipline, and the last Synods determination about the subject of Baptisme and consociation of Churches, nor is there any aversenes in us, but a firme resolution to maintaine due Brotherly love with this first Church in Boston, as with a pretious Church of Christ and much honourd mother in Israell, and whose travaile of soule is to maintaine the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace with you and all the Churches of Christ thus craving your prayers we subscribe ourselves.

Your Loving Brethren

Subscribed by all the dissenters.

The dissenting Brethren sent the result of the Council with Mr. John Allins letter inclosed in this letter preceding by foure of their Brethren who deliverd the same to Elder Pen: upon the same day there was a Church meeting, wherein there was a narrative and paper of charges read, and indeavoured to wave and dis-

Boston the 19:
(2) 1669

19: (2) 69.

owne the calling of the first Councill, and said it was onely by the Elder, and that the Church was not bound to stand to what was written in the letters sent by the Elder to the Churches.

The Elder acquainted the Church he had received a paper from some of the dissenters which had two other papers in it, one of which was said to be the result of that which they called the Councill, they vehemently denied to read them, or take any notice of them till they had proceeded with the dissenters, saying their sending for councill was a great agravation to all the rest, and sending from Dedham to Rowly and not in a strait line &c: but the Lord soe ordered it that they concluded fully of nothing.

4 (3) 69.

Att a Church meeting they read a paper of charges against the dissentors.

First charge was for endeavouring to deprive the Church of its power within it selfe, which Christ had committed to her, By twice assuming power to send to other churches to meet in Councill: the first time without the Churches knowledge, and the 2d time agains[t] their Consent, saying they would declare themselves to a regular judge, implying the church was not one contrary to Math: 16: they required answer to them: the dissenters desired to know whatt connexion was betwixt depriving the church of its power and desiring a Councill. when the charges were read. The dissentors were not permitted to write, though they told them they could not distinctly answer, without haveing the very words of their charges, then the Church desired the dissenters to tell them in what capacity and Estate they looked at themselves to stand in who replied in such state as god by an ordinance of councill [of] Churches had set them before the dissenters gave in their declaration they desired to remove all offences but unlesse they might have liberty to write or have them given in writing they could not doe it.

Third declaration followeth, and was read in publike.

DISSENTERS LETTER TO THE CHURCH.

Honoured Reverend and Beloved

We are covered with shame and confusion of face, in the presence of our Lord Jesus Christ, whilst we doe call to remembrance our past great unworthyness of that Spetiall grace of God, vouchsafed in stating and settling of us under a regular and orderly administration of all his holy ordinances, in a way of union and communion with this Church, unto which hath bin for a longe time continued a powerfull dispensation of that Apostolicall Benediction, grace, mercy, and peace from God our ffather and from our Lord Jesus christ which we pray may be continued and abundantly multiplied.

It is alsoe matter of great lamentation and deepe humilliation unto

us that our sinfull unworthynes hath bin any occasion of the present diminution of that Blessing (at least) as to the more full sensible comfortable influence of it upon our owne soules, we doe therefore put our mouthes in the dust, And humbly submitt unto and beare the displeasure of the Lord, to gither with the rest of our Brethren who have we hope a holy simpathy with us, under that great suffering which doth arise from the evill of dissention and divission, which we feare we have in a way of just Judgment bin left unto, as a punishment of our past unthankfullnes, and unprofitablenes under the meanes of grace, And therefore after the sollem search of our hearts and wayes — having laboured to humble ourselves deeply before God, and to obtaine pardon from him and peace with him through Jesus christ And by the renewed Exercise of our faith, — to obtaine a sencible assurance of our stedfast standing in the union of that one mistical body — We doe humbly and most affectionatly crave the Exercise of Brotherly love and Christian charity with bowells of mercy, kindness humblenes of minde, meekenes long suffering, forbearance, ^{4 (3) 69.} forgiveness, Yea beseech you to love us as Brethren to be tender hearted, and pittiful to wards us, unto the utmost degree of Christian condescendency, in all matters of christian liberty wherein we differ from you, And this we aske of you in the bowels of our Lord Jesus Christ yea this we challenge of you as Brethren by the law of Christ, with confidence of your ready and full obedience unto the new Command of our dying Saviour, this new Comandement I give unto you, that ye love one another as I have loved you, being therefore hopefully perswaded of your tendernes towards us, we pray you to give us leave to give you an account of our present understanding of our owne state and of our duty to God, to you and to ourselves therein.


first although we doe sencibly acknowledge much sinfull infirmity as hath appeared in our late transactions, as we are men and very sinfull men, yet after the sollemn examination of ourselves, we cannot, we dare not to charge ourselves as guilty of any open Publike and scandalous offence given to the Church whereby we are lyable unto the application of any Publique Censure, surely if we could have found ourselves soe guilty we should not presume to have so long expostulated with you about our inocency :

2ly We doe not understand that we have bin soe charged with any such offence, as that we are guilty before the church or that we are under any binding power of the keyes of the kingdome of heaven in the church regularly Exerted.

3ly We doe not understand that the present proceeding of the church hath bin in any way of discipline towards us, but that they have, by concession unto our departure actually disobliged themselves from any other duty unto us, and evacuated that relation which sometimes we had to the Church : And therefore that we are not layed

or left under any regular restraint from the Exercise of christian liberty, and the performance of our part of duty in the observance of the advice of the churches offered, both unto [] and ourselves in a way of order, rather we take your concession unto our Departure as an Expedient offered for the more facile Expedition in the pursuance of that advice to effect by a peaceable and orderly secession.

4ly And finally therefore with awfull feare and reverence of God in whose presence we stand, and in obedience to the power and authority of our Lord Jesus Christ your Lord and ours, unto whome both you and we have submitted ourselves, for direction unto duty in our difficult case in the way of his owne ordinance, that is the way of councill As with a very high Regard and deare esteem of this church we doe humbly declare that we are under an indispensible obligation to obey God, according to that discovery of his minde and will concerning our Duty, which hath bin held forth with convincing light unto ourselves from the holy scriptures, and that therefore we are resolved by Gods gracious guidance and assistance, seasonably to make use of our christian liberty, unto a coalition into another church Body in a regular and orderly way and therefore we doe instantly and importunately beg your prayers and Blessings, and that we may by you, be commended and committed to the gracious conduct of our Lord Jesus in the managment of this great affaire of his kingdome, And we hope the day will declare our worke, soe as that it will appeare that it is not in rebellion or transgression against the Lord, or to turne from following the Lord,

 that we doe interpri[s]e this thing, nor out of any designe to innovate, either in doctrine or in worship, oh God for bid that it should be soe, but it is by a loveing, peaceable, and orderly secession to prevent the breach of union, and to establish the faith and order of the Gospel, in another congregation for the settlement and inlargment of the kingdome of Christ in the present, and we hope in future generations.

Subscribed by the dissenters and
delivered to the church 4 : 3mo : 69.

After the reading of this declaration to the church by their Elder they declared the dissentors to be under great guilt, saying
4 (3) 69. God would in his time looke upon it and requier it And if not in this world yet in another, where the councill could not helpe them, Then they declared they could not Partake with them at the Lords table which non Communion they passed by a vote.

They told the dissenters they were scismaticks and did rend of[f] from the church and that this Councill was not an ordinance of Christ. the dissenters heard them patiently and then humbly took leave of the Church and departed from the meeting.

Here upon the dissenting Brethren applyed themselves by their

letters to five churches, having the approbation of five Magistrates to encourage them in order to gather into a Church body — which approbation followeth.

Whereas Sundry of our Beloved Brethren and neighbours of Boston, having declared their purpose, (by the Lords assistance) ^{Magistrats} to embody themselves in a church way, according to the ^{approbation.} order of the Gospel, and the platforme of discipline owned by the churches of Christ in this place, upon the perusall of the ground of their proceedings, finding their motions in such wise to be justified by the concurring issue of two severall councils

The first where of was called by the first church of Boston, and the latter at the instant request of these Brethren that are concerned here in, we having weighed the case as it hath bin presented unto us with the circumstances thereof

Doe here by declare our allowance and approbation of their proceedings as is above promised Dated in Boston 22 : (2mo) 69.

DANNIELL GOOKIN
DANNIELL DENNISON
SYMOND WILLARD
RICHARD RUSSELL
THOMAS DANFORTH ¹

Although I have not that particular understanding of their affaires as some others, yet upon what I have heard, and out of the Confidence I have of the regular and just determination of the Reverend Councill I see no cause to withhold my consent but rather to approve of their proceedings and give allowance there []

SYMOND BROADSTREET

Your resolution of imbodjng (according to Councill) though it is some what a new thing, and ought tenderly and with all humility to be managed that the name of God may not suffer, yet I finde it allowed by the Platforme of discipline, And that such a thing may be without scisme, and therefore since you have the Elders and other magistrats consent, I shall concur in giveing my approbation to your joyning together in a Church Estate

Your truely Loving Brother

JOHN PINCHON

SPRINGFEILD —

May 10th, 1669

¹ [Mr. Daniel Gookin and Mr. Thomas Council, and Mr. Simon Willard was a Danforth were members of the First member of the Second.]

COPPY OF THE LETTER SENT BY THE DISSENTING BRETHREN TO FIVE CHURCHES¹ TO YEILD ASSISTANCE, BOTH BY THEIR ELDERS AND MESSENGERS ON THE DAY OF COALITION.

Honoured Reverend and Beloved in our Lord Jesus :

It hath pleased the holy God after many birth pangs of that traveling intherest of Christ a mong us in the first church of Christ of Boston to which you are not strangers, to bring forth this as the present jssue of his good pleasure, referring to ourselves in point of our Duty, That we have bin advised by the Honoured and Reverend Council of Elders and Messengers of churches convened (13 (2mo) 69) as is to be seen in their Councill given us (a Coppy where of we send you here in closed) That we may seasonably make use of our Church liberty, unto a regular Coalition into another church Body, whose councill therein we doe looke at, (with due thankefullnes unto him especially whose name is wonderfull &c:) As his voice who hath the Goverment upon his shoulder unto us in this houre of temptation, We in pursuance of that advice having also declared unto our Beloved Brethren (after much conflict of spirit and patient waiting for the churches observance of the advice of this, and a former Councill called by themselves, In both which the truth asserted for our becoming another, distinct church hath not bin followed by the church) our advised secession from them and we hope in such a manner as might become us, with full purpose notwithstanding to hold Ecclesiasticall communion with them as with a pretious, and much honoured Church of Christ, According to the rule of Consociation of Churches, as also having attended whatt other requisit duty we understand to be in Cumbent on us, in order to our more regular proceeding in this weighty undertaking which we are about, thought it most expedient and seasonable to pitch upon the 12th of this 3mo for the duty of our Coalition afore said These are therefore humbly to request your solemn prayers for us, by your asistance of us, by your elders and messengers for our more orderly, and edifying proceedure on that day, vouchsafing to us the right hand of fellowship, as that sisterly relation of churches one to another may require, the place of our Assembling will be at Charlestowne, The Blessed Lord who walketh in the midst of the Golden candelstickes shine upon you, and blesse all your holy administrations in whome we are

your afflicted Brethren in the
fellowship of the Gospel
Subscribed by the dissenters

BOSTON 8 (3) 69

¹ [The churches sent to on this occasion we suppose to have been those of Charlestown, Cambridge, Dorchester, Dedham, and Weymouth.]

The dissenters haveing obtained leave and incouragment under the hands of seven magistrates, And also having obtained the Convention of five neighbour Churches by their messengers and Elders [] the Councill of churches that met upon the 13th day of the 2d mo by the advice helpe and direction of all these, convened as above at Charlestowne then gave up themselves to this great and sollemn worke of embodying into a new Church estate, Though not without sundry difficultyes which the Lord in his wise and soveraigne guidance suffered to assaile them as the opposition of the Governour and five magistrates by a writing under their hand, by themselves brought over and read at Mr. willoughbies house to the church Messengers, And a writing from the Church of Boston sent by five of their members to the Messengers of Churches there assembled. Yet the Lord cleared all rubs¹ out of the way, and graciously Perfected that great worke for them the same day to the comfort of themselves and beholders: The messengers of the Churches being sent for to Mr. willoughbies the following writing was read unto them.

THE GOVERNORS WRITING SIGNED BY HIMSELFE AND FIVE MAGISTRATS
TO IMPEDE THE COALITION.

To the Honoured Reverend and Beloved the magistrats Elders Brethren and Messengers of the churches assembled this day at Charlestowne Sallutations.

We the Governor, and magistrates Assembled, accounting it our Duty by vertu of the trust at present committed to us, to care for the preservation of the peace and order of the churches of Jesus Christ among us according to law. Tit. Eccle: Sect: 11: upon serious consideration of the sollemn transaction this day intended with you: viz: that severall persons which we understand yet to be of the first church of Boston, are about to gather into a Church estate by themselves, we judgeing it to be greatly inconsistent with, and Contrary to the said order of the Gospel doe therefore hereby declare that we approve not of the said transaction at Present, and doe desire and advise that the said proceedings be delayed untill further consideration be had there in.

Governors protest and 5 magistrates against the worke.

RICH: BELENGHAM Governor
SAM: SYMONDS
WM: HATHORNE
ELIAZ: LUSHER
JOHN LEVERITT
EDW: TING.²

BOSTON the 12th: (3) 1669.

¹ [Worcester defines a rub as an obstruction, hindrance, obstacle, difficulty, or cause of uneasiness.]

² [The governor, Mr. Leverett, and Mr. Tyng were members of the First Church.]

THE CHURCH OF BOSTONS LETTER TO IMPEDE THE COALITION.

Honoured Reverend and Beloved in the Lord

We being acquainted the Eleventh day of this month By two of our dissenting Brethren that on the 12th day of the same which is the 4th day of this weeke Itt was the purpose and intention of themselves with the rest of them to gather into a Church at Charlstowne that we might not be wanting in our duty to God ourselves or them we thought it now seasonable to declare our apprehensions therein, How, farr it may prevent sin in our Brethren we know not, That it might is our desire and hope, however we are perswaded we shall hereby deliver our owne soules from the guilt or fruit of any Evill in it, by renouncing participation or fellowship in that action. We doe therefore declare these Brethren who intend an imbodying by themselves to be members with us by covenant, a bond as yet not loosed that we know of, according to God, And that they are under offences to this church which they have not indeavored regularly to rem[ove] and therefore are not capable of such a Coalition among themselves,

JOHN DAVENPORT

JAMES ALLEN

JAMES PENN

with the consent of the Brethren

BOSTON : 11 (3) mo 69.

Superscribed for the Honoured and Reverend the Elders and messengers of the churches assembled at Charlstowne

Elder Pen, Captaine Clark, Captaine Hutchison, Lieutenant Cooke,

James Everill were sent over by the Church with the letter
 12: (3) 69. foregoing who before the meeting gave the Messengers of the Churches a meeting with the said letter ; and all of them publicly spake in the name of the Church (except Elder Pen) to impede the work and made objections against the work of the day, it was replied unto them that there should be consideration had of what they had spoken, the meeting was adjourned about noone for half an houre, when began againe the messengers of the Church of Boston were publicly called for, but none appeared, they being returned home the work then was finished thus this work of God after sore pangs and throws of many prayers and teares labours and conflicts very hardly escaped strangling in its birth, notwithstanding all the midwively care that the good Lord sent in as was then solemnely acknowledged by the Reverend Moderator In the latter end of the day, in the presence of the Honoured and Reverend Messengers of the Churches, Mr. Oxen-bridge being by them desired to returne thanks, prayed God that though the day began in a storme yet that it ended in a Calme, and praid that this infant Church might live to condemne their condemners.

Mr. Oxen-
bridges pray-
sing of God for
the worke.

Being Election day Mr. Davenport preachd, who then did grievously inveigh against the preceding work and all that did assist therein, to provoke the Generall Court against it. vide 19: (3) Copiam.

A writing was put in by Mr. Everill, Mr. Bridgam, and good[man] Grub into the house of Deputies tending to the disturbing 28: of it.

Mr. Davenport in his Lecture sermon did excuse the Churches slownes to dismissee the dissenting Brethren perceiving it stuck with the Country. 30.

The writing above mentioned put into the house was rejected by the house. Goodman Grub and Hollingshead repaired to Mr. Thatcher acquainting him with their offence against him, 2 (4). and desired him to absent from the Lords supper. Mr. Torry a member of the late Councill was excepted against by sundry Brethren in sitting with them at the Lords table, after 6: debate was permitted to partake.

Mr. Street coming to Boston and upon discourse of Mr. Davenports dismission there was occasion for him to informe himself of the pretended letter of dismission read to the Church and how short a letter it was, it became discourse in the Towne that the letter read in the Church of Boston was not the whole sent from the Church of New haven but part therof nor indeed the thing itself conteyned in the said letter. Occasion of the discoverie of the former fraud in concealing the whole letter by leaving out an extract before mentioned fol: 16: 17: 18.

it Being a lecture day Elder Pen appointed the Church to meet after the lecture when met Elder Pen declared it was to remove scandalous reports raised against the Church 17: about Mr. Davenports dismission and the concealed letter.

Mr. Davenport made an offer that the concealed letter might be read, his son was sent home for it but returned saying he could not find it, Mr. Davenport replied though the Church had not heard it, yet above 40 of the Brethren were advised with all who thought it not fit to be read in the Church, it concerned not the Church but related to himself, having in it many mistakes, and injurious expressions which he did beleive were not from the Church but from Mr. Streets misguiding of them to consent thereunto and was to be attributed unto him, and he said further it was done on purpose to put the matter to a period in this church, but as it concerned himself he had answered it, declaring his resolution never to returne unto New haven againe though he had not accepted office here at Boston. no marvell if New Haven Church upon Mr. Davenports letter wrote such a letter which extracted is called Mr. Davenports [dismission].

The Elder then read the letter of dismission soe called as it came from New haven (which was not read to the Church before) Elder Pen and Mr. Ja: Allens extract being read 17: (4) 69.

instead of it, they cleared all the Brethren of the Church from having any hand in it and also Mr. Davenport from any guilt therein (but this was afterward acknowledged by Mr. Allen before sundry Elders¹ at Mr. H V house that in soe doing he had told a falshood) for Mr. Davenport knew the matter and consented unto it, as will appeare by his owne publique declaration insuing: Elder Pen said that what evill was in it, he must take it upon himself, and the Teacher Mr. Davenport replied that he wondered what the Elder should meane by soe saying, for he saw no appearance of evill in it. Sundry Brethren shewed their dislike of it as viz: Cap: Clarke, Mr. Hutchison, Mr. Stoddard, others saying they were sorely troubled that the name of God

Major Leverits
speech in the
Church.

was dishonoured; Major Generall Leverit said there was a reall injury in it to this Church to the Church of New haven and to the neighbour Churches, who sent their

messengers to give the right hand of fellowship, further saying he knew not what self ends they might have who did it, forgitting Davids prayer, let soundnes and integrity preserve mee and that he who beleiveth maketh not hast, and that god needed none of our sinfull shifts to preserve his owne honour; insomuch as Mr. Davenport much pressed for a vote of the Church whither they looked at his dismission valid otherwise his office relation had no foundation, and he would not be accompted their Pastour if he were not soe indeed nothing was valid, sundry saying if the whole letter had bin read instead of the extract, it had satisfied them as to his dismission, goodman Search pleaded it might not be too much pressed, for Jacob got the blessing

let the extract
and letter be
compared fol:
16: 17. 18. and
Mr. Davenports
definition of for-
gery will be
found in the
extract.

in a wrong way. Mr. Davenport said it savoured of much ignorance and malice for any to think that this extract was a forgery, (which was to make a writing contrary to the intent of the author,) this onely left out some superfluities and such things as did not properly belong to it, nor ought to have bin put to it, and indeed he

looked at his dismission to be in their leaving him to give his owne answer, and they resting in what was done, saying the will of the Lord be done, Mr. Davenport concluded with prayer, wherein he much excused Mr. Allen and Elder Pen who had done what they did in the integrity of their hearts, and much complained to God of others, who had searched for haltings, with more eagernes than Laban did Jacobs stuff for his Idolls.

The Elders labouring to convince Mr. James Allen of his iniquity in dealing deceitfully about the letter from New haven, in saying Mr. Davenport was innoc[ent] about that matter, he acknowledged that Mr. Davenport knew the matter, asmuch as himself and his unckle, and that he had sinned in soe saying, this con-

¹ [The word "elders" is erased in the later at the house of Mr. Hezekiah MS. The meeting was held a week Usher.]

fession was made before Mr. John Allen, Mr. Danforth of Roxbury, Mr. Increase Math[er] and Mr. Stoughton.¹

The Church had a meeting pretending to satisfy those who remayned unsatisfyd about the former two letters, at this meeting they put forth all the sisters, not suffering them ^{29:} to be present, as if their consciences were not to be considered in satisfaction,

Mr. Davenports narrative was read as followeth.

when my dismission from the Church of new haven was sent to the Church of Boston inclosed in my letter from my Brother Street sealed up to the Ruling Elder I did not open it, ^{Mr. Davenports narrative read in the Church.} but when the Elder came to mee with Brother Allen I delivered it before him to the ruling Elder sealed as it was, he opened it and read it in my hearing, whereby both they and I perceived that the preface to the dismission was altogether superfluous, yet such as might cause difference, they took the letter away with them to consider farther of it, accordingly when the substance of the dismission was extracted out of the original they brought it unto mee the last day of the week when my thoughts were otherwise exercised, my Brother Allen read what was written, and what he wrote seemed to us to be the true dismission, agreing with the originall signed by Mr. Street in the name and with the consent of the Church of New haven, it was allso said that no wrong would be done to that Church nor unto this, if the extract were read publicuely, the superfluities in the originall being left out, but that some dishonour to the Church of New haven and disturbance to this Church would thereby be prevented, I looked not at myself fit to give advice in this Case it ^{29: (4) 69.} being my owne Concernment but left it [to] them both to satisfy their Judgment, for I was at that time neither member nor Elder of this Church whereof Brother Allen was member but no Elder, Brother Pen was the onely ruling Elder nor did I add nor diminish or alter anything that was written in the Extract, nor came it to my thoughts what was best to be done, whence I neither dissuaded from reading the extract nor perswaded to the reading of the Originall script in publique, leaving events to God, nor had I any hand in contriving framing or penning the Extract as both our reverend Elders have already testified to the Church and whereas some would prove that I had a further hand in it, because my son wrote the extract which was read by the Church this is not a Cogent or sufficient prof thereof, for it was at their motion and desire, that my son wrote not the originall but Mr. Allens extract, which when my son had done, it was still in their power and liberty to make what use of it, they pleased or to have made no use of it, if their mindes had bin altered.

My hope is that as God hath made hereby discoverie of the spirits of many soe that he will issue the whole in giving repentance, unto

¹ [See *ante*, p. 36, note.]

some for their harsh and wrong censures and reproaches; and in vindication of his owne honour, and the name of his servants who did what is done to good ends and in true simplicity and faithfullnes according to their present light in the sight of God.¹

This being read to the Church and the question being put about the cause of reproches spread abroad [the towne?] the vote passed in the Affirmative and the Lords supper appointed to be celebrated next Lords day, the other two Elders made their confession by word of mouth more largely as being more concerned in what was done, soe then Brethren departed well satisfied. and Then Mr. Thatcher came into question, and was after some discourse voted cleare of all offences, and at liberty to come to the Lords supper.

The Lords supper was celebrated, Mr. Allen offered something
 4: (5). towards the satisfaction of the sisters, who had bin excluded last Church meeting, who appealed to God, that what he did was in the integrity of his heart but because there was appearance of evill, and Gods name had bin dishonoured and his ways scandalised he desired it might be recovered, and for his owne honour no matter if it lay in the dirt. Elder Pen consented to his speech: Mr. Davenport then replied, that those who raysed the reports were the offenders, and not the Elders who had done no evill, nor had given any just cause of scandall.

The testimony of many of the Ministers of the gossell in Massa-
 chusets Collony in New England against the scandall
 15: given by the present Elders of the first Church of Christ in Boston, by their fraudulent dealing about the letters sent from the Church in New Haven to the Church of Boston: 15: (5) 1669.²

We being justly offended at the great and publique scandall of unfaithfullnes and falshood committed by the 3 Reverend Elders of the first Church in Boston to the great dishonour of God, the scandall of our profession the reproch of New England and of the Elders in particular, desiring to be found mourners in Syon for the same, and not perceiving as yet any suteable repentance for it, least we ourselves and the Churches in the Countrey should be involved in the guilt thereof,

¹ [In Mr. Davenport's words, when vindicating his own honor, — who did what is done unto good ends — we find an explanation, as we think, of the extraordinary proceedings in connection with the New Haven letter of October 12, 1668. He and his friends made the fatal mistake of deviating from the strict line of rectitude for the sake of "the good cause." How often has a similar mistake been made since, in times of religious controversy! Mr. Leverett's remark may well be pondered by every

generation of religious controversialists, that God needs none of our sinful shifts to preserve his own honor.]

² [The Mass. Hist. Society has in its possession a partial copy of this letter, made at the time it was sent or received, the last third and the signatures being wanting. Comparing the letter as it appears in the Narrative with this partial copy, we have found the deviations very slight, and we have made no changes except to correct two or three obvious inaccuracies.]

if no full and open testimony be given against it, beyond any that we have yet heard of, out of conscience towards God, being awed by that word, neither be partakers of other men sins, keep thyself pure 1 Tym: 5: 22 and that Eph: 5: 11. have no fellowship with the unfruitfull workes of darkenes, but rather reprove them and considering how the Lords name is blasphemed, also in love and faithfullnes to our Brethren, that we may not suffer sin upon them Lev: 19: 17: and as watchmen to foresee the Evill and give ^{15: (5) 1669} warning, doe therefore declare and testify as follo[ws]

1. That mr. Davenport as a gift of Christ for the work of the ministry Eph: 4: 11: 12: was set by the Lord Jesus christ, a Pastor in the Church of Christ at New haven 1 Cor: 12: 28: and therefore such was the right of that Church in their Pastor that neither Mr. Davenport could remove himselfe from them, nor the Church of Boston regularly call him to office with them without some rule of Christ directing the Church to Consent there unto, this is a confessed truth by mr. Davenport himselfe in his printed Apologie¹ page 109. where speaking of his Church in Coleman Street in London being about to withdraw from them into Holland the Church (saith he) I confes might have required me to stay with them by virtue of that rule, Say unto Archippus take heed to thy Ministry which thou hast received in the Lord that thou fullfil it, If they had soe done I purposed to yeild whatever had become of me, Yea I confess the churches right to be such in their Pastor, that being withdrawen if they had sent for me to return to my function promising to sticke by me where in lawfully they might I hold myselfe bound to have returned; Also the right of New haven in him their Pastor as owned by his sollem appeale to God, in publique prayer where in he professed to this effect, that he desired onely to know the will of God as to his staying here at Boston or returning to New haven, and wayted for the manifestation of the Lords will by the returne of Messengers which were then gone to New haven for his dismission, likewise the right of New haven in Mr. Davenport hath bin confessed by the Church of Boston, who notwithstanding any other dark or doubtfull pleas applied themselves by Messengers and letters to obtaine the consent of New haven in the dismission of Mr. Davenport unto them, expressing themselves in a certaine writing that without his dismission they would not proceed.

2ly: The translation of a Pastour from one Church to another being a momentous and solemne act of kingly Government of Christ in his Church, Acts: 13: 1: 2: 3: as it calleth for serious Councill to find out the mind of God, soe it requireth great faithfullnes in the stewards of God that s[and] between two such Churches: 1 Cor:

¹ [Mr. Davenport published his *Apologeticall Reply* in 1636, during his residence in Holland, and in connection with the controversies in which he was engaged there on questions of baptism and church government.]

4: 2: and that in serving the Lord in such part of his instituted worship, it be done in sincerity and in truth Josh: 24: 14: 15.

3ly hence it clearely followeth, that for these Elders in this case to with hold any letters, or any part of them wherein the Consent or dissent of the Church of New haven is made knowne, is an act of great unfaithfullnes and neglect of sincerity and truth, and of dangerous consequence as,

1: To the great wrong of New haven in their just interest.

2. To the deluding the Church of Boston in their proceedings in soe weighty a matter.

3. to raise scruples in mens mindes, whither a Person soe called be inde[ed] their Pastor and his administration be the Ordinance of God.¹

4ly: after the concealment of one letter from New haven that spake their mindes fully, to transcribe also but part of another letter, soe much as may seeme to serve their turne, leaving out about two parts of three, to superscribe this, to subscribe it, set a seale upon it and to date it, and to indeavour to imitate the hand of another in subscribing his name, and thus to produce it as if it were the same letter that was sent from New haven to the Church of Boston, calling it Mr. Davenports dismission, this cannot be lesse than great unfaithfullnes falshood if not forgery. If Doeg concealing part of the truth is charged with a deceitfull tongue: Psal: 52: 4: If Ananias concealing part of the price of the truth is said to lye unto God, how much more to conceale soe much of the truth in soe weighty a Case and of soe great consequence: And therefore we must beare witnes against this practise as contrary to the scripture, the light of nature, to the lawes of all Civill governments even in all civill commerce, and therefore much more in the things of God, who is soe jealous in the matters of his worship, and before Jesus Christ who is the Amen the true and faithfull witnes, It is also destructive to the Communion of Churches by letters, for Churches cannot understand the meaning one of another, where there is such corrupting of letters, and therefore this is a great and scandalous sin:

5ly. to pretend a dismission of Mr. Davenport from a small part of a letter, whereas the other part left out doth argue the contrary, wherein the Church of New haven gives reasons why in conscience they could not give the dismission desired, this is a practise condemned in the scripture 1: Thess: 4: 6: let no man defraud or goe beyond his Brother in any matter: Phill: 4: 8: finally whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report &c. 2: Cor: 7: 2: receive us, we

¹ [In the copy of the Mass. Hist. Society (see *ante*, p. 84, note), the sentence "To the deceiving neighbour churches

called to approve such proceedings at the ordination" follows the words "Ordinance of God."]

have wronged no man, we have corrupted no man, we have defrauded no man : 2 Cor : 13 : 8 : we can doe nothing against the truth but for the truth. Ma : 7 : 12 : therefore all things whatsoever you would that men should doe unto you, doe soe even unto them, had the Elder of New haven dealt soe with the letters sent from the Church of Boston, we suppose those Elders would have deeply condemned him.

6ly That all the 3 : Elders of the Church are jointly guilty of these evils and sins, even Mr. Davenport himself, who doth most justify the fact and himself as having no hand in the writing : Its evident, The matter of fact in concealing one letter wholly, and framing an abstract out of another and reading it to the Church as the whole this is confessed of all three : as for Mr. Davenport it concerned him most to see matters carryed clearely, because he could not in conscience joine to the Church of Boston, nor take office without the consent of the Church of New haven, and therfore not withstanding the deceit, renders him guilty of it, besides he confesseth that he knew of the letter from New haven and of the abstract out of it, as hath bin acknowledged also by the other two Elders, also he called it his dismission, joyned in membership and office upon that very ground, having thereby his dismission from New haven, and was highly offended with one of the deacons for questioning the clearenes of it, and therfore cannot be excused from being alike guilty with the other Elders.

Thus far we have in all plainnes given our testimony against thes[e] deceitfull and false wayes with all due abhorrency against them Psal : 119 : 128 : desiring with bleeding hearts and faces full of shame to humble our soules before the Lord, who hath justly left these Elders unto soe great a scandall : and humbly doe beseech the God of all grace, to raise up our Brethren that are falne by a suteable manifestation of their repentance, to the recovering of the name of God which suffers by it : And the good Lord in mercy through the blood of Christ pardon, and impute it not to any of us nor to the Country : we desire also to looke upon our Brethren with all due compassion and to reflect upon ourselves with trembling hearts, least we also fall being compassed with infirmities, and subject to manifold temptations. Subscribed by.

JOHN ALLIN	JOHN SHERMAN	TH : COBBET .
JOHN HIGGINSON	SAM : PHILLIPS	ZACH : SYMMES
JOHN WARD	THO : SHEPHEARD	JOHN BROCK
JOHN WILLSON	INC : MATHER	EDW : BUCKLEY
EDM : BROWNE	SAM : TORRY	SAM : WHITING Jun
SAM : WHITING Sen		JOHN HALE ¹

Superscribed

To the Rev. Elders of the first Church of Boston.

¹ [“Seventeen ministers bore a public testimony against the proceedings of the three elders of the first Church in Boston, viz. against Mr. Davenport for leaving

Upon the 5th of the 6th moneth there was appointed a ffast, the day before the fast, the Elders of severall Churches sent to the Elders of the first Church of Boston the testimony fore recited together with the letter ensuing.

Reverend and Beloved Brethren &c.

Wee looking upon ourselves as the Lords watchmen, under the ey and observation of God and man, what zeale we have for gods glory, what love to our Brethren and feare least we allso should fall, and yourselves knowing that there are diverse Brethren that have in faithfullnes declared unto you some of those evills, which are justly offensive to your Brethren. It is an amazing thought unto many to think that you should be found and left soe insensible thereof, which hath occasioned us (especially considering there is intended a day of humiliation among you on the morrow) to present unto you this our inclosed testimony against such evills, whereby we desire and hope the Lord will help you to see conviction in the matter, and no ill spirit in the manner towards God or yourselves, If the Lord please to bring you soe as to recover the honour of Gods name, that is blasphemed by your meanes (as we heart[ily] pray) then we have our end, if not (which God forbid) we shall be forced to consult with God and one with another, what the Lord shall require further of us, thus desiring the

his church at New Haven, contrary to his professed principles, and against all of them for communicating parcels only of letters from the church of New Haven to the church in Boston, by which artifice the church was deceived, and made to believe the church of New Haven consented to his dismission, when, if the whole had been read, it would have appeared they did not. This testimony was sent to the elders the day before a public fast. An answer was given, in which the elders deny that the letters concealed would have been evidence of the refusal of the church of New Haven to consent to Mr. Davenport's leaving them and settling at Boston; the church was only unwilling to make his dismission their immediate act. Neither the church of New Haven nor the elders of the church of Boston can be wholly justified. There does not seem to have been that fairness and simplicity in their proceedings which the gospel requires."—Hutchinson's *History of Mass.*, vol. i. p. 248.

We see no reason for the implied censure of the New Haven church in this last sentence. We fail to see in its part of the correspondence before us, any want of fairness or straight-forward dealing. Dr. Benjamin Trumbull says of Mr. Davenport's removal to Boston:—

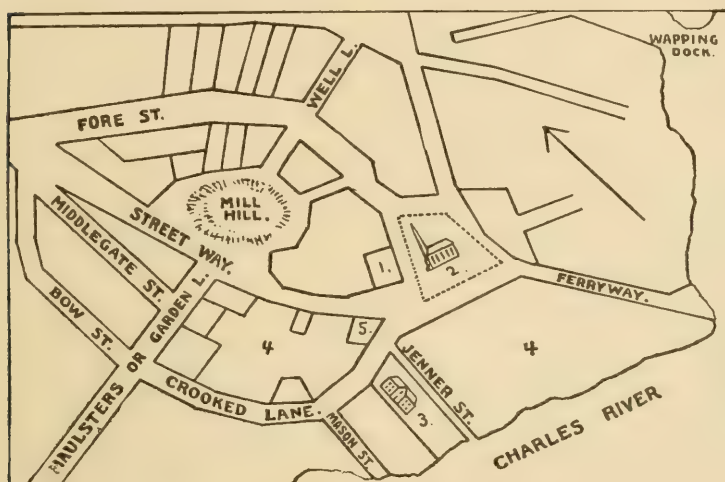
"He had been about thirty years minister at New Haven, had been greatly esteemed and beloved by his flock. This circumstance, with his advanced period of life, made his removal very remarkable. His church and people were exceedingly unwilling that he should leave them, and it seems, never formally gave their consent. The affair, on the whole, was unhappy. It occasioned a separation from the first church in Boston; and the church and congregation at New Haven for many years remained in an uncomfortable state, unable to unite in the choice of any person to take the pastoral charge of them."—*Complete History of Connecticut*, vol. i. p. 484.]

Lord to pardon, and heale those evils and all sharp contentions
among us we rest

Your Loving Brethren

SAM: WHITING Senr.	JOHN HIGGINSON
JOHN WARD	THO: COBBET
ED: BROWNE	ED. BUCKLEY
SAM: PHILLIPS	THO: SHEPHEARD
SAM: WHITING Junr.	JOHN HALE
INCREASE MATHER	

By the letter above appeareth what private meanes had bin used for
their conviction but uneffectuall, Mr. Davenport refused conference
with some of them and would not admit them into his presence.



OLD CHARLESTOWN.¹

¹ This plan of old Charlestown, drawn by Mr. George Lamb, is intended to mark the site of the house (Mr. Willoughby's) in which the third Council met, and of the meeting-house in which the public services of recognition were held, when the Old South Church was formed. 1 shows (sufficiently for our purpose) the site of the "Great House," which was first occupied by Governor Winthrop and several of the patentees, and afterward, until the meeting-house (2) was built,

was used for public worship. 3 is Mr. Willoughby's mansion house, and 4 and 4 show his land. The Waverly House stands on one of these lots, on the corner of what is now Jenner Street. 5 is where Joseph Hills lived.

Fore Street is now Main Street. The Ferry Way is Charles River Avenue. The Street Way is Harvard Street. Middlelegate Street is Prescott Street. Maulsters Lane is Arrow Street, and Garden Lane is Washington Street.



CHAPTER II.

1669-1671.

THE DISPUTE BECOMES A POLITICAL QUESTION.

JOHAN HULL, in his diary, narrates briefly and graphically the proceedings recorded in the closing pages of our first chapter :—

1669 6th 2d Sundry ministers met at Charltown, to advise whether they ought not to apply themselves to the church, and acquaint them that they were grieved and offended at their refusal to dismiss their brethren, and move at their desire, and endeavor to censure them. That day was a great deal of rain.

13th 2d The elders of fifteen churches convened at the request of the dissenting brethren, and sat a council in Boston.

16th 2d Gave in their conclusion. The elders and the church refused all their applications to them.

23d Rev. Mr. Richard Mather, teacher of the church at Dorchester, died. The church of Boston would not let him into the doors, when he, with sundry others, waited with a letter from the council to them ; but the Lord soon opened his way into the church triumphant.¹

12th 3d The third church in Boston gathered or coalesced in

¹ [Cotton Mather, in his *Life of Richard Mather*, says : “ A council of neighbouring churches being assembled at Boston, April 13, 1669, to advise about some differences arisen there, Mr. Mather, for his age, grace and wisdom, was chosen the Moderator of that reverend assembly.

For divers days, whilst he was attending this consultation, he enjoyed his health better, than of some later months ; but as Luther was at a Synod surprised with a violent ‘ attack of illness,’ which caused him to return home, with little hope of life, so it was with this holy man.

Charltown. Six magistrates opposed it, — R. B., S. S., W. H., J. L., E. L., E. T. Eight magistrates encouraged it;¹ and no ministers opposed, but encouraged, except J. A., J. D., and S. M. [James Allen, John Davenport, and, probably, Samuel Mather.]

The records of the Salem church, kept by the Rev. John Higginson,² confirm the statements of the Narrative, and the entries of Mr. Hull: —

On the 3d of the 2d month [1669] was read a letter from the dissenting brethren at Boston, sent unto this Church, wherein they expressed that the result and advice of the Council called by the Elder and brethren the last summer, was to grant them an amicable dismission, in order to the propagation of another church; this advice they had attended, having several times moved for a dismission, but in vain. Therefore they made this address to sundry other Churches, as their only next refuge left them by Christ in his word; professing their firmness to the government, according to the patent, and that they are not for any other way of church order, than that solemnly declared from the Scriptures, in the Platform of Discipline, and the last Synod about the subject of Baptism and consociation of Churches, desiring ever to maintain brotherly love and communion with the Church they desired to be dismissed from as also with the rest of the Churches. They did humbly again and again desire us, in the bowels of Jesus Christ request and desire us, not to

On April 16, lodging at the house of his worthy son [Increase Mather], a minister in Boston, he was taken very ill. . . . So his Lord found him about the blessed work of a peacemaker; and with an allusion to the note of the German Phoenix, Mr. Shepard of Charlestown, put that stroke afterwards into his Epitaph: *Vixerat in Synodis, Moritur Moderator in Illis*. Returning by coach, thus ill, unto his house in Dorchester, he lay patiently expecting of his change; and, indeed, was a pattern of patience, to all spectators, for all survivors. . . . His son perceiving the symptoms of death upon him, said 'Sir, if there be any special thing which you would recommend unto me to do, in case the Lord should spare me on earth, after you are in Heaven, I would intreat you to express it;' at which, after a little pause, with lifted eyes and hands, he returned, 'A special thing which I would commend to you, is, care concerning the rising generation in this country, that they be brought under the

government of Christ in his church, and that when grown up, and qualified, they have baptism, for their children. I must confess, I have been defective, as to practice; yet I have publickly declared my judgment, and manifested my desires to practice that which I think ought to be attended; but the dissenting of some in our church discouraged me. I have thought that persons might have right to baptism, and yet not to the Lord's Supper; and I see no cause to alter my judgment, as to that particular. And I still think, that persons qualified, according to the fifth proposition of the late Synod-Book, have right to baptism for their children.'"]

¹ [In addition to the seven magistrates whose approbation appears on p. 77, there was the deputy governor, Francis Willoughby, who was a friend of the new church.]

² John, son of the Rev. John Higginson, married, October 9, 1672, Sarah, daughter of Thomas Savage.

receive sinister reports against them, but to send the Elder and messengers of our Church to meet with others in council at Boston upon the 13th of April, to consider, consult, and give their helpful advice in their labouring case.

After the reading of this letter it was desired to defer the issue till the Lord's day after, till it might be known from the Elders of Boston Church whether the Church there consented to such a council, or would give them a meeting: which by the Pastor (and others) was enquired of the week following, who brought a negative answer from the Elders. Yet the brethren of the Church generally did agree in this, that there was and ought to be relief against miscarriages in particular churches in the Congregational way. And in the issue by a vote they desired the Pastor and Capt. Price, to go not as members of the Council to vote therein, but to be present at the Council, and so to do what good they could, as they heard Mr. Whiting and Mr. Laiten of Lin Church were desired so to go.

At a Church meeting, April 30, 1669. The Pastor made some report of what was done at the Council, wherein there was a meeting of messengers from thirteen other Churches besides Salem and Linne, and that they applied themselves first unto the Elders twice, and then to the Elders and brethren of the Church of Boston; the 3d time in way of mediation for a pacification, but were three times denied to admit of any conference with them. So the Council considered of the advice of the first Council, and the Scripture grounds of it, and saw cause to approve of it, viz., that the dissenting brethren might have their dismission, and in case the Church persisted in denying their dismission, they might take their liberty seasonably to be a Church of themselves, as if they had had a formal dismission.

On the 16 day, [May,] being the Sabbath, was read in the public assembly, a letter sent from the three Elders of the first Church at Boston, to the Church of Salem, expressing their desires of a charitable construction of their actions, and their willingness to declare the reasons of their actions, when it should be desired. The Pastor declared that the week past the dissenting brethren had made use of their liberty at Charlestown in gathering into a Church body of themselves, according to the advice of two Councils in their case, with the approbation of Magistrates and Elders according to the law, and had the right hand of fellowship given them by the messengers from five Churches,—so he saw not any need of any further discourse about the contents of the former letter at present. So it rested at the present.¹

¹ [*New England Congregationalism*, by Daniel A. White, pp. 76-78.

The records of Roxbury church contain this entry:—

We will now return for a moment to the Third Church Narrative : —

19 : (3) Being Election day Mr. Davenport preached, who then did greivously inveigh against the preceding work and all that did assist therein, to provoke the Generall Court against it. Vide Copiam.

28 : A writing was put in by Mr. Everill, Mr. Bridgam, and Goodman Grub into the house of Deputies tending to the disturbing of it.¹

30. Mr. Davenport in his Lecture sermon did excuse the Churches slownes to dismisse the dissenting Brethren perceiving it stuck with the Country.

2 (4). The writing above mentioned put into the house was rejected by the house.

On account of this controversy, "two parties," says Hutchinson, "were produced, not in the other churches only but in the State also;" and "the whole people of God," says Cotton Mather, "throughout the colony, were too much distinguished into such as favored the old church, and such as favored the new church; whereof the former were against the synod, and the latter were for it."²

Mr. Davenport was, in part at least, responsible for bringing the dispute between the two churches into the politics of the day. In the month of May following his installation he was invited, as we have seen by the Narrative, to preach the Election Sermon, and he took the opportunity to defend his side of the controversy, and to sharply criticise his opponents.³ The

"12 3m 69 The Dissenting Brethren aforementioned, made a Secession from the Church at Boston and gathered themselves into a new church estate at Charlestown, having the approbation of seven of the magistrates and the right hand of fellowship from the Elders and Messengers of five churches."

¹ [These were petitioners, and not members of the house. Mr. Bridgham with Peter Tilton represented Hadley in 1670. In 1668 Thomas Grubb, with Edward Hutchinson, Richard Way, Benjamin Negoos, and others, addressed a memorial to the General Court in behalf of the "Anabaptists," and were admonished for "many reproachful expressions" against the authorities which their paper contained.]

² Edward Randolph wrote to the Bishop of London that the dispute ran so high "that there was imprisoning of

parties and great disturbances." Dr. Wisner thinks that members of the new church may have been imprisoned for not attending the authorized worship, and for setting up a church assembly without permission from the magistrates; but this is doubtful, because the majority of the magistrates, and by far the larger portion of the people, believed the seceding members from the old church to be in the right, and public opinion, we think, would have shielded them from punishment for any such reason. The "imprisoning of parties," of which Randolph wrote, was probably the arrest of some of the members when they began preparations for building, as will appear in the next chapter.

³ Mr. Davenport's text was 1 Sam. xxiii. 5: "So David and his men went to Keilah, and fought with the Philistines and brought away their cattle, and

deputies, most of whom favored the First Church, passed the customary vote of thanks. The majority of the magistrates or assistants, who constituted the upper branch of the General Court, refused to concur in the vote, thinking that the occasion should not have been used in such a partisan manner, and that the Third Church and those who supported it had been dishonored by the preacher. A remonstrance was therefore sent down to the deputies, declaring the vote of thanks "to be altogether unseasonable, many passages in the said sermon being ill-resented by the Reverend Elders of other churches and many serious persons," and the request was made that "they would forbear further proceeding therein." Governor Bellingham, who was in the chair, refused to put the question on sending down this remonstrance, and at the call of his associates it was put by Simon Bradstreet, who himself, a few years later, became a member of the Third Church.¹ The deputies, however, refused to give way.

When the members of the new church took steps towards the location and erection of their meeting-house, the ultra-conservatives, as we shall see in the next chapter, placed every possible obstacle in their way. These men seem to have been strangely unconscious of the general drift of opinion among the churches and in the community; otherwise, after the action of the influential and representative councils in favor of the brethren of the new church, they would have abandoned the struggle as hopeless. But failing, as they did, to discern the signs of the times, they persisted in their opposition, only to make the ultimate triumph of the seceding brethren more signal and complete.

It has been said that just after Mr. Davenport's Election Sermon in 1669 the House of Deputies was asked to consider the question of the organization of the new church, but declined to do so. The public excitement, however, increased to such an extent, and the relations to each other of Church and State were such, that the General Court could not but take cognizance of the controversy. At the opening of the session in May, 1670, the magistrates passed a "vote to heale differences," to which the deputies would not consent, their objection being to the proposal to call "the teaching elders of the churches," or some of them, into conference.

smote them with a great slaughter. So ¹ May 25, 1669. *Mass. Archives*, vol. David saved the inhabitants of Keilah." x. p. 7.

The magistrates Apprehending that it is the duty of this Court by all possible and lawfull wayes and meanes to seeke the Composing of the present differences that are of late increased among the churches of these parts, and as much as in us lye that the stumbling blocks to our peace may be removed: Doe Judge meet that there be a Conference of both houses, referring to those matters. and that the Teaching Elders of the churches so many as may Conveniently be desired to be present to give their advice and helpe as the matter may require.

The magistrates have past this their brethren the Deputies hereto Consenting :

EDW : RAWSON Secretary.

The Deputyes Consent not hereto but are very willinge and ready to attend by all wayes and meanes for the Composure and healinge of any differences that are amongst us So it be in a regular way, and Desire our Honoured magistrates, would please to draw up some meete expedient for the attaynment of the ends before proposed our Honoured magistrates Consenting hereto

WILLIAM TORREY Cleric.¹

12 : 3 1670



Edward Rawson.

The next action was initiated by the deputies, and was prompted by a memorial addressed to the General Court, in the name of the freemen of the town of Hadley and of sundry freemen of the town of Northampton. This paper was drawn up by the Rev. John Russell, of Hadley, a friend of Governor Bellingham,² and evidently at the instance of the latter, for there was no reason why these distant towns should concern themselves in this particular way about the formation of the new church in Boston. The memorial has been preserved in the Massachusetts Archives, and is as follows :—

¹ [*Mass. Archives*, vol. x. p. 287.]

² Mr. Russell was one of the executors and trustees under Governor Bellingham's will, the others being Mr. Oxenbridge and Mr. Allen, of the First Church, and Mr. Anthony Stoddard. He graduated

at Harvard College in 1645, was one of the settlers of Hadley in 1660, and was the minister there from that time until his death in 1692. In 1657 he favored the Baptismal Covenant. Walker's *First Ch. in Hartford*, p. 193.

To the Worshipfull and much Honoured Generall Court of the Massachusetts now sitting in Boston.

It being abundantly manefest to them that know the Lord and doe considar the oparation of his hands, that his carriage toward his churches and people in this Country : hath not bin as in former times the yeers of the right hand of the most High : but that instead of his wonted blessing and lifting up the light of his Countenance he hath shewed us both many signes of his displeasure against and departure from us : which if he proceed to doe then is that fearful woe Hos : 9 : 12 accomplished towards us. The Consideration and fear wherof occasioneth us to present this our humble Enquiry to this Honoured Court viz Whether the rods of God upon our churches and land have not this speaking voice to us that there should be some publike and solemn enquiry what it is that hath provoked the Lord (who doth not afflict willingly but if neede be) against us.

The genuine and tender filiall spirit when it sees the father angry cannot rest without enquiry why it is : The example of that man after Gods own hart 2 Kings [? Samuel] 21, 1 : 2. (as well as others) is a pattern to us : Our owne both distresses and dangers may necessitate us to faithfull and diligent search if there be any Achan or Jonah that may hazzard the Losse and ruine of all.

The finding and unanimous agreeing in what our evill is : seems to be the necessary and first means and part of our turning to the Lord wherby only we can hope for his return (in mercy) unto us according to his wonted loving kindnesse : which that we may surely and speedily finde is the earnest prayer of your humble servants

HADLEY May 3d 1670

HENRY CLARKE

JOHN RUSSELL

SAMUELL SMITH

In the name of the ffreemen
of the Town of Hadley.

WILLIAM HOLTON }
WILLIAM CLARKE } of northampton

in the name of Sundrey of the freemen there
who have had Consideration of the above
mentioned premises.¹

There haveing bin a motion to this Court by sundry ffreemen Inhabitants of Hadley and Northampton, Subscribed in their Names by severall gentlemen and wel disposed persons, and herewithall presented the Contents whereof is of great Concernment to our peace and the Contynuation of the presence of god with us as also removeall of these evills, that have bin and are at present upon us, which on due and serious Consideration, the Deputyes Judge meet, to reffer to the further perusall of A Committee, and to that end have nominated

¹ [*Mass. Archives*, vol. x. p. 286.]

Captain Edw : Johnson [Woburn]¹ Captain Rich. Walderne [Dover] mr. William Parke [Roxbury] mr. Edw : Woodman [Newbury] and mr. Peter Tilton [Hadley] unto whom they desire some of our Honoured magistrates may be Added to act herein and to draw up their apprehensions about the same, and seasonably make returne thereof to this Court, Desireing our Honoured magistrates Concurrence herein.

WILLIAM TORREY Cleric.

13 : 3. 1670

The magistrates have nominated mr. Thomas Danforth to Joyne in this Committee accordingly

EDW : RAWSON Secretary.²

13th may 1670.

Mr. Danforth was one of the magistrates who had given his official sanction to the formation of the new church, and it was not likely that he would be able to agree with his associates on the joint committee, representing, as they did, the majority in the House of Deputies, who were on the opposite side. The result was the presentation of two reports, one signed by the members of the House, the other by Mr. Danforth. In the former, various "demonstrations of the Lord's displeasure against this poor people" are enumerated, "some whereof are more immediately from his own hand, and others more mediately the corruption of man's nature, being through the Lord's judicial hand, made the executioner of his good pleasure." "Those that are more immediate are such as these:" blasting the choicest of the grain for several years; the great loss sustained in shipping, and obstruction to the trade of the country; caterpillars, and grasshoppers of late years, and during the last summer extraordinary floods; God's visitation of the bodies of men with sicknesses, as agues, fevers, etc.; the death of so many of the Lord's servants, the ministers of his word; and sundry prodigious signs, such as comets, earthquakes, etc. "Those that are more mediate are these — contentions, unbrotherly dis-

¹ [Edward Johnson was the chief founder of Woburn, and the author of *Wonder-working Providence of Sion's Saviour in New England*. Although chairman of the committee on the part of the deputies, he does not seem to have written the report that follows. This and the other papers on the conservative side in the controversy are in the handwriting of Peter Tilton, one of the founders of Hadley, and a deacon in

the church there. Whether he or the Rev. John Russell was the author it is impossible now to say.

Hutchinson, speaking of Peter Tilton in another connection, says that he "was one of the most rigid, and was concerned in a paper published about that time, representing the great apostacy both of magistrates and ministers." Captain Johnson died April 23, 1672.]

² [Mass. Archives, vol. x. p. 287.]

tances, such as do seem by a judicial hand of God to prevail among the churches and people here."

The majority report proceeds to specify under twelve heads "some of the causes of these epidemical judgments." It will be enough for our present purpose to quote the eleventh:—

XI. Weariness of the rule and government of Christ in Church and Commonwealth 2 Chron xii. 5. Jer ii. 5. 6.

The effects or consequents whereof are ;—

1. Formality and slighness in the awful and solemn administrations of God's house.

2. Woeful declining from our primitive and foundation work.

3. Innovation threatening the ruin of our foundations, and the extirpation of those old principles of the congregational way laid by so many of the Lord's worthies who are now at rest.

In the third part of the report, some "helps or means" are proposed, "for the removing the Lord's hand, and stopping his displeasure so signally manifested." (1.) The appointment by the Court of a solemn day of humiliation. (2.) Consideration by "all sorts, rich and poor, high and low, of what estate or condition soever throughout this Colony," of the professed ends for which it was planted, namely, to serve in God's holy institutions, according to his own mind and will. (3.) "That our bitter strifes, envyings and contentions be heartily bewailed before the Lord and confessed one to another, and that instead thereof, according to the counsel of the Holy Ghost, Col. iii. 12. we put on bowels of mercies, kindness, humbleness of mind," etc.

The deputies approved of this "returne," and desired the concurrence of the honored magistrates, but they consented not thereto (25. 3. 70).¹

• Mr. Danforth said in his report:—

As to the causes of God's anger, I do fully concur with our brethren in those twelve particulars before mentioned, as to the substance thereof, only in those three things that are entered, as the effects and consequences of the eleventh particular, viz. weariness of the rule and government of Christ, I cannot concur nor subscribe thereto, not so fully understanding what they intend.

He then propounded whether the "weariness of Christ's easy yoke," which had been deplored, did not more truly appear (1) in families, in the governors of them, and those who should be governed; (2) in churches, "by a practical rendering the church

¹ *Mass. Archives*, vol. x. pp. 289, 290, 292.

covenant to be an empty, useless and mere titular matter ;” (3) in the boldness found in many to rise up against the Lord’s faithful ministers ; (4) in a practical denial, on the part of many, of subjection to the government of Christ and his church, and in others, want of zeal against such sinful practice ; (5) in the great neglect of multitudes, old and young, in not joining themselves to the Lord and his people. And he concluded : —

Many more things might be added, but some of the Reverend Elders having taken pains, more particularly and fully to discover both the causes and remedies, and is in a manuscript that may be seen and considered, and will be found of general use if the Court please to call for it, I shall not further enlarge.

Having declined to concur with the deputies in approving the majority report, the magistrates sent down on the following day a communication to this effect : —

Beloved Brethren

Being Apprehensive of the Sad Simptomes of the displeasure of God against us, increasing upon us of late, wee thought it a duty incumbent on us. to make a serious Inquiry into the Causes, by Improoving the best meanes within our power, and for that end proposed to our brethren the Deputies, to make use of the help of the Elders, then assembled at the Election, which proposall was by yourselves waved, yet soone after yourselves mooving for a Committee of this Court to be employed in such a Service, in Compliance with you, wee assented, and after a large time of Consultation returned their result which being Approved by the deputies and sent up to the magistrates for their Consent ; uppon a slender perusall thereof ; (though many things therein represented must be acknowledged) severall particulars therein being less clearely expressed yet manifestly insinuating, if not reflecting blame upon the Elders and a Considerable part of the Country, wee thought it necessary, to desier a cleerer explication in two particulars, which having received from yourselves, wee must professe and declare our greiffe and dissatisfaction to your sence, not owning or knowing of any Elders or Churches amongst us that can be so characterized without Calumny and Slaunder, in many of the particulars, and in others traduced and misrepresented and consequently abused ; and since the receipt of the former we have received a second charging many Elders churches and magistrates with irregularities and breach of order and law in approving the New church at Boston ; in which actings our innocency wee beleive is yet entire, and nothing hath (to our understanding) beene offered to convince of blame : And notwithstanding wee have too much cause to feare that diverse, if they

have not receded from, yet have imbibed other notions than were owned or intended by the first founders of these colonies and churches yet we shal forbear to retaliate, But doe hereby profess and declare our adhærence to the primitive ends of our coming hither, and to the practice of our churches in their purest and most athlettick Constitutions.

Voted by the magistrates to be sent to their brethren the deputies.

EDWARD RAWSON Secretary.¹

26 May 1670.

Appended to this paper was the following proposed reference of the subject to the clergy :—

The premises considered, wee apprehend that wee have all great cause of humiliation for the divisions of our Reuben. yet haveing confidence that there is not so much guilt resting on the churches, nor their leaders as to those innovations that are charged on them, although much cause is found to bewayle the great security and wearines of the easy yooke of Christ Jesus, and unkind enterteymment that is given to the rich offers of his grace in the gospell, Do Judge meet to commend the same as matter of humiliation and bemoaneing ourselves before the Lord, and also to the Reverend Elders to consider thereof and to present what they shall Judge meet as an expedient for healing and remedy, at the next generall Court.

To this the deputies made an addition, as follows :—

Besides those generall evils proposed to the consideration of this Honoured Court, as causes of gods displeasure (against this poore Collony) so signally manifested; We *we* offer to further Inquirye, whether their may not be also sometimes perticular evils of persons standing in a publick capassitie, in Cases wherein they may be concerned or rather concerne themselves unnesesarilye, which may occasion publick Calamitye, — That Instance of dauids numbring the people with the Sad Effects that ffollowed thereupon, and Gideons action in makeing that Ephod and the consequents that Issued from the Same as allsoe Elies Indulging his Sonns in a matter wherein the worshipp of the Lord was so deepley concerned and that dreadfull Testimony the Lord gave against it; all which considered and that we may deale nakedly and Impartially with our one [own] Soules and the Countreye we now represent in such a daye of Searching and tryeing as this is or ought to be we canot but offer the ffollowing Queres to consideration

1. Whether those actions that not only have in their one [own] nature a Tendencye to but doe directly Infringe any of our Church and gospell liberties (given us by god himselfe and granted to us by

¹ [*Mass. Archives*, vol. x. pp. 288, 293.]

the Honoured Court) which we ought to account as our all, be not a provokation of divine displeasure.

our law saith no Companye of men shall Joyne in any pretended way of Church fellowship, Except they have the aprobaton of the magistrates and Elders of the Neighbouring Churches; the meaneing of which lawe we humbly conceive, is not nor cannot in any gramaticall sence be understood, that when some magistrates appeare and declare openlye against the proceedings of any as Irregular, That others that are absent shall abett or Incourage the same before any search or Examination of the case be made: or that Neighbouring Churches not approving the same procedure yet other Churches to approve and carye it on.

that we Inferred is, That which begetteth and necessarily nourishes confusion, breaches disunion and division, cannot be according to any rule of religion or order, and so not the meaneing of the lawe before expressed but rather diametrically contrarye; Setting magistrate against magistrate one church against another, and so a high dishonour and provokation to the Lord.

2. We humblye Conceive it is in the libertye of every Church to Exercise all the Ordinances of god amongst themselves; according to the rules of his one [own] apointment, the Infringing or obstructing wherof we cannot but feare is highly displeasing to god.

That which we offer to Quere and Consideration from the premises whether in a case lately Happening amongst us notoriously known which should have binn regulated by the law above expressed against which magistrates declared, wanting allsoe that aprobaton of New Churches as was meete: all things Considered whether we have not cause to suspect and therefore inquire as being a thinge of so great concerne, whether ther may be no guilt (on any our Civill or Ecclesiastick leaders, in Incouraging and countenancing the same against the professed declaration of others; standing in alike capassitie with themselves) which may if not Searched out become a trouble to our Israell considering the Examples before mentioned.

That we may free our selves and the Countrey whom we represent from guilt, we Judg it our dutye If it might be, to bring any that have binn active in the premises seriouslye to consider of it and to prevent like miscariges ffor the ffuture.

As allsoe that we may declare and leave on record our deepe Sence of such Irregularities; and that the hands of our Honoured magistrates might be Strengthened; and might not dash one against another: and that our Elders might Studdy the uniteing of our poore languishing sickly Churches and ardentlye Endeavour, the preventing and obstructing of all those wayes and thinges that have any Tendencye to division and Breaches.

The Deputyes haveing read this paper Judge meete as an addition

to what is already in Court to Commend to the Consideration of our Honoured magistrates

WILLIAM TORREY Cleric.¹

26 (3) 1670

In their communication of May 26, the magistrates say that they have received a second report from the deputies, "charging many elders, churches and magistrates with irregularities and breach of order and law, in approving the New Church at Boston." This paper, which would seem to have been more explicit in its statements and charges than the report of which we have given an abstract, has not come down to us. Quite possibly, it was destroyed when Governor Hutchinson's house was sacked in the stormy days of 1765. The governor, we think, must have had it before him when he was writing his history; at all events, he has preserved for us a few of its sentences—let us hope, the most pungent and invective—which show it to have been one of the most remarkable papers ever adopted by a legislative body.

Declension from the primitive foundation work; innovation in doctrine and worship, opinion and practice; an invasion of the rights, liberties, and privileges of churches; an usurpation of a lordly, prelatical power over God's heritage; a subversion of gospel order; and all this with a dangerous tendency to the utter devastation of these churches; turning the pleasant gardens of Christ into a wilderness; and the inevitable and total extirpation of the principles and pillars of the congregational way: these are the leaven, the corrupting gangrene, the infecting, spreading plague, the provoking images of jealousy set up before the Lord, the accursed thing, which hath provoked the divine wrath, and doth further threaten destruction.

As we now read the history, it does not occur to us to condemn the "dissenting brethren," and those who approved of their course, for the "usurpation of a lordly, prelatical power over God's heritage," or for "turning the pleasant gardens of Christ into a wilderness," by the baleful introduction of strife, division, and crimination; but in all ages, as we know, the Ahabs have insisted that not they, but the Elijahs, were the troublers of Israel.

In order that there might be no mistake as to the application of the report, the committee, says Hutchinson, "then take notice of the late transaction of churches and elders, in con-

¹ [*Mass. Archives*, vol. x. pp. 294, 295.]

stituting the Third Church of Boston, as irregular, illegal and disorderly.”¹

The magistrates asked the deputies to be somewhat more definite in their “explication” of some of the causes of God’s judgments, and received the following reply:—

To the Answer of our Honoured Magistrates relateing to the deputies explication of the 2d and 3d perticuler of the 11th Heade of the Causes of Gods Judgment

We cannot but with a deepe Sence be affected that such whom we hope Intend the same end yet should so disagree in the meanes or rather the malladye the cause of the Lords Controversye —

Honoured Gentlemen give us leave to maintaine our inocencye so ffar as We have binn active in this so necesarye and momentous a concerne against some perticulers Aserted against us by your selves

1 you say we waved your proposall of makeing Inquirye into the Causes of gods Judgment, and makeing use of the advice of the Elders, To which we Answer Lett but the Bill be perused that was sent downe aboute the Same and our Answer subscribed to it and there will apeare no such thinge but our expressed willingnes to attend the motion

2 you say we Insinuate reflect traduce slander abuse Churches Elders &c: in the thinges we asert and Quere.

we Answer such a spirit Very Ill becomes persons in our present capassitye, but the Searcher of Hearts knowes we have not binn led by such a principle in what we have declared, Neither can we yet thinke uppon a serious search of what we have either Aserted or Querred But the Lord will one [own] us, and Certainly if we will not Search so as to be through, god will in a litle time doe it to purpose: Honoured Gentlemen we are now Casting the lott ffor god, If we could say there was no Achan or troubler in Churches [or] in State Well were it, But doth not the Lord spitt in our ffaces and fforce us to a stand. If we should say all was well in Churches in Elders in magistrates in other Sosyeties as to publick Guilt would not the Lord reprove us and say what meanes then the Bleateing of the sheepe &c: the Groweing ffesteringe wounds of poore New England as to religion both in power and puritye; we Assert and Quere but what we have observed and seene as a ffretting leprosie creeping in uppon Us, and ffor Which there hath binn many prayers and Teares powered fforth before the Lord; let us not be blamed when called by god to speake Our Aprehensions ffor the greatest Interest in the World yours and

¹ Hutchinson’s *History*, vol. i. p. 249. He may have taken the paragraph we have quoted from him from the memorial of fifteen ministers addressed to the General Court of 1671, of which we shall speak presently; but we think he writes as one having the original document before him. Felt, in his *Annals*, follows Hutchinson in his reference to this report.

ours: who I hope can beare with Bretheren of a differing mind; Neither doe we see any reason to be Blamed ffor drinkeing in any notions Contrarye to our primitive and ffirst ffoundations, as not being ever Convicted of the same by your selves or any other;

Voted by the Deputyes to be sent to our
Honoured magistrates

28 (3)

WILLIAM TORREY Cleric ¹

While this controversy between the two branches of the General Court was in progress, the deputy governor, Francis Willoughby, detained at his home in Charlestown by illness, was following it with the deepest interest. Unable to participate in the discussions in person, he wrote a letter to the magistrates, which was pervaded by a beautiful spirit of charity and conciliation. This letter probably made very little impression upon the opposition party at the time, but it reveals to us the amiable, candid, and devout qualities of the writer's mind and heart. After reading it we can easily believe, as Backus tells us, that he was "a great opposer of the persecutions against the Baptists." The members of the Old South certainly can never forget that in the days of its trial this excellent man opened his hospitable doors to receive the council which met for its recognition, and which extended to it the right hand of church fellowship.

Gentlemen

The allwise God seeing fit to lay me under Such a dispensation as by which I am rendered incapable of attending upon you and upon the work that I have been called to, being Confined to my habitation.

Having varietie of visiters Sometimes, and meeting with reports, (how true I know not) that you were making it your work to be Sollicitous to know the Cause of Gods displeasure and frown upon us manifested in those Severall wayes which are obvious to any intelligent spirit; It being hinted to me that the way that's taken does not seeme to produce any good Issue; but rather to beget animosities and distances of spirit one part of the Court against the other, and one person against another; which if true, is possibly occasioned by the misrepresentation of Cases, possibly by prejudices taken up in one anothers spirits, without enquiring into the truth and reallity of things, possibly by some occasion given in some particular cases (we all, being but men, and capable of acting but as men, and so Subject to faile and miscarry in every thing we doe) I take the boldnes to hint the Same and to lay my feares before you that (if things be amongst

¹ [*Mass. Archives*, vol. x. p. 296.]

you as they are rendered, that there should be such distances in your transactions) it may tend to the provoking of God to a further degree of displeasure, and may lay us open to greater Inconvenience both at home and abroad, when it shalbe rumour'd that you shalbe at such a distance one from another ; especially if you should rise and break up Court in such a frame.

As I beg your excuse wherein I may be defective in anything I say, so I would humbly entreat you would look upon your selves not only as men, but men eminently professing the name of God : Consider that the eyes of the world are in a great measure upon us, so that if we doe anything that may prove Inconvenient to our Selves, the name of God will not only suffer exceedingly, but we shalbe as persons without pitty, by how much we if by our pretended enquiry into the Cause of Gods anger, shall divide and break to peeces and bring sufferings upon our Selves, when the Lord by his providence hath prevented its coming by other hands. That there may be differences of apprehension is nothing but whats Common. But our direction in the word of God is that all things should be done in Love ; and if we would doe any singular thing, as we are singular in our profession, Let's manifest it in our endeavouring to Subdue our Spirits, and to carry things an end with that affection and tendernes to the name of God, and one another, that it may appear the spirit of the Lord Jesus Christ is breathing in us. I perswade my selfe your scope and aime is right, and for God : But the way and manner to bring about your aimes may possibly be sometimes irregular ; Let's mind the manner as well as the matter : Let the name of God be most dear and precious to us, above our private animosities and prejudices : Let not Jealousy possess our spirits without sufficient ground and demonstration, and let the demonstration appear to be a Contrivance in way of designe, before we set our selves in full opposition : For it may be upon enquiry, it may either arise from weakness or Infirmary, or from that Latitude which we would give to others or gladly take our selves. I earnestly beg what I say may not be misconstructed ; you know my plainness, if I err in anything Charge it to the account of my love, and great desire the name of God may not be a sufferer by our means : And I doe earnestly beseech you that you study and contrive some way before you break up the Court, to adorne with the demonstration of oneness and affection, that it may appear you all scope at the good of the poor Country : And that you will endeavour to have as good thoughts one of another as possibly you can, retaining the Interest of the name of God among us ; Let it not be published to the world that the Government of New England is broken, and that your animosities are such that tis Impossible for you to agree in anything that may tend to the Saving the whole. Desiring a good Construction may be put upon my broken lines ; and

that you will beleeeve that my scope is publike Interest ; Praying and beseeching the Lord to be with you in your Counsell and determinations, that his name may be gloryfied in all your transactions, with my service hearty tendered to you I rest

yours affectionately desiring the Interest of the name of
God may not be buried, but thrive in this poor wilderness under your hands

FFR WILLOUGHBY¹

CHARLESTOWNE 28th. 3d. 70

In one particular the two branches of the Court were able to take harmonious action. The deputies concurred with the magistrates in the appointment of a day of humiliation to be kept throughout the jurisdiction, as set forth in the following order, in the terms of which the latter seem to have gone as far as they could in their enumeration of the evils of the times, to conciliate the former :—

Att A Generall Court of Election held at Boston the 11th of May 1670.

The Generall Court being sencible of Gods hand upon the Country sundry yeares in divers afflicting providences have been desirous to jnquire into the Causes thereof and amongst others Doe Conceive these following may be Considered : i. e.

A selfish spirit minding more our owne things than the things of Christ and of private before publick good—too much slighntnes and negligence in prizing and Improoving the Government and order both civil and Sacred in church and Comon-wealth—A great and generall neglect of Instructing and Governing the rising Generation both in familjes and churches. A Cooling of former life and heate in Spirituall Communion—too great neglect in some places of a Comfortable upholding and providing for the outward Subsistance of sundry faithfull ministers—too much decay of love to God and one to another and harboring groundles Jealousies accompanied with whisperings backbitings which wayes tend to seperate very freinds—too great abounding of Sin amongst us, as pride luxury drunckenes oppression uncleanes and divers others—these with many other sins that the Lord may upon Inquiry Convince his people of Wee desire may be Confessed bewayled and a thorough reformation indeavored and for this purpose The Court doe Appoint the sixteenth day of June next for a day of humilliation to be kept throughout this Jurisdiction and doe Commend it to the churches Elders ministers and people to keepe the same solemnly and seriously accordingly

¹ [*Mass. Archives*, vol. x. p. 297. Mr. Willoughby died April 4, 1671.]

The magistrates have past this their brethren the Deputies hereto consenting.

31 May 1670

EDW. RAWSON Secretary.

Consented to by the Deputys

WILLIAM TORREY Cleric.¹

It was at this time that the Rev. Josiah Flint, of Dorchester, wrote in his diary : —

A spirit of division, persecution and oppressing God's ministers and precious saints, is the sin which is unseen, and none bear witness against. It is a great sin, and threatens a sword of divine wrath. God's seers fear it, and their bowels and compassions are moved at it.

The next election turned chiefly on the question, Who are for the old church and who for the new? and so strong was the popular feeling against the conservatives, that a majority of the members of the House of Deputies of 1670 lost their seats, and more enlightened men were chosen to succeed them. It was not then required that a deputy should reside in the town represented by him, and this made it possible for several leading members of the Third Church to be returned to the new House.² Thomas Savage was elected for Andover, William Davis for Springfield, John Hull for Westfield, Hezekiah Usher for Billerica, and Thomas Brattle for Lancaster. Major Savage, who had filled the chair in 1659 and 1660, was again chosen speaker.³ A majority of the magistrates was favorable to the new church, and with the ever faithful secretary, Edward Rawson, at his post, its friends were now prepared to bring to speedy silence the carping criticism and calumnious aspersions with which they had borne so long and so patiently.

At the opening of the session, fifteen prominent clergymen,

¹ *Gen. Court Records*, vol. iv. p. 653. On the 8th of September, the Council appointed another fast, "taking into their serious consideration, the low estate of the churches of God throughout the world, and the increase of sin and evil amongst ourselves." It was observed September 22. — *Mass. Archives*, vol. x. p. 17.

² The law of representation was changed in this regard in 1693. Hutchinson says of the bill then passed, restricting towns from choosing representatives from beyond their own limits: "This provision is generally looked upon as a privilege, and a point gained by the

people; but it certainly was occasioned by what is commonly called the prerogative party in government, and, however salutary, was designed as an abridgment of liberty." Samuel Sewall, who had represented Westfield in the House of Representatives, voted for the change, and so did Thomas Danforth, John Richards, Wait Winthrop, and Jonathan Corwin. William Stoughton, John Walley, and Peter Sergeant voted against the restriction. — See *Sewall Papers*, vol. i. pp. 386, 387.

³ He served again as speaker of the House in 1677 and 1678.

indignant at the utterances of the House of the preceding year, united in a memorial in which they protested against them in their own name and in that of their friends, and asked for a reversal of judgment upon the charges which had been brought against them.

This memorial begins with a recognition of God's goodness as manifested in the "transplantation of our fathers in this wilderness," and in his blessing "this our generation with the uninterrupted succession of a godly and able magistracy." It declares that the memorialists have not receded "from the safe and sober principles of the congregational way, laid in the first foundation of these churches by our first sound and sincere reformers," and they utterly disclaim "all spurious principles and practices, as those of separation, anabaptism (anarchical), confusion and licentious toleration, which is no part of our cause, nor of the end and design of the Lord's faithful servants when they followed him into this land." They then take up the specific charges which had been brought against them, and vindicate their course with regard to the formation of the Third Church. They say:—

This solemn profession we make as a vindication of our integrity and innocency from the unjust charge of innovation, which with a loud cry of clamor and apostasy is laid upon the generality of the ministers of these churches; [a significant clause, as showing that "the generality of the ministers" approved of the formation of the Third Church;] which unjust charge we are the more deeply sensible of, because it hath been (if not made and managed, yet) heightened and more confidently and audibly divulged by the common and vulgar reports of the several returns of the committee chosen by the House of Deputies of the last General Court, for the discovery of the causes of God's controversies with the land, and the votes of the major part of the house thereupon, concluding determining and declaring that declension from the primitive foundation worke, innovation in doctrine and worship, opinion and practise . . . are the leaven, the corrupting gangrene, the infesting, spreading plague, . . . and withal plainly insinuating that the ministry are the Achan, the chief incendiaries of wrath and procurers of judgment on the land; as if in casting the lot of God, they were taken, and the accursed thing found with them, giving instance in the late solemn transaction of churches and leders in the constitution of the Third Church in Boston, as irregular, illegal and disorderly, and so a sufficient signal of the whole discovery.

The memorialists further declare that a "sincere and sober

zeal for the glory of God and the honour of the Gospel" emboldens them to offer their defense "for the removal of that black cloud of calumny which is drawn over the churches and the ministry." They then, under six specifications, show the injustice of the sweeping charges made by the General Court against them, and through them upon the churches and ministers of the colony, and add:—

The whole charge savoureth of a spirit under an extraordinary transportation, from a present, personal and passionate concern in the interest of a party, as appears by the instance of the business of the Third Church, and so of a design to scandalize that precious church of Christ, at least to hinder the consummation and confirmation of that work of God, by the peaceable settlement of that church in actual and full communion with all other churches. By a misrepresentation of that weighty and worthy transaction undertaken and managed in a regular way, to an orderly issue, it doth deeply charge and calumniate magistrates and churches, and consequently elders and church messengers, with dangerous design, yea, with a crime of infringing gospel and church liberties, with breach of law, and that in a factious way by abetting and encouraging that which is illegal, . . . thereby loading so great a part of the magistrates, churches and elders with the guilt and scandal of that which they suppose to be the great and criminal sin of the times, . . . and all this before they have orderly inquired into the case, or could have a regular cognizance of the true state thereof, nor acknowledging the many signal manifestations of God's presence and assistance in his acceptance of and blessing upon that work.

Finally, the memorialists lament:—

"How much the Spirit of God in the hearts of many of his faithful servants hath been grieved, how much an anti-ministerial spirit hath been strengthened and emboldened, how much the hands and hearts of many that labor in the work of the ministry have been weakened, how much the spirit of many hath been prejudiced against their instructions, and filled with groundless jealousies and suspicions by the misrepresenting and scandalizing of elders to their churches" etc.¹

The clergymen who signed this memorial were Edmund Browne, John Ward, Samuel Whiting, John Allin, Thomas Thacher, Sr., John Higginson, John Sherman, Thomas Cobbett, Seaborn Cotton, Thomas Shepherd, Samuel Phillips, William Hubbard, Antipas Newman, Samuel Torrey, Samuel Whiting, Jr.

We have said that the composition of the House of Deputies

¹ [*Gen. Court Records*, vol. iv. part ii. pp. 489-492.]

had been changed very materially since the preceding session. The memorialists could not have desired a more full and complete vindication than that which they now received in the reply to their address. It was in these words:—

Upon consideration of the petition of sundry of the reverend elders declaring the deep and afflictive sense of some votes passed in May 1670, in the House of Deputies (upon the return of part of a Committee chosen by the honored Court to inquire into the causes of God's displeasure,) which they conceive to reflect great reproach and scandal on the ministry in general, and that demonstrated by an act referring to the Third Church in Boston, wherein some in particular are characterized as abettors in the constituting that church, and thereby rendered as the troublers in our Israel, and as the Achans, &c., being an act infringing of church and gospel liberties, and the free exercise of all ordinances by churches within themselves, &c., although it must be asserted that the acts of this honoured Court, being the supreme authority, are not liable to question by any, and that free debates are the indubitable right of the said Court, yet, forasmuch as in an hour of temptation such acts may pass in our Court as may, according to principles of religion, prudence and state interest, be reviewed, and upon mature deliberation rectified,—in this case the Court conceives it duty to declare that forasmuch as several expressions in the said transactions have an appearance of the justness of the complaints in the said petitions, and that they may not leave any just ground of grievance in the hearts of the reverend elders, nor their ministry be made ineffectual by that anti-ministerial spirit that too much runs through the country, the Court orders and declares, that the said papers referring to that case are to be accounted useless, and not to be improved against the reverend elders as the cause of God's displeasure against the country, or to be made public. And whereas many have taken liberty in an irregular way to publish the secrets of the Court in that case, we do declare such are to be accountable according to the nature of the fact.

The Court doth further declare, that they know no just cause of those scandalizing reflections contained in the said papers indefinitely against magistrates, elders and churches, either in reference to the new church of Boston or otherwise, and therefore, till they be further informed, must judge them innocent, and unduly calumniated and misrepresented, and do hereby profess and declare with the reverend elders in their address, that we do adhere to the primitive ends of our coming hither, retaining the sober principles of the Congregational way, and the practice of our churches in their present and most athletic constitutions.¹

¹ [*Gen. Court Records*, vol. iv. part ii. pp. 493-495.]

23rd of June 1871

The whole names are here subscribed do desire our
diffents may be entered (according to the Liberties
of Lancashire 22s) being referred to the 22nd of
June have passed in the Affirmative relating to
the Address of the Editors
King and Waldron Anthony Stoddard Richard Bards
Edw: Johnson Edwards Hutchinson John Wray
Samuel Smith Peter Totten Sam Eggo & Wright
Henry Bartholomew Richard & George Humphrey Dore
Thomas Clarko Edo: (Lark)
Dana & Fisher
Oliver Purchas
Joshua Fisher

This action, of course, was not unanimous. Seventeen deputies entered their dissent from it in the following paper :¹—

Boston June 1671

We whose names are here subscribed doe desire our dissents may be Entred (according to the libbertye the lawe gives us) with refference to the Voates that have passed in the Affirmitive this present Court relating to the Addresse of the Elders

RICHARD WALDERN	ANTHONY STODDARD	RICHARD BEERES
EDW. JOHNSON	EDWARD HUTCHINSON	JOHN WAYTE
SAMUELL SMITH	PETER TILLTON	SAMLL WHEELWRIGHT
HENRY BARTHOLMEW	RICHARD COOKE	HUMPHRY DAVIE
THOMAS CLARKE	THO: CLARKE	DANIELL FFISHER
		OLIVER PURCHIS
		JOSHUA FFISHER ²

The Rev. Dr. Wisner, in commenting upon these events in his Historical Discourses, says :—

Thus the new church, and its friends through the colony, achieved a public and final triumph : a triumph to be regretted, as involving the consummation of a wide and pernicious departure from the primitive Gospel discipline of the New England churches ; to be rejoiced in, as conferring the rights of freemen to many who had been unjustly deprived of them, and laying the foundation of all the good to be effected, in the hands of Providence, by this church.

¹ *Mass. Archives*, vol. x. p. 201.

² The following is a list of the Deputies of 1671. We give the names as spelled in the General Court Records. Those who voted against the report are marked in italics, members of the Third Church in small capitals.

Mr Edmond Batter, Mr. *Hen Bartholmew*, Salem ; Capt Jno Allen, Mr Wm Stiltson, Charles Town ; Capt Roger Clap, Left Jno Capen, Dorchester ; Capt *Tho Clarke*, Mr *Antho Stoddard*, Boston ; Capt Isack Johnson, Roxbury ; Capt Hugh Mason, Left *Rich Beers*, Water Toune ; Mr Edw Oakes, Mr Joseph Cooke, Cambridge ; Left *Olliver Purchis*, Lynn ; Capt Jno Appleton, Left Sam Appleton, Ipswich ; Mr Jno Richards, Mr *Tho Clarke*, Newbery ; Left John Holbrooke, Weymouth ; Capt Joshua Hubbard, Hingham ; Capt Timo Wheeler, Concord ; Left *Joshua Fisher*, Ensig *Dani Fisher*, Dedham ; Capt WM DAVIS, Mr Geo Colton, Springfield ; Mr

Sam Dolton, Hampton ; Mr Rich Swan, Rowley ; Capt Richard Bracket, Braintree ; Capt *Richard Walderne*, Left *Rich Cooke*, Dover ; Mr *Humphrey Davy*, Capt *Edw Johnson*, Wooborne ; Mr Elias Stileman, Portsmouth ; Capt Nath Saltonstall, Haverill ; Capt *John Waite*, Maulden ; Left Wm Clarke, Mr Wm Holton, Northampton ; Left *Sam Smith*, Mr. *Peter Tilton*, Hadley ; Capt THO SAVAGE, Andover ; Capt *Edw Hutchinson*, Kittery ; Mr Arthur Angier, Scarborough ; Capt JOHN HULL, Westfeild ; Mr Nico Broune, Redding ; Mr THO BRATTLE, Lancaster ; Mr Tho Fiske, Wenham ; Mr HEZEKIAH USHER, Billerkey ; Mr *Sam Wheelwright*, Yorke ; Mr Wm Sarjant, Gloucester ; Mr Tho Hincksman, Chelmsford.

It is noticeable that William Clarke and William Holton, of Northampton, who signed Mr. Russell's memorial in 1670, did not put their names to the paper dissenting from the report of 1671.

Whether or not we can fully sympathize with the excellent pastor in all the regret which he expresses at the consummation of what he calls a departure from the primitive discipline of the New England churches, and in his estimate of the results which followed the adoption of the half-way covenant, we can heartily rejoice with him in the victory which was gained for the cause of religious liberty; and we see occasion for congratulation to the Third Church, that in this early conflict for freedom and for the right, the honor of the front rank and of the most exposed position was accorded to its fathers and founders.





CHAPTER III.

1669-1674.

ORGANIZATION.

“THE Brethren which came off from the First Church in Boston, New England, and laid the Foundation of the Third Church, partly on May 12. 1669, partly on May 16. 1669 were those underwritten :”¹

William Davis, Hezekiah Usher, John Hull, Edward Raynsford, Peter Brackett, Jacob Eliot, Peter Oliver, Thomas Brattle, Edward Rawson, Joshua Scottow, Benjamin Gibbs, Thomas Savage, Joseph Rock, Theodore Atkinson, John Wing, Richard Trewsdale, Theophilus Frary, Robert Walker, John Alden, Benjamin Thurston, William Salter, John Morse, Josiah Belcher, Seth Perry, James Pemberton, William Dawes, Joseph Davis, Joseph Belknap.

We will give a brief account of each of these brethren, in the order in which their names stand on the church register :—

William Davis : apothecary ; artillery company, 1643 ; free-man, 1645 ; joint commissioner with John Leverett to the Dutch governor of New York, 1653 ; captain of the artillery company, 1664, 1672 ; commander of a company in the Indian wars ; representative. “A man of wealth, enterprise and discretion.” His first wife was Margaret, daughter of William Pynchon,² of

¹ The register of the Third Church opens with this heading.

² For a sketch of William Pynchon, see *Andover Review* for September, 1886.

Springfield; his second, Huldah, daughter of the Rev. Zechariah Symmes, of Charlestown, was living in 1670, but died before the wives of the seceding brethren gained admittance to the new church. William Davis died May 24, 1676.

Hezekiah Usher: merchant, bookseller; member of the artillery company; representative. "He was agent for the Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Indians; and it was through him that types and paper were procured, by which Green, at Cambridge, printed the great Indian Bible in 1660-63." He went to London for this purpose in the winter of 1657-58. His second wife, Elizabeth, was a daughter of the Rev. Zechariah Symmes. She died while the church standing of the wives of the dissenting brethren was in a state of suspense. His third wife, Mary, daughter of William Alford, became a member of the Third Church in 1675, and after his death, in 1676, married the Rev. Samuel Nowell. His son, Hezekiah, married Bridget, widow of the Rev. Leonard Hoar.

John Hull: silversmith, mint-master, and treasurer of the colony; captain of the artillery company, 1671, 1678; assistant, 1680 to 1685.¹ His wife, Judith, was a daughter of Edmund Quincy, the emigrant. Their only child, Hannah, married Samuel Sewall in 1675. John Hull died in 1683. Mrs. Hull became a member of the Third Church in 1674, and died in 1695.

Edward Raynsford: came in the fleet with Winthrop; a brother of Lord Chief Justice Raynsford, the immediate successor of Sir Matthew Hale;² "one of the substantial men in the town, and is often mentioned in its history;" deacon in the First Church. His wife, Elizabeth, and his daughter, Ranis,

¹ Cotton Mather, in his *Life of the Rev. John Wilson*, says: "Beholding a young man, extraordinarily dutiful in all possible ways of being serviceable, unto his aged mother, then weak in body, and poor in estate, he [Mr. Wilson] declared unto some of his family what he had beheld; adding therewithal, I charge you to take notice of what I say; John Hull (for that was his name) shall grow rich, and live to do God good service in his generation! It came to pass accordingly, that this exemplary person, became a very rich, as well as emphatically a good man, and afterwards died a magistrate of the colony."

² Lord Campbell says of Sir Richard Raynsford: "He was a man of good family, fair estate, decent character, and agreeable manners, with a sufficient portion of understanding and learning to keep him above contempt. Descended from the Raynsfords of Raynsford, in the county of Lancaster, he was of a branch of the family settled at Dullington, in Northamptonshire. His relations were strong Cavaliers, and he himself entertained in his heart a thorough hatred of Roundheads." According to Hull, he was a bitter enemy of the latter. He became lord chief justice in 1676, and was succeeded by the infamous Scroggs.

wife of Josiah Belcher, became members of the Third Church in 1674. He died in 1680. "An island in the harbor still preserves in its name the record of his former ownership." His wife died in 1688.

Peter Brackett: artillery company, 1648; representative for several years for Braintree, and afterward for Scarborough. His last wife, Mary, widow of the first Nathaniel Williams, became a member of the Third Church in 1674. He died in 1688.

Jacob Eliot: son of the first Jacob, who was brother of the Rev. John Eliot, "the Apostle to the Indians;" "captain, in high esteem;" selectman; deacon for a short time in the First Church, in which his father had been ruling elder. He married Mary (Powell), widow of William Wilcox; she became a member of the new church, with the wives of the seceding brethren, in 1674. He died in 1693. She survived until 1707.

Peter Oliver: son of Thomas Oliver, who came to New England in 1631, and was ruling elder in the First Church from 1632 until his death in 1657. Peter Oliver was an eminent merchant; he was chosen captain of the artillery company in 1669, when the excitement about the new church was at its height. He died April 11, 1670, — the first on the long roll of the Old South membership to enter into the fellowship of the "church of the firstborn" above. His wife, Sarah, daughter of John Newdigate, became a member of the Third Church in 1674, and died in 1692.

Thomas Brattle: merchant; representative; one of the wealthiest men of the day. His son, Thomas, who owned the covenant in 1680, was treasurer of Harvard College from 1693 to 1713. His wife, Elizabeth, was daughter of William Tyng; she joined the new church in 1672. He died April 5, 1683. Mrs. Brattle died very suddenly, at the marriage of Daniel Quincy and Anna Shepard, which was solemnized at her house, November 9, 1682.¹

Edward Rawson: came to New England in 1637, and settled in Newbury, where he was chosen town clerk and representative; removed to Boston, 1650,² and was secretary of the colony from that year until 1686. He was the agent in New England

¹ The Old South has in its possession the tombstone of Ann, or Anna, Quincy, sister of Daniel Quincy, mentioned in the text. She died at the house of her uncle (by marriage), John Hull, Sept. 3, 1676.

² Edward Rawson sold land in Newburyport, in 1651, to William Pillsbury, to whose descendants it still belongs. The house now standing on it, No. 265 High Street, was built in 1700.

for the first Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, from 1651 perhaps until his death. He died August 27, 1693. His mother, Margaret, was a sister of the Rev. John Wilson, first minister of the First Church. His wife, Rachel, became a member of the Third Church in 1674, and died in 1677.

Joshua Scottow: came from England¹ with his mother, Thomasine Scottow, who joined the First Church in 1634; ensign in the artillery company in 1657; captain in the militia; a merchant of high standing; a great proprietor, after Philip's war, at Scarborough, where he was captain of the garrison and magistrate. He died in 1698.² His wife, Lydia, and his five daughters, Elizabeth, Lydia, Rebecca, Sarah, and Mary, became members of the Third Church.³

Benjamin Gibbs: merchant; artillery company, 1666; captain in Philip's war. He married Lydia, daughter of Joshua Scottow; after his death, she became the wife of Anthony Checkley, merchant and attorney-general, and, later, of William Colman.

Thomas Savage: born in Taunton, Somerset, England. Came to Boston in the Planter in 1635, at the age of twenty-seven.⁴ He married, in 1637, Faith, daughter of William and Ann Hutchinson, and, as was natural, he became an earnest follower of Mrs. Hutchinson, and of her brother-in-law, the Rev. John Wheelwright. He was one of those who were ordered by the General Court, November 20, 1637, to surrender their arms,⁵

¹ Mr. Scottow came from the east coast of England, probably from Norfolk. Scothowe signifies "the lot or portion on the hill," and this describes the little Norfolk village which, six or seven hundred years ago, gave its name to the family of De Scottowes, who were the lords of the manor there, and patrons of the living.

² The tombstones of Joshua Scottow and John Alden have recently been placed in the portico of the present meeting-house of the Old South, in Boylston Street, and on Sunday evening, October 26, 1884, addresses were made, which have been published, giving an account of these and other prominent members of the church in the past.

³ Thomas Scottow, son of Joshua, graduated at Harvard College in 1677. In his will he called himself a "chirur-

geon." He lived in Scarborough for some years, and a letter of his, calling for reinforcements against the Indians, dated September 26, 1689, and addressed to Benjamin Church, is in the *Mass. Archives*. He made his will in London, November 14, 1698, and it was proved there September 4, 1699.

⁴ In the *Historical Catalogue of the Old South Church*—following Dr. Wisner—Thomas Savage, Jr., instead of his father, is named as one of the founders.

⁵ The entire membership of the First Church, with the exception of Mr. Wilson, Governor Winthrop, and a few others, were in sympathy with Mrs. Hutchinson. Four of those who were disarmed under the order of 1637 lived to be founders of the Third Church,—Edward Raynsford, Thomas Savage, John Sanford, and William Salter. The fathers of Peter Oliver

and he joined William Coddington and others in the purchase of Rhode Island, removing thither in 1638, but returning to Boston after a few months. From this time he was almost constantly in public office, and was especially prominent in the military affairs of the town. He was one of the original members of the artillery company, and five times was chosen its captain. "Representative, speaker, assistant, noted as a stanch soldier," says his descendant, Mr. James Savage.¹ His first wife died in 1652, and in the same year he married Mary, one of the numerous daughters of the excellent minister of Charlestown, Mr. Symmes. She came into the membership of the new church in 1674. Her second husband was Anthony Stoddard, who died in 1687; she survived until 1710.

Joseph Rock: freeman, 1652; merchant. He married Elizabeth, daughter of John Coggan, who brought him a good estate. She became a member of the Third Church in 1674. His second wife, Mary, was a daughter of the Rev. John Wilson, of the First Church, and widow of the Rev. Samuel Danforth, of Roxbury. Joseph Rock died in 1683 or 1684.

Theodore Atkinson: felt-maker; came from England with John Newdigate; artillery company, 1644; he died in 1701. His second wife, Mary, daughter of the Rev. John Wheelwright, and widow of Edward Lyde, joined the Third Church in 1673, and died in 1712. Her sister, Hannah, was the first wife of Anthony Checkley.

John Wing: son of Robert Wing, who came in the Francis, 1634; artillery company, 1671, and captain, 1693. "He was a very thrifty man," and owned a good deal of real estate "near the midst of the town." He died in 1703. His wife, Jehosheba, daughter of James Davis, joined the Third Church in 1670.

Richard Trewsdale: called, on joining the First Church, 1634, "servant to our teacher, John Cotton;" butcher; freeman, 1635; was chosen deacon in the First Church in 1650.² He

and Jacob Eliot were also among the proscribed members, in what has been called the New England *coup d'état*.

¹ Thomas Savage and Jeremiah Houchin were delegates from the First Church to the Synod of 1662, together with the elders.

² The Trewsdales were a family of respectability in Lincolnshire. In 1309, when the first stone of the steeple of St. Botolph's Church was laid, there was,

according to Stukeley, a "Sir John Truesdale, then parson of Boston." In 1642, the Trewsdale family was taxed in Freiston, a hamlet three miles from Boston. Although Richard Trewsdale held a dependent position when he first came to the colony, he must have been a man of ability and character, or he would not have been chosen deacon in the First Church. His name has the prefix of Mr. in Mrs. Norton's first deed of trust.

was not one of the dissenting brethren at first; but as the controversy went on, he was led to espouse their cause. He died in 1671, leaving a wife, Mary, whose name does not appear on the rolls of the Third Church.¹

Theophilus Frary: came from England with his father, John Frary, one of the first settlers of Dedham and of Medfield; captain of the artillery company, 1682; representative. "During more than thirty years, he was frequently called to serve the town as selectman and in minor offices, to arbitrate in the division of estates, and to be feoffee, to hold in trust property for others." He died in 1700. His first wife was Hannah, daughter of the first Jacob Eliot. She joined the church in Dedham, 1656, and became a member of the Third Church, Boston, in 1674; she died previously to 1690, in which year Mr. Frary was married by Judge Sewall to Mary (Allen), widow of Nathaniel Greenwood.

Robert Walker: freeman, 1634. He died in 1687, at which date Judge Sewall writes: "He was a very good man, and conversant among God's New England people from the beginning." His wife, Sarah, became a member of the Third Church in 1674, and died in 1695. Their son, the Rev. Zechariah Walker, preached for a time at Stratford, and afterward at Woodbury, Connecticut.

John Alden: eldest son of John Alden and his wife, Priscilla Mullens, both of whom came to Plymouth in the Mayflower, in 1620. He was a shipmaster, and sailed for several years in the employ of John Hull. A leading and much-respected citizen. He married for his second wife, in 1660, Elizabeth, daughter of William Phillips, and widow of Abiel Everill, who became a member of the Third Church in 1674. She died in 1696, and her husband in 1702.

Benjamin Thurston: freeman, 1665. He died in 1678 (November 10), and Judge Sewall then speaks of him as one of his "special friends." His wife was Elishua (sometimes called Elizabeth), daughter of Robert and Sarah Walker. She became a member of the Third Church, with her mother and others, wives of the dissenting brethren, in 1674.

¹ In Mary Trewsdale's nuncupative will, proved November 26, 1674, there are bequests as follows: Harvard College, £40; the Rev. Thomas Thacher, £5; the poor of the First Church, £5; the Third Church £10; Mrs. Maria Mather, £5; Mr. Seaborn Cotton, £5; the Rev. John Cotton, £5; the town of Boston, £5. A nephew, Richard Trewsdale, died in Roxbury in 1677.

William Salter: admitted to membership in the First Church, 1635; freeman, 1636; shoemaker. He owned Spectacle Island, in Boston harbor. He died in 1675. His wife, Mary, became a member of the Third Church in 1674.

John Morse: freeman, 1669. One of the original proprietors of Mendon, where lands were assigned to him in 1667 and 1668. He died in 1678 or 1679. His wife, Elizabeth, daughter of Zaccheus Bosworth, joined the Third Church in 1670. The name of her second husband was Button.

Josiah Belcher: son of Gregory Belcher, of Braintree, and afterward of Boston; married Ranis, daughter of Edward Raynsford, who survived him. He died in 1683.

Seth Perry: artillery company, 1662; freeman, 1666; tailor. His wife, Dorothy, daughter of Michael and Abigail Powell, joined the Third Church in 1670, and died in 1711.

James Pemberton: freeman, 1648; brewer, near the town clock. He died in 1696. His wife, Sarah, became a member of the Third Church in 1674, and died in 1709.

William Dawes: came to New England in 1635; first settled at Braintree; freeman, 1646; moved to Boston about 1652, and bought an estate in what is now Sudbury Street; mason and builder. He died in 1704, and Judge Sewall records of him: "A good old man, full of days, is got well to the end of his weary race." His wife, Susanna, daughter of John Mills, of Braintree, became a member of the Third Church in 1674.

Joseph Davis: we know nothing of him, except that probably he married Sarah Chamberlain, in Roxbury, in 1670. He was perhaps the youngest of the dissenting brethren. Sarah Davis owned the covenant in 1680.

Joseph Belknap: artillery company, 1658; freeman, 1665. "Took dismission to Hatfield, there lived in good esteem from 1682 to 1696, then came back to Boston, and died, 14 November 1712, aged eighty-two." He married Ruth, daughter of Peter Brackett.

Two other men, John Tappan and John Sanford, should be mentioned among the founders of the Third Church, although, for some reason which we cannot explain, their names do not appear in the list of members. They both signed a letter, as we shall see, addressed by the church to Mr. John Hull, upon his departure for England late in the year 1669.¹ John Tappan,

¹ Edward Alline signed the letter to ing for dismission (see *ante*, pp. 27, 28), the First Church, August 10, 1668, ask- but his name does not appear in the list

who was a felt-maker or hatter, died September 14, 1678. His wife, Mary, who afterward married Dr. William Avery, joined the church in 1674, with the wives of the other dissenting brethren. John Sanford, a schoolmaster, died February 10, 1676-7, and left property to the church. His wife, Sarah, became a member in 1676.

Among those who joined the church immediately after its organization, and who thus came into the fellowship of its sufferings, were John Mellows, Daniel Henchman, James Hill, Jonathan Jackson, and Ambrose Dawes.¹

The faithful women who had to wait more than five years before they could become members of the new church, and who for a long time had no regular church standing whatever, deserve to be enrolled among the founders, and they should ever be remembered at the Old South with grateful respect and admiration for what they did and for what they suffered. We have mentioned most of them in connection with their husbands; there were others who also deserve our notice.

Margaret Thacher was the only child of Henry Webb, a merchant, who left a very considerable property for those days,² and widow of Jacob Sheaffe, also a prominent and wealthy merchant. She was born at Salisbury, in England, and was baptized there September 25, 1625. She was married to Jacob Sheaffe, by special license, in the autumn of 1642. He died in 1659, and several years later she became the second wife of the Rev. Thomas Thacher.

Sarah Mather, widow of the Rev. John Cotton, of St. Botolph's, Boston, Lincolnshire,³ and afterward of the First Church, Boston, who died December 23, 1652: On the 26th of August, 1656, she was married by Governor Endicott to the Rev. Richard Mather, minister of the First Church, Dorchester, as his third wife. He died April 22, 1669. He was, as we have seen, a leading synodist, and sympathized warmly with the dissenting

of members. Sewall speaks of him in 1677, as one of those who sustained the neighborhood prayer-meeting, in which several of the founders of the Third Church and he himself were so much interested. See *Sewall Papers*, vol. i. pp. 31, 32, 41.

¹ These, and all others who joined before the reconciliation of the First and Third churches, probably came from

churches out of town, or were admitted on confession of their faith.

² Mr. Webb gave to Harvard College the valuable estate in Washington Street, Boston, upon which the store of Little, Brown & Co. stands.

³ Mrs. Mather, to the time of her death, was in "receipt of profits from her own estate in England." — Thompson's *History of Boston*, p. 424.

brethren in their long and painful struggle; he was moderator of the council of fifteen churches called by them, and was stricken by mortal illness before its deliberations were concluded, or the Result was drawn up; it was natural, therefore, that his widow, on moving back to town, should cast in her lot with them and theirs. She joined their communion March 5, 1674-5, and although she cannot technically be included among the founders, she was certainly one of the earliest friends of the new church.

Mary Norton, widow of the Rev. John Norton, of the First Church, "a gentlewoman," according to the *Magnalia*, "both of good estate and of good esteem," was the third daughter and fourth child of John Ferneley, of West Creting, Suffolk, England, by his wife Temperance, daughter of Sir Miles Corbet. She was born October 2, 1602, and was baptized at West Creting nineteen days later. She came to New England with her husband in 1635.¹ The house in Ipswich, which was their first American home, is still standing, and we have given a view of it at the head of our second chapter. Mr. Norton was educated at Peterhouse, Cambridge, but, becoming dissatisfied with the English Church, he determined to cast in his lot with the Puritan emigrants. He arrived at Plymouth in the same ship with Governor Winslow, and was urged to settle there, but declined to do so. In 1638 he was ordained teacher of the

¹ Where Mrs. Norton was married is not known, "but certainly not at West Creting, nor at Hitchin, the registers of which places have been carefully searched." Her older sister, Catherine, was wife of a vicar of Hitchin, Herts, probably the Rev. Stephen Pierce, D. D. Colonel Joseph L. Chester, at the request of Mr. Joseph Ballard, of Boston, made investigations in England concerning the ancestry of Mrs. Norton, and the result is embodied in a paper in the possession of the New England Historic Genealogical Society. In this paper Colonel Chester says: "I have been thus particular in following out the history of the different branches of this once prolific family [the Ferneleys] to their entire extinction, certainly in the male line, in order to show that there can be no person living at the present day whose connection with Mrs. Mary Norton must not be of the most

remote character." And further: "As for herself, it will be seen that her immediate connections were of the most respectable character, and, although she could boast of no 'noble blood' in her veins, she could point with some degree of family pride to the facts that two of her great-aunts [daughters of William and Agnes (Daundy) Ferneley] were wives of two of the most eminent men of their day, — Sir Nicolas Bacon and Sir Thomas Gresham, — and that her own cousin was that famous Miles Corbet whose name was once powerful in the land, and whose memory, in spite of his execution as a 'traitor' and a 'regicide,' is to this day precious to the descendants of the very people who once cried for his head."

See *Boston Daily Advertiser*, July 10, 1876, for a letter from Mr. Joseph Ballard about Mrs. Norton and her ancestry.

church in Ipswich. He was called to Boston on the death of Mr. Cotton, and after long delay, in consequence of the unwillingness of his people to give him up, he was installed teacher of the First Church in the summer of 1656. In 1662 he went to England with Simon Bradstreet, on an important mission in behalf of the colony.¹ He died suddenly in April of the following year. His widow, in becoming one of the chief benefactors of the new church, knew that she was promoting a cause which would have been dear to her husband's heart if he had been alive. Speaking of Mr. Norton in connection with the Cambridge Platform of 1647, Cotton Mather says : —

Into that platform he would fain have had inserted, certain propositions concerning the watch which our churches are to have over the children born in them, which propositions were certainly the first principles of New England ; only the fierce oppositions of one eminent person, caused him that was of a peaceable temper, to forbear urging them any further ; by which means, when those very propositions came to be advanced and embraced in another Synod [1662], more than twice seven years after, many people did ignorantly count them novelties.²

Mr. Thacher also should be included among the founders of the Third Church, and therefore referred to particularly at this time. He had been in full sympathy with the dissenting brethren, and their hearts had for some time been united upon him as one of the ministers of the new church. In anticipation of their call he took letters of dismissal (October 9, 1669) to the Charlestown church, whose pastors undoubtedly understood his purpose in joining their communion.³ This was shrewdly managed, as was every movement made by the brethren, during the long progress of this controversy. If Mr. Thacher had waited until the day of installation drew near, and then asked for a dismissal from the First Church, his request would have been denied, and he could not have been settled in the ministry of the new church. His formal call to the pastorate was not voted until after his admission to membership, upon a letter of recommendation from the church in Charlestown.

¹ They sailed February 10, and returned September 3, making both passages in the Society, a new vessel belonging to John Hull, who accompanied them. William Davis went over with them, but came back three months earlier, in the same vessel with the Rev. James Allen, who was settled over the First Church in Boston, with Mr. Davenport, in 1668.

² *Magnalia* (book iii.), vol. i. p. 291.

³ "1669. Oct. 24. Revd. Mr. Thomas Thatcher [admitted] by a Letter of Dismission from the first church in Boston." — *Records of the First Church in Charlestown.*

Thomas Thacher, son of the Rev. Peter Thacher,¹ was born May 1, 1620, at Milton Clevedon, Somersetshire, as is supposed, where his father was vicar, but the record of his baptism has not yet been found. In 1622 his father became rector of St. Edmund's, Salisbury, and in this venerable cathedral city Thomas spent his youth and received his early academic training. He gave evidence of decided piety, and he would have been sent to Oxford or Cambridge, to fit for the ministry, but he could not conscientiously make the religious subscriptions required at these universities. He was now fifteen years of age, and with the consent of his parents he resolved to come to America. They expected to follow him, for his father was a Puritan in spirit, but the death of his mother soon after broke up this plan.²



Thomas Thacher.

Thomas embarked at Southampton in the *James*, in company with the Rev. Anthony Thacher, his uncle, the Rev. John Avery, a cousin, and their families, and reached Boston June 4, 1635. From Boston the party went to Ipswich, where many of their fellow-passengers were intending to settle. Two months later, Mr. Avery received an invitation to preach at Marblehead, and with his wife and six children, together with Mr. and Mrs.

¹ The Rev. Peter Thacher, of Milton Clevedon and Salisbury, was, perhaps, a son of the Rev. Peter Thacher who was instituted vicar of Queen Camel, Somerset, in 1574, and continued in that cure until his death in 1624. His descendant, the Hon. Peter Thacher, of Boston, has collected and printed much valuable information about the family, and we are indebted to him for many suggestions in reference to it. We present at the head of this chapter a view of Milton Clevedon Church, and on p. 248 one of the Rev. Peter Thacher's tomb in Salisbury.

² Cotton Mather says that "he conscientiously declined his father's offer, and chose rather to venture over the Atlantic ocean, and content himself with the meannesses of America, than to wound his own conscience for the academical privileges of England. When his parents discerned his inclination, they permitted his removal to New England: intending themselves within a year or two, with their family, to have removed thither after him: which intention was prevented by the death of his mother, before it could be effected."

Anthony Thacher and their four children, he embarked at Ipswich in a pinnace belonging to Isaac Allerton. On the following day (August 16), the vessel was wrecked on a ledge off Cape Ann, during a storm of almost unprecedented severity, and of the twenty-three persons on board all except Mr. and Mrs. Thacher were drowned. The two survivors were cast on a barren islet, now known as Thacher's Island.¹ Providentially, Thomas Thacher had not taken passage with his relatives on this disastrous trip, preferring, for some reason, to make the journey by land, and so he escaped.

Cotton Mather says: "A day or two before that fatal voyage from Newberry to Marblehead, our young Thacher had such a strong and sad impression upon his mind, about the issue of the voyage, that he, with another, would needs go the journey by land, and so he escaped perishing with some of his pious and precious friends by sea."

For the purpose of continuing his studies, he entered the family of the Rev. Charles Chauncy, minister of Scituate, afterward president of Harvard College.² Under the tuition of this eminent scholar, he became proficient not only in Latin and Greek, but also in Hebrew, Syriac, and Arabic. He was well skilled, we are told, in the arts, especially in logic, and understood mechanics, both in theory and practice. As was not uncommon at that time, he studied medicine as well as theology, and he gained a high reputation in both professions. He was the author of the first medical tract, or broadside, ever published in Massachusetts, "A Brief Rule to guide the Common People of New England how to order themselves and theirs in the Small Pox or Measles," printed in 1677;³ and he is said to have prepared a Hebrew lexicon.

Mr. Thacher married, May 11, 1643, Elizabeth, daughter of the Rev. Ralph Partridge, of Duxbury, and on the 2d of January, 1644, he was ordained minister of the church in Weymouth. He remained there for twenty years, but "by a concurrence of

¹ Mr. Anthony Thacher, who, in England, had served as his brother's curate at Salisbury, preached for a time at Marblehead, and afterward at Yarmouth. The island on which he was saved was granted to him. An adjacent rock or islet received the name of Avery's Fall. The two lighthouses on Thacher's Island are well known to those who are familiar with the coast. The lights there

were first exhibited December 21, 1771. See *Boston Gazette*.

² Harvard College dates from 1636, but its first president, Mr. Dunster, did not take office until 1640.

³ For a fac-simile of this broadside, see *Memorial History of Boston*, vol. iv. p. 436. The author modestly says: "I am, though no physician, yet a well wisher to the sick."

many obliging circumstances" (to quote the words of Cotton Mather), he resigned his charge, and removed to Boston. "He who holds the stars in his right hand, had a purpose of service to be done for his name, in that populous town, by the talents of this his good and faithful servant." His wife died June 2, 1664 (at Weymouth),¹ and soon after he married Mrs. Sheaffe. He became a member of the First Church August 4, 1667, and preached occasionally in the town and elsewhere, but for the most part he was engaged as a practising physician.

The selection of Mr. Thacher as minister of the new church was a most judicious one. It not only indicated a purpose on the part of the brethren to maintain the high standard of ability and scholarship which had heretofore distinguished the pulpit of Boston, but it greatly strengthened their position and their cause with the churches throughout the colony.

We shall see that when Mr. Thacher was inducted into the pastorate he was ordained, and not simply installed. He had been practically a layman for several years, a private member of the First Church, and a physician. Many of the early New England ministers, who had taken orders in the English Church, were ordained again when they entered upon their pastoral duties here. Mr. Skelton and Mr. Higginson were ordained at Salem in 1629. Mr. Davenport was ordained in New Haven, and again when he came to Boston. The Rev. George Phillips, of Watertown, told the people there that if they would have him stand minister by that calling which he received from the prelates in England he would leave them. Mr. Cotton would not baptize his own child, born at sea, because, as he said, there was no settled congregation there, and "because a minister hath no power to give the seals but in his own congregation." In other words, to be a minister, a man must be a pastor. In taking this position, the early New England ministers did not reflect upon their first ordination vows, or discredit their previous ministry, when they entered upon new pastoral relations, as those clergy-

¹ The Hon. Peter Thacher thinks that his ancestor must have received a good property from his first wife, who was residuary legatee under the will of her father, the Rev. Ralph Partridge. She had a life interest in his real estate in New England, and inherited absolutely his English property. "I give to my

daughter Elisabeth Thacher, all my houses and lands in Old England, to her and her heirs for ever." The library, consisting of 400 volumes, became Mr. Thacher's. The will was allowed at Plymouth, May 4, 1658. John Alden, the Plymouth pilgrim, was one of the appraisers.

men must do now who seek to enter the Anglican or Roman ministry from other Christian denominations.¹

The basis of union upon which the brethren came together in the fellowship of the new church was not a formal expression of doctrinal belief, but a glowing avowal of covenant obligation. They desired not so much uniformity as unity; and for the attainment of this end, not subscription to a dogmatic statement, but a confession of attachment and loyalty to a personal and living Christ — Mediator, Prophet, Priest, and King — was the great prerequisite. They “built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner-stone.” They mutually promised to endeavor to establish among themselves, and to transmit to their posterity, “all the holy truths and ordinances of the gospell committed to the churches in faith and observance;” but they did not undertake to draw out these holy truths and ordinances into precise and technical definitions and regulations, by which they were to be bound together, and to which their posterity was to be rigidly held. The natural effect of elaborately wrought creeds, as tests and bonds of fellowship, compared with the confessions which have come down to us from the early Christian centuries, is to separate one from another, not only contemporaneous sister churches, but the successive generations of Christian believers. The fathers of the Third Church could not in the seventeenth century have framed a doctrinal system to which those who succeed them in the membership in the nineteenth century would be able to give an intelligent and unqualified and honest assent; but the foundation on which they builded — the Rock of Ages, “Jesus Christ, the same yesterday, and to-day, and forever” — is still the “head of the corner,” and will so stand, as we pray and believe, to the end of time. The “perpetual covenant” to which they subscribed was as follows:—

The Covenant made by the third Church in Boston, Gathered at Charlestown on 12th day of 3rd moneth 1669.

¹ The celebrated nonconformist clergyman, John Howe, who lost his pulpit under the Act of Uniformity, was urged by the Bishop of Exeter to submit to episcopal ordination, so that he might receive preferment in the Church of England, but declined. “Pray, sir,” said the bishop, “what hurt is there in being twice

ordained?” “Hurt, my lord,” said Mr. Howe, “it is shocking; it hurts my understanding; it is an absurdity: for nothing can have two beginnings. I am sure, I am a minister of Christ, and am ready to debate that matter with your lordship. I can’t begin again to be a minister.”

We, whose names are underwritten,¹ being called of God to joine together into a Church, in heart-sense of our unworthinesse thereof, disability thereunto, and aptnes to forsake the Lord, cast off his government and neglect our duety one to another ; Do in the name of Jesus Christ our Lord, trusting only in his grace and help, solemnly bind ourselves together as in the presence of God,

Constantly to walk together as a Church of Christ, according to all those holy rules of Gods word given to a church body rightly established, so far as we already know them, or they shal be hereafter farther made known unto us.

And particularly, — We do first of all according to the tenor of the everlasting Covenant give up ourselves and our offspring unto God our cheif yea onely good ; unto our Lord Jesus Christ as the onely mediator our onely spirituall head and Lord, receiving and relying on him not only as our high preist for satisfaction and Intercession, but also as our prophet to teach, and King to reigne over us ; and unto the holy Spirit to be a temple to him that by his dwelling and working in us, we may have, and be established in fellowship with God in Christ and one with another.

And for the furtherance of this blessed fellowship we do likewise promise to indeavour to establish among ourselves and convey down to our posterity, all the holy trueths and ordinances of the gospell, committed to the churches in faith and observance, opposing to the utmost of our church power, whatsoever is diverse therefrom or contrary thereunto. — Also we do give up ourselves one unto another in the Lord, and by the will of God ; hereby promising to cleave one to another as fellow members of the same body in brotherly love and holy watchfulnesse unto mutuall ædification in Christ Jesus, and to be subject in and for the Lord to all the administrations and censuers of the congregation, so far as the same shall be ordered according to the rules of God's most holy word

And finally we do hereby Covenant and promise through the help of the same grace, to hold promote and maintein sisterly fellowship and communion with all the churches of Saints in all those holy ways of order appointed between them by our Lord Jesus to the utmost- especially with those among whome the Lord hath set us, that the Lord may be one and his name one, in all these Churches throughout all generations, to his æternall glory in Christ Jesus. — And now the good Lord be mercifull unto us, Pardoning according to the greatnes of his grace, as all our past sins, so especially our church sins in negligence and unfruitfulnesse of former injoyments ; and accept, as a sweet savour in Christ Jesus, this our offering up ourselves unto him in this work ; filling this his house with his own glory ; making us faithful to himself and one unto another, according to himself, for his holy names sake, Amen.

¹ [No names are subscribed to this covenant in the record book.]

At what precise date this covenant was drawn up, and by whom, we cannot say. It bears evidence of having been written by the Rev. Thomas Thacher, and as his ministry did not begin until the winter following the gathering of the church, it is probable that it was not adopted and subscribed to until after his installation and the completion of the new meeting-house. In view of the circumstances under which the brethren withdrew from the First Church, and of what the feelings towards them of the leading members of that church seem to have been, there is something pathetic in the reference to "church sins in negligence and unfruitfulness of former enjoyments."

There was a renewal of active opposition to the Third Church when it took measures for the erection of a meeting-house. The governor, the major-general, and Mr. Edward Tyng, as magistrates resident in the town, fearing "a sudden tumult," sought to postpone action until the next meeting of the General Court, and warned the brethren who had the work in charge to desist for the present. They also called a meeting of the council; but as the majority of the members were on the other side, the result was not satisfactory to them. The subject now came up in town meeting. A committee, the majority of whose members were hostile to the new church,¹ reported an instruction for the selectmen, the purpose of which was to delay the work of building, but this instruction was voted down by "a cloud of witnesses." The progressive men evidently were in favor with the people. At the annual town meeting in 1669, Thomas Savage was chosen moderator; and of the seven selectmen elected, three, Hezekiah Usher, Edward Raynsford, and Peter Oliver, were members of the new church, and a fourth, John Joyliffe, was undoubtedly in sympathy with it, as he became a member soon after.² Mr. Joyliffe was also chosen recorder, and the same year Mr. Oliver was elected to the command of the artillery company. The town had provided a site for the new meeting-house, as it had done, in the first instance, for the houses of worship of the First³ and Second churches, and as

¹ This committee consisted of Thomas Savage, Thomas Clarke, Edward Hutchinson, Anthony Stoddard, Jeremiah Houchin, and John Wiswell, all, except Mr. Savage, members of the First Church.

² The other selectmen chosen in 1669 were Thomas Lake, James Oliver, and

John Richards. Mr. Lake and Mr. Richards belonged to the Second Church.

³ The First Church sold its first meeting-house, with the land on which it stood, to Robert Thompson, of London, for £300. The town united with the church in the conveyance. See *Hist. and Gen. Register*, vol. xiv. pp. 152, 153.

was the custom in all the towns. This site, "nigh the wind-mill," "was no way judged convenient" by the majority of the selectmen, and was not accepted by the brethren, because another lot had been provided by one of their own fellowship.¹ One of the windmills stood on or near the Common; another, a new one, was on the South Cove. Whether it was proposed by the town that the new meeting-house should be placed upon the Common, or at or near the junction of what are now called Summer and South streets, — perhaps on the spot where the New South meeting-house was afterward built, — it is impossible for us to say. On the 1st of April, 1669, the representatives of the new church accepted a deed for and took possession of a piece of ground almost central as between these two localities, and on the 26th of July they asked the formal concurrence of the selectmen in the choice they had made. The selectmen, however, as a board, declined to express an opinion in the matter. All this will appear in the Third Church Narrative, to which we shall return presently.

The site upon which the new meeting-house was to be placed had already become memorable in the history of the town. It was part of the estate, on the main street leading to Roxbury, upon which John Winthrop, the first governor, the American Nehemiah, as Cotton Mather calls him, lived and died, and was known as the Green. The Third Church ultimately came into possession of all this property, except the north corner, on the lane leading to the spring, upon which the mansion house stood. In the autumn of 1639 the governor was seriously embarrassed in his financial affairs, in consequence of the malfeasance of his bailiff in England, and in 1643 he found himself obliged to convey his mansion house, together with his farm in Charlestown called Ten Hills, to William Tyng and others,² "for and in consideration of divers sums of money wherein he" stood "indebted to them and divers others." The instrument was called an absolute deed of sale, but probably it was only a mortgage,

¹ We learn of this designation by the town of a site for the new meeting-house from the Third Church Narrative. If the church had received a piece of land as a grant from the town, instead of providing the necessary ground for itself, — a very unusual course in those days, — it would not have been harassed with vexatious suits at law, when, two centuries later, it decided to move to another local-

ity, as all the other Congregational churches in Boston had done or were doing.

² The other grantees were Thomas Allen, Richard Dummer, Edward Gibbons, Robert Sedgwick, Valentine Hill, Richard Russell, Benjamin Gillam, Edmund Angier, and Richard Parker. The deed was dated September 26, 1643. — *Suffolk Deeds*, lib. i. p. 45.

as two months later Governor Winthrop conveyed to his son Stephen, who was living in England and was an officer in the parliamentary army, "all that my lott or parcell of land in Boston aforesaid called the Greene lyeing by the Spring,"¹ not excepting the mansion house, or the land on which it stood.²

This corner, however, became permanently separated from the rest of the estate. In 1654 Stephen Winthrop sold it to Amos Richardson, who, in 1679, conveyed it to his son-in-law, Timothy Clarke.³ In the deed of 1643, from John Winthrop to his son Stephen, there is the following reservation: "Provided alwayes, that I the said John Winthrop and Margaret my wife may have and use one halfe of the said parcell of land called the Greene and one halfe of the buildings to be there uppon erected for the terme of our lives and of the longer liver of us, so as we shall not lett or dispose of it or any part thereof to any other."⁴ From all this we are led to believe that the governor in his reduced circumstances built a new house, much smaller than the mansion which he had been obliged to vacate; that in this house he died; that here dwelt the Rev. John Norton, and his widow after him; and that this house became the first parsonage of the South Church. Dr. Wisner, writing in 1830, said that it "stood

¹ Of Spring Lane Drake has given us a delightful sketch. It recalls, he says, "the ancient spring-gate, the natural fountain at which Winthrop and Johnson stooped to quench their thirst, and from which, no doubt, Madam Winthrop and Anne Hutchinson filled their flagons for domestic use. The gentlemen may have paused here for friendly chat, if the rigor of the governor's opposition to the schismatic Anne did not forbid. The handmaid of Elder Thomas Oliver, Winthrop's next neighbor on the opposite corner of the spring-gate, fetched her pitcher, like another Rebecca, from this well; and grim Richard Brackett, the jailer, may have laid down his halberd to quaff a morning draft."

² This deed was dated November 12, 1643, but it was not recorded until March 26, 1648, about a year before Governor Winthrop died. It was "for divers good causes and valuable considerations."—*Suffolk Deeds*, lib. i. p. 102.

³ In Colonel Stephen Winthrop's deed, February 20, 1654, the land is described as "one peece of ground towards the

streete of twenty-two ffoote and fifty fower ffoote backwards lyeing and bound-ed westward to the streete that Goes from Boston to Roxbury towards the North East to the way Going to the Comon Spring, and on the South lyeth the said Colonells house and land."—*Suffolk Deeds*, lib. iii. p. 487 a.

In Amos Richardson's deed, September 11, 1679, the consideration mentioned is his love and good-will for his beloved daughter Sarah. The property is described as lately in the tenure and occupation of Sarah Pickering, and as bounded on the south east and south-west by "the land formerly Mr. John Norton's, now in the tenure and improvement of Mr. Samuel Willard."—*Suffolk Deeds*, lib. xi. p. 225.

In a plan of the Old South property made by Thomas Dawes in 1770, the depth of this corner lot (then owned by Stephen Deblois) is given as sixty-three feet, nine inches, on the south, adjoining the land of the church.

⁴ Margaret Winthrop, third wife of the governor, died June 14, 1647.

on the spot now occupied by the north end of South Row. It was of wood, two stories high, with the end towards the street."¹

On the 26th of March, 1659, Judith Winthrop, widow, and two others, executors of Stephen Winthrop, of Westminster, in the county of Middlesex, parties of the first part in a tripartite indenture, conveyed to the Rev. John Norton, "Teacher to the Church at Boston," for the consideration of two hundred pounds, lawful money, a house and about an acre of land, then in the tenure and occupation of Mr. Norton, bounded on the west by the highway from Boston to Roxbury; on the north by the ground of Amos Richardson, the highway there leading to the spring, and the ground late of William Tilly; on the east by the ground late of William Hibbins and Robert Knight; and on the south by the highway to the seaside. John Leverett, then in London, was joined with Mr. Norton as a party of the second part in this indenture, and is mentioned with him in the receipt for the purchase-money of even date with the deed.² We suppose that he acted as Mr. Norton's representative in the purchase of the property and in making payment for it. He afterward executed a release. The parties of the third part were William Davis, described as an apothecary, and Peter Oliver, as a baker, who were appointed attorneys to make delivery of the property in behalf of Colonel Winthrop's executors, and who gave possession of it to Mr. Norton, July 26, 1659, in the presence of William Crowne, James Penn, James Johnson, Thomas Marshall, Richard Trewsdale, and Amos Richardson. Here Mr. Norton lived until his death in 1663,³ and here his widow was

¹ In Mr. Dawes's plan of 1770, two gateways are shown on the front line of the church's land: one close to the southern boundary of the land of Gilbert Deblois, the other about half-way between this boundary and the north side of the meeting-house.

For the identification of the South parsonage with the house in which Governor Winthrop lived and died, see *Sewall Papers*, vol. ii. p. 418.

Mr. Prince, in the advertisement to the second volume of his *Annals*, says that he has lately received an authentic and valuable journal of events relating to the Massachusetts colony, from March 29, 1630, to January 11, 1648-9, "all wrote with the said Governor Winthrop's own

hand, who deceas'd in the very house I dwell in the 26th of March after."

² The witnesses to the deed and to the receipt were Samuel Bellingham, Edward Tyng, Samuel Bradstreet, George Peryer, scrivener, Thomas Massam, and Richard Marshall, "servant to said scrivener." Both documents are before us, as we write. Edward Tyng made oath to them, as a witness, before John Endicott and Simon Bradstreet, July 27, 1659, and they were recorded by Edward Rawson on the following day. Lib. iii. pp. 257-262.

³ Cotton Mather, in the *Magnalia*, speaks of "a worthy minister of the gospel, Mr. Samuel Willard, now living in the same house from whence Mr. Norton went unto 'that not made with hands.'"

living when the troubles began which led to the formation of the Third Church.

When Samuel Sewall was in England, in 1689, he paid forty pounds to the heirs of Mr. Stephen Winthrop, to perfect the title to this property. We shall refer to this payment again.

Mr. Norton, by his will, gave to his wife a life interest in his house and farm at Ipswich, with reversion to his brother William. The estate in Boston he left to her absolutely, with the understanding between them, perhaps, that as they had no children, it should be dedicated to religious uses.¹ All question as to where the new meeting-house should be built was promptly settled by Mrs. Norton's offer to the church of a portion of this estate. It was her desire and intention, no doubt, that the whole should come ultimately into the possession of the Third Church, but her first gift was somewhat less than one half of the property. She placed her contribution of land by the side of the money contributions of the brethren. The value of her gift at the time did not exceed the value of what was given by several others, nor would she for a moment have claimed that it entitled her to any consideration, or that it endowed her with any rights or powers, beyond and above the other contributors. Her motive and purpose in giving were precisely the same as theirs; the only difference between her and them was in the nature of what was given. Their money was paid into the treasury of the church, and came at once under its control and was altogether at its disposal. Her title to the land could not pass so easily; it was necessary to vest it in somebody, and to define the uses for which it was to be held. These uses related exclusively to the Third Church; and to secure them, she selected, not outside parties, but representative men within the

In the *Christian History*, No. 9, April 30, 1743, the writer quotes a paragraph from Mr. Norton's *Heart of New England Rent* (Cambridge, 1659), and then says:—

"It is some pleasure to think that this remarkable Paragraph is now transcribed in his study, where 'tis probable it was written, Eighty four Years ago: And as he judiciously and piously observes, that It concerneth New England always to Remember the Purport thereof; It is also a Pleasure, that for the same Design we are now in Providence on this Occasion directed to revive it; and there-

with the Memory of this great Man: who was accounted one of the principal Glories of Boston and New England, for Piety, Wisdom Parts and Learning, in his Day."—*The Christian History*, vol. i. p. 66.

¹ In Mr. Norton's inventory, which bears the signatures of John Leverett, William Davis, and Hezekiah Usher, and which amounts to £2,095, the Ipswich property is valued at £450, and the Boston property at £300. Mrs. Norton was made sole executrix by the will, and Edward Rawson and James Penn were appointed overseers.

church. She did not appoint trustees for herself, but for the church, and so far as she was concerned her conveyance was not so much a deed of trust, as a deed of gift.¹ She considered, no doubt, when she executed this first deed, that, in effect, she was conveying a portion of her land to the church, as such. When she made her will, eight years afterward, she bequeathed the remainder, by name, to the Third Church, which had become a recognized organization. Can we suppose her purpose to have been to establish one kind of possession or ownership in the one case, and another kind in the other?

The deed of 1669, conveying nearly half an acre, bounded on the south and west by what we know as Milk and Washington streets, was in the following terms:—

To all Christian people to whome these presents shall come I Mary Norton the relict widow and sole executrix to the last will and testament of the late Reverend my deare and honoured husband Mr John Norton Teacher of the first church in Boston in the county of Suffolke in the colony of the Massachusets in New England send greeting Know yee that I the said Mary Norton for divers good causes and considerations mee thereunto mooving and more especially for and in consideration of that endeared affection that my late deare husband in his life Time did beare and myself doe beare unto his and my assured friends Captain Thomas Savage Captain William Davis Mr Hezekiah Usher Mr Edward Rawson Mr John Hull Mr Peter Olliver Mr Joshua Scottow Mr Edward Raynsford Mr Richard Trewsdall and Mr Jacob Elliot all of the said Boston and in confidence of their faithfulness to performe that trust which I shall repose in them Have absolutely given granted alliened enfeofed and confirmed and by these presents doe fully clearly and absolutely give grant allien enfeofe and confirme unto them the above named Thomas Savage William Davis Hezekiah Usher Edward Rawson John Hull Peter Olliver Joshua Scottow Richard Treusdall Edward Raynsford and Jacob Elliot for the use and uses purpose and purposes hereafter mentioned conditioned and expressed one parcell of Land scittuate lying and being within the limitts of Boston Towne above named and is part of the Land that is adjoyning to my now mansion house the said given and granted premisses conteyning by estimation ffifty five Poles or perches more or lesse and is bounded from the corner post next Nathaniel Reynolds along the high streete leading from Roxbury to Boston seven length of Railes being seventy nine foote and a half from thence to the midle fence now standing and parting of orchard and that pasture sixe length of Railes from the Lane or streete leading to Mr Peter

¹ It is indorsed by the scrivener, Mrs. Norton's Deed of Gift, 1669.

Ollivers and so back into the pasture ninety five feete the said sixe length of Railes Conteyning seventy one foote or thereabouts from thence to the dividing fence between the said pasture and Mr. Richard Peirce his garden one hundred foote and alongst the said fence this lane aforesaid sixty foote and from thence to the said corner aforesaid next the said Nathaniel Reynolds his dwelling house two hundred thirty eight foote and one halfe bee it more or less To Have and to hold the above granted premisses be the same more or lesse with all the priviledges and Appurtenances to the same apperteyning or in any wise belonging unto them the said Thomas Savage William Davis Hezekiah Usher Edward Rawson John Hull Peter Olliver Joshua Scottow Richard Treusdall Edward Raynsford and Jacob Elliot and to such as they shall associate to themselves their heires and successors forever for the erecting of a house for their assembling themselves together publickly to worship God as also the erecting of a dwelling house for such minister or ministers as shall bee by them and their successors from time to time orderly and regularly admitted for the Pastor or Teacher to the said church or Assembly and for the accommodation of the said dwelling house for the minister or ministers as shall from time to time so be chosen as aforesaid and for accomodation of the meeting house with convenient passages of ingresse egresse and regresse for the people that shall there from time to time assemble as aforesaid and for no other intent use or purpose whatsoever and I the above named Mary Norton sole executrix as above is expressed for me my heires executors and administrators doe covenant promise and grant to and with the said Thomas Savage William Davis Hezekiah Usher Edward Rawson John Hull Peter Olliver Joshua Scottow Richard Treusdall Edward Raynsford and Jacob Elliot their and every of their heires executors administrators and assignes by these presents that I the said Mary Norton now am and att the ensealing hereof stand and be the true and proper owner of the above granted premisses and that I have good right full power and lawfull authority to give grant bargaine and confirme the same unto them the said Thomas Savage William Davis Hezekiah Usher Edward Rawson John Hull Peter Olliver Joshua Scottow Richard Treusdall Edward Raynsford and Jacob Elliot their heires and successors for ever. And that the said Thomas Savage William Davis Hezekiah Usher Edward Rawson John Hull Peter Olliver Joshua Scottow Richard Treusdall Edward Raynsford and Jacob Elliot and Company which they shall associate to themselves and their successors shall and may at all times and from time to time for ever hereafter have hold possesse and enjoy all the above given and granted premisses to the use and uses intents and purposes as above is expressed without the lett deniall or contradiction of me the said Mary Norton my heires executors administrators or assignes or by any other person

or persons whatsoever having clayming or pretending to have or clayme my lawfull rights title or interest therein by from or under me or by from or under my late Reverend and deare husband Mr John Norton deceased or any of his estate or either of our heires executors administrators or assignes. In wittness hereof I the above mentioned Mary Norton have hereunto put my hand and seal this ffirst day of Aprill one thousand six hundred sixty and nine being the one and twentieth yeare of the reigne of our Soveraigne Lord Charles the Second of England Scotland France and Ireland King Defender of the Faith etc 1669

MARY (Seal) NORTON

Signed Sealed and Delivered
after possession was given
and taken of the within
granted premisses in the
presence of us

D. HENCHMAN

JOHN GREENLEFE

SOLLOMON RAYNSFORD

Mrs Mary Norton within
named freely acknowledged
this instrument to be her
owne act and deed and by
her signed and sealed Aprill
1 1669

Before THOMAS DANFORTH Assistant

B: 6: folio: 26:

Entered and Recorded word for word in the Booke of Records for
deeds for the County of Suffolke this first day of Aprill 1669

As Attests

EDWARD RAWSON Recorder

Thirty years before this, when the First Church was about to build a new meeting-house upon a new site, Governor Winthrop offered for the purpose the ground which the Third Church now decided to occupy. The centre of trade and traffic was at the head of the present State Street, near the meeting-house and the market-place, as it is in many old English towns to-day, and it was feared by some that to remove the church so far to the south as the Green would be injurious to the business interests of the town. The alternative proposition was to take the land in Cornhill Square, belonging to Richard Harding.¹ The arguments in favor of the Green have been preserved in a paper addressed to the governor and others, to whom the question at issue had been referred. Of this paper Drake says: "It is a very able performance, and it is difficult now to understand how the committee could come to a decision adverse to it."²

¹ Mr. Harding had been disarmed as one of the followers of Mrs. Hutchinson, and had removed to Rhode Island.

² We print this paper here, as a part of the history of the site on which the Old South Church worshipped for more than

It was signed by Richard Tuttell, Jonathan Negus, John Gallop, John Mylam, Matthew Chaffie, James Johnson, John Oliver,

two centuries. The original is in the Boston Public Library.

To our Honoured Governour, and Reverend bretheren Mr. Colborne, Mr. Gibones, Mr. Keayne, and Mr. Ting, to whom the care of placing the meeting howse for the best, and most publique Advantage is committed.

With all due Acknowledgement of the power committed unto your Worship, and our Reverend bretheren together with your Worship, for the dispose of this Businesse, we who manifest our requests unto you by our names here underwritten, have (as hoped not to want favourable Acceptance with you; so) conceived it unsafe for us to omit an Opportunity for the publique weale of our Towne, which by our requests might any way be furthered, and least we should seeme weake, or wilfull in our motion, we desire your favourable consideration of some such Reasons as may conduce to helpe forward a right, and just determination of the matter.

The places in difference are principally that of Mr. Hardings, and the Greene: we conceive that the Greene hath most fitnessse, and conveniency for the meeting howse, in two principall Respects. 1. First because it hath singular Accommodation to the Ayre, the want of free accesse whereof hath bin deeply found in the ould meeting-howse, making burdensome the ordinances, to many (specially weake) hearers by faynting their spirits in the Summer time when there is most concourse of people: and we fear a greater defect here of if the howse stand in Mr. Hardings ground where the easterly, and Southeast wind is much more debarred. If it be sayd Mr. Hardings is higher ground then the greene, and so more obvious to the Ayre, it is Answered, though it be higher (which is but little) yet this hath a farre greater Advantage for the aire by reason of the sudden descents of the earth neare to it, and it standeth open, ready to entertayne every coole breath of Aire in the summer, whereas the other place is

so mussled, and overtopped with chimnyes on every side almost, that it playnly confesseth its owne disadvantage in comparison. If it be sayd that howsing will in time be as neare to the meeting howse if it stand upon the greene, as it is already in the other place: we Answer, that needeth not, the place of itselfe is large enough, though all men round about should build upon their proprieties, and an inconveniency fore seene may better be prevented, then that which is already extant, can be removed; If it be sayd againe, that place of Mr. Hardings will have the Advantage in the winter, it is Answered, we can much more easily prevent cold then heat, besides the whole Towne breaketh the force of the cold northerly winds from the Greene.

2. Secondly we conceive if the meeting-howse stand upon the greene it will much promote the publique welfare, of our Towne, The greatest outward hope of our outward subsistence is by Trading: Our Lands at mount Williston are (as it were) parted from us: other Lands belonging Lye far distant. Now we conceive the standing of the meeting howse upon the greene, will much helpe forward Trading, by procuring more convenient roome for Tradesmen, for by this meanes, as the market-place and wharfe, and waterside, will sufficiently commend the present situation of the howses of the merchants: so the meeting howse will commend the street toward Mr. Colbornes end, and that which goeth towards the hills, if it stand upon the greene. And we hope our Esteemed brethren the tradesmen doe more Attend to the Enlargement of Trading (which now there is a good opportunity of) than some particular Advantage to themselves.

The cheifest reason which hath bin Alleadged to set it upon Mr. Hardings ground is, that it cannot be removed out of the market place, without manifest injury to such as have built, and purchased much in respect to it.

John Davis, Edmund Jackson, Joshua Scottow, Nicholas Willis, George Burden, and Edmund Jackline. It begins with the following personal appeal to the governor:—

To our Honoured Governour.

The fruit of your Worships Liberall Disposition (which the God of all fulnesse will reward) in so freely offering the Greene to place the meeting-howse thereon causeth us, as thankfully to Acknowledge it;

Ans: we durst not petition to put injury upon so many helpfull, faythfull, and Beloved bretheren, were we so convinced: we should crosse our former Principles of advancing merchandise, if we should put any just discouragements upon merchants: Say the standing of the meeting howse in the market place hath bin to the young beginnings of Trading as a nurse to a child, or as a prop to some tender plant, to uphold it from falling: yet once in seaven yeares, without the nurse, or prop, the child will goe, the tender plant will stand Alone, so are we perswaded that the Lord will not suffer any decaying in Trading to be found, or complained of by our bretheren, but that he who hath strengthened their hands, and wayes, will not withdraw his blessing from them though the meeting-howse stand a little further from them to helpe forward the same ends in another place. Now if it be manifest injury to them to remove it to the greene, for further and more Publique Advantage: then it should appeare that the right of placeing it here, or there belongeth to them: but it is the Townes right to order the placeing of their meeting howse for their best, and most Publique Advantage, and theirs not as Tradesmen, but as members of the church, and Towne, had the Towne ever promised, eyther that the merchants should have power to place the meeting-howse, or that it should for their encouragement stand in the market place, then it would be manifest injury to remoove it without their consent, but this never was, therefore it is no manifest injury done to them though it should be set upon the greene, why was it committed to the whole Towne if they had not liberty to agree to set it any where

for the best. Againe If it may be pleaded that it is injury to them if it be not placed for their Advantage, because they have built, and bestowed much cost: it may (we conceive with Submission) much more be pleaded that it is an injury to the Towne, if it be not placed for the most Generall advantage of Trading, seing they have built, and run many hazards in the hope of subsistance by trading: And that great inconvenience of heat in summer will much more uncomfortably be susteyned when it might so seasonably have been prevented. We Yield it may be some seeming present inconveniencie to tradesmen. But not from any Act of injustice if it be set upon the greene: we shall be too Tedious. Therefore omitting many things that might be alleadged against that place of Mr. Hardings, concerning the swamp on the backside, demolishing of a sufficient, and chargeable Ædifice, too much nearenesse to the prison, to the ordinary, to greater danger of fyre by much than in the other place: We committ the things we have sayd to your thoughts, we know we speake to wiser men then our selves, and yet to such as will not slight us: we doe profess (though some of us were not present when it was committed to your worship, and our Reverend bretheren, to determine, nor had any knowledge of so great, and weyghty an Occasion) yet we shall by the Lords helpe sit downe silent, and contented, if the Lord moove your harts to agree in the matter, and shall looke at it as an hand of God: yet we acknowledge it is our farre greater desire, for generall satisfaction, that it might be put to the providence of our wise God in a lott (in case it be not agreed to stand upon the greene) whereby all contentions (we are perswaded)

so heartily to perswade, and entreat that to the same end it may be improved: for as we conceive it to be of God that your Worship should offer the Towne this favour: so we conceive it to be according unto God, that so great a benefitt unto the Towne, and Country might be embraced, which we earnestly Desire, and Assure our selves, that your worship will not lightly esteeme the requests of

Your ever
Bounden,

It was at this time that the governor was overtaken by the financial embarrassments of which we have already spoken. The foregoing address certainly conveys the idea that he had offered his land to the First Church as a free gift, and this he must have done before the receipt of the bad news from England, which made it impossible for him to carry out his purpose. The address delicately assumes that his liberal offer was still open. It was intended, no doubt, under the changed conditions, to pay him for the land, if it should be taken; and when the church decided not to take it, it generously presented him with two hundred pounds, the equivalent of what the purchase-money would have been, so that he was not allowed to suffer by the decision. In his journal, he gives the reasons why Mr. Harding's land was chosen in preference to his own:—

Their old meeting-house being decayed, and too small, they sold it away, and agreed to build another. . . . But there grew a great difference among the brethren where this new one should stand. Some were for the green, (which was the governour's first lot, and he had yeilded it to the church, etc); others, viz. the tradesmen especially, who dwell about the market place, desired it might stand still near the market, lest in time it should divert the chief trade from thence. The church referred it to the judgment and determination of five of the brethren, who agreed that the fittest place (all things considered) would be near the market; but, understanding that many of the brethren were unsatisfied, and desired rather it might be put to a lot, they declared only their opinions in writing, and respited the full determination to another general meeting, thinking it very unsafe to

will be made to cease, and many heart burnings prevented which otherwise may arise and we shall magnify the wisdom of God in condemning our owne folly. We have spoken freely, knowing your easinesse to be entreated and by how much the more we shall have experience of your hearkening to us in this matter,

and covering our failings in matter, or manner towards you by so much the more shall you bind us with cords of Love to remaine

The Lords will be done.

Yours to our utmost

d. m. in Jesus Christ.

This 17-10. 1639.

proceed with the discontent of any considerable part of the church. When the church met, the matter was debated to and fro, and grew at length to some earnestness, etc. ; but, after Mr. Cotton had cleared it up to them, that the removing it to the green would be a damage to such as dwelt by the market, who had there purchased and built at great charge, but it would be no damage to the rest to have it by the market, because it would be no less, but rather more convenient for them than where the former stood, they all yielded to have it set by the market place ; and, though some remained still in their opinion that the green were the fitter place, yet, for peace sake, they yielded to the rest by keeping silence while it passed.¹

One of Governor Winthrop's descendants in the present generation²—the accomplished scholar and the large-hearted Christian gentleman—has thus written of his distinguished ancestor, and the sacred uses to which his estate was to be set apart :—

But though he could not have been indifferent to the judgment which should be pronounced upon him by posterity, it may safely be said that, above all honors which could be paid to his memory, above monuments or statues or memorials of any sort, he would have appreciated the casual coincidence that on the very site of his residence, or certainly within the inclosure of his garden, should stand a consecrated edifice, in which, through a long succession of generations, should be gathered one of the chosen churches of Christ, worshipping God according to the faith and the forms which had been dearest to his own heart in his mature New England life. The Old South Church in Boston, as it is called, has many hallowed and many patriotic associations ; but it may be doubted whether any of them are more congenial with its sacred uses, or will be more cherished hereafter by its devout frequenters, than that it marks the Boston home of John Winthrop, — its foundations resting upon the spot on which he dwelt in life, its steeple pointing to the brighter abode to which he ever aspired in the skies.³

John Hull records in his diary, November, 1669, "a third meeting-house erected in Boston." It was first occupied on the 19th of December. Dr. Wisner says that it was built of cedar, "with a steeple, galleries, square pews, and the pulpit in the side as in the present building" (1830).⁴ In a deed of trust

¹ Winthrop's *Hist. of N. Eng.*, vol. i. pp. 382, 383.

² The Hon. Robert C. Winthrop.

³ *Life and Letters of John Winthrop*, vol. ii. pp. 409, 410.

⁴ Pemberton, in his *Description of Boston*, printed in 1794, speaks of this building as "the old cedar meeting-house," and he says that the brick building of 1730 was erected on the same ground.

executed by Edward Rawson, Joshua Scottow, and Jacob Eliot in 1687, it is said that they and their associates built and erected "a large, spacious and faire meeting house, with three large porches, every way compleately fitted, and covered with sheete lead, the house and said porches, which stood them and their associates neere if not above two thousand pounds." From the situation of its meeting-house, at what was then the south end of the town, the new church was called the South Church, and it continued to be so called until 1717, when a congregation was gathered and located in Summer Street, and took the name of the New South. After this the Third or South Church began to be known as the Old South, and this name it still retains, although its present house of worship is in another part of the city.

We come back now to the Third Church Narrative, which we have anticipated in some particulars :—

MRS. NORTONS GIFT OF LAND TO THE 3D CHURCH FOR MEETING HOUSE.

Whereas that Pious and worthy Matron Mrs. Mary Norton, Relict of the late Reverend Mr. John Norton Teacher to the first
 1669 Church of Boston, did of her owne free mind, and pious desire to promote the blessed work of the Gospell, for the providing a meet place for the 3d Church of Christ in Boston, to erect a meeting house. did give and grant unto T : S : H U. W. D. J. S.³ &c a certaine part and parcell of land out of her orchard and allso for the building of one or more Elders houses [with her dwell-house] &c as in the deed bearing date more amply appeareth : and the said T. S. H. U. W. D. &c as feoffees in trust for the society did enter on the said land and seperated the same from her Orchard for that end on the 27 June and on the 6th July 1669 by severall labourers digging a trench for the foundation of that structure which they intended to erect, wherupon a warrant signed by the Governour and two Magistrates of Boston was sent by Constable ffreegrace Bendall to Captaine Peter Oliver Mr. Jos. Rock, and Benj : Gibbs who had the ordering of the workmen, the said Constable with his staff of officers and some Persons he had commanded to assist him came to the same ground, and read his warrant to said Rock and Gibbs in the hearing of the workemen, and forbad them to proceed, being by them demanded a Coppy of that warrant he denyed it, though the other Constables with him present, affirmed it was the Governors order that a coppy of it should be given, on which refusall the said Rock and Gibbs required

From an old memorandum in our possession, we learn that the first meeting-house had a bell which cost £18.

¹ [These grantees were Thomas Savage, Hezekiah Usher, William Davis, Joshua Scottow.]

the workmen to goe on, whereupon the said Rock and some of the workmen were carryed by said Bendall before the Governour and Mr. Tyng, who committed the said Rock to prison with Am : Dawes¹ one of the workmen, and bound them over to the County Court with some others to answer the same. the warrant followeth.

Whereas we have certaine information that severall in the Towne of Boston, have an intendment and resolution to erect a house of publique worship, nigh the house where Mrs. Norton liveth, upon part of the land appertaining to the said house, in a way contrary to what hath bin the practise and orderly custome used in the said towne formerly, which is to the great greif and offence of many sober and discreet Persons, whereby we perceive that peace and love is like to be hinderd, as well as former good order according to Custome is likely to be invaded.

Governours warrant to hinder the meeting house.

These are therefore in his Majesties name to require you to acquaint such as are concerned therein, especially Captaine Pet. Oliver, Joseph Rock, and Benj : Gibbs whome we understand have the ordering and the oversight of that work, that they desist from erecting any such publique house in that place, and if they shall yet persist to prosecute the same : you are to forwarne any that shall be actors therein, and if any shall disobey you, and proceed therein, you are to bring such Person or Persons before Authority that they may be dealt with all according to their demerit

RICH : BELLINGHAM Governor.

JOHN LEVERIT Assistant.

EDW : TYNG Assistant.

Dated 25. June 1669

THE GOVERNOURS CALL FOR A COUNCILL OF MAGISTRATES.

Gentlemen

There doth appeare to myself and some others on the place need of convening the Councill, for settling some matters of difference, among the Inhabitants of this Towne of Boston¹⁶⁶⁹ which if not timely healed, there are many feares of a sudden tumult to the great dishonour of God and of our profession, the present occasion of contest being the action of some private persons who doe attempt the setting up of an Edifice, for Publique use, which by the authority of the place is apprehended to be sundry wayes, detrimental to the publique peace, and wellfare of the place, And not withstanding the prohibition made them by Authority doe violently proceed, therein, for this end you are desired to Assemble in Councill on the 14th day of this instant at Boston by eight of the clocke in the

¹ [Ambrose Dawes, son of William and Susanna Dawes. He joined the Third Church September 7, 1670.]

morning, not doubting of your readynes to afford your presence at time and place

Gentlemen

I am your freind and Servant

RICH: BELLINGHAM Governour.

Boston: 6: July 1669

Att a Councill held at Boston 14th July 1669.

The Councill being Assembled to consider of some meet expedient for issuing of some uncomfortable differences that have arisen in Boston, about the erecting of a new meeting house for the publique worship of God, having spent some time to examine the matter, And considered the grounds of these debates, and contests that have arisen doe judge meet, that such persons as have in any kinde tumultuously or contemptuously acted; whereof cogniscance hath bin taken by the Authority on the place, and the persons accused stand bound over to the Court of that County, that they be proceeded against according to law, and their owne demerits, And for the setling the place of the meeting house, finding that sundry alligations are presented by both parties which seem to be of weight. The Councill doe judge meet to declare that it is the duty of those that are about to erect the meeting house as it is above expressed to observe the lawes and orders of the Generall Court, for the regulating of the prudentiall affaires of the place, And in case they or any others shall proceed contrarily there unto it will be upon their owne perill, nor must they expect the Countenance or allowance of Authority therein.

By the Councill

EDW: RAWSON Secretary.

Att the meeting of the whole Towne this Instruction was put to vote, that was drawn up by the committee chosen by the Towne to draw up instructions for the Selectmen: viz:

That you will neither Countenance or suffer any Edifice of publique Conc[ern] to be erected in the Towne by any person or persons, before the publique Authority in the Towne be made acquainted there with And consent there unto voted in the negative by a cloud of witnesses.

Att a metting of Captain James Oliver, mr. John Richards, Hezekiah Usher mr. Edw Raynsford Captain Petter Oliver
 26 (5) 69 and John Jollife. Select men.

It is a greed that there is need of another Meetinge house to be erected in the Towne of Boston

Upon the motion of Captaine Wm. Davis, Mr. John
 26: (5) 1669. Hull and Mr. Tho: Brattle for the concurrence of the
 Selectmen

As the rule is circumstanced for erecting of another meeting house we judge it doth not belong to us, as Prudentiall men to determine the placing of it:¹ And by the Major part of the Selectmen before mentioned it was agreed that the place allotted by the Towne for erecting a meeting house nigh the windmill was no way judged Convenient for reasons then given:

The meeting house not built upon Towne charge.

the County Court held at Boston, where Jos: Rock and Benj: Gibs were called, Mr. Rock and Benj: Gibs sentenced to pay 5 £ money [] and fees of the Court and to stand ^{27:} committed till it was Performed, both appealed from the sentence to the Court of Assistants and were bound with sureties to present their appeales to effect

Both these appellants prosecuting their appeales upon the hearing of their pleahs, they were acquitted by Jury and Bench upon the reasons they gave in, and their fines taken of ^{15: (7) ber} and the sentence declared null, the warrant brought by the Constable was not in Court, but Lieut: Cooke and Mr. Wiswell ² pretending they came from the Governour [whome as it appeared afterwards they had traduced] went in a surreptitious manner to perswade the foreman of the Jury to take it of them, but he refused, and upon Complaint to the Court they were called forth, confessed the fact, and were sentenced by the Court to receive an Admonition:

The Brethren of the 3d Church petitioned the Court of Assistants as followeth

To the Honoured Governour, Deputy Governour and the rest of the Honoured Magistrates now Assembled.

Your humble Petitioners not having acted on our ownē leads, but led by Councill (as we stedfastly beleive) according to the institutions of the Gospell, and being constituted into a Church body with the Consent of Magistrates Elders and Churches, whereby the name of God is soe solemnly called upon us, and having by the favour of God, and pious bounty of the relict of that Reverend and blessed man of God Mr. Jo: Norton, a place freely given us for to erect an house for God and his publike worship which unto us is most convenient: and we hope will not prove unto any really prejudiciall, And yet haveing met with some matter of greivance in our proceedure therein, doe humbly intreat of this Honourable Councill the benigne influence of their favourable aspect, And that they would be pleased to interceed

¹ ["Upon the motion of Captain Wm. Davis, Mr. John Hull, and Mr. Thomas Brattle for the concurrence of the select men for erectinge of a meetinge howse; as the case is circumstanced. Wee judge it doth not belonge to us as prudentiall

men to determine the placing of it." — *Boston Town Records*, 1669.]

² [John Wiswell was chosen ruling elder of the First Church, April 2, 1670. In the MS. the word "deacon," preceding Mr. Wiswell's name, is erased.]

for us, with our Honoured Governour Major Generall and mr. Ting: That all humane frailties past by and buried in the oblivion of true Charity and Brotherly love, we may peaceably prosecute that worke which we have in hand, trusting that through his grace we shall obtaine helpe soe to walke with the rest of the Churches and people of this Collony That this Honourable Councill shall have no after cause of greife of heart, that they have managed the Councils of peace for us; at such a time But have by their ffatherly influence bin an incouragement to the worke of the Lord in the hands of your unworthy petitioners who with continuall prayers for you — Subscribe ourselves

Your humble Servants in the Lord

THOMAS SAVAGE	JOHN WING	BENJ: GIBBS
THOMAS BRATTLE	JOHN TAPPING	THEOP: FFRAREY
EDW: RAINSFORD	EDW: RAWSON	WM. DAWES
JOSEPH DAVIS	JOSEPH ROCKE	JOSEPH BELKNAPE
HEZ: USHER	JACOB ELLIOT	THEODORE ATKINSON
JOHN HULL	JOHN SANFORD	PETTER OLIVER
WM. SALTER	SETH: PERRY	ROBERT WALKER
JOSHUA SCOTTOW	WM: DAVIS	BENJ: THIRSTON
PETTER BRACKETT		JOSEPH BELCHER

Read in open Court the 16th of September 1669.

Upon consideration of this petition the Honoured Councill was pleased to write the letter ensuing —

To the Honoured Gouvernor, Major Generall John Leveritt and mr. Edward Ting: Esquires.

HONOURED SIRS. A petition being presented to us by the Brethren of the New Church of Boston, who being about to erect a meeting-house for the worship of God, upon a peice of ground given them for that purpose, And have mett with some matter of greivance in their proceedings, Doe therefore desire our mediation with the magistrats that live in Boston, Upon many considerations we have thought requisite to intreat, and allsoe to advise the Governour and other magistrates upon the place, not to suffer any interruption in the said worke, but permit it may be carryed on peaceably without disturbance.

Your Humble Servants.

FFRANCIS WILLOUGHBY

SYMON BRADSTREET

DAN: GOOKIN

DAN: DENNISON

SYMON WILLARD

RICH RUSSELL

THO DANFORTH

BOSTON September 17: 1669.

Upon information to the Honourd Councill of a Pernitious letter sent by Major Bourne to the first Church in Boston which the Elders saw meet to publish in their Church and upon occasion of the notoriously scandalous fame of Concealing the originall letter sent from Newhaven and their framing another. seven magistrates were pleased to write this letter ensuing.

To the Reverend Elders of the first Church of Christ in Boston, Mr. John Davenport, Mr. James Allen and Mr. James Pen.

REVEREND SIRS we have bin informed that you have published a letter to the Church of Boston (from Major Bourne) reflecting much upon this Government and their proceedings against some Anabaptists, It would have asswaged our grieffe, had we heard you had given any worde of caution to the Auditory that the dangerous insinuations, and tendencies of the doctrines therein delivered might thereby in some measure have bin prevented, but thereof we have had no account, (we cannot also) but take notice of the publique and notorious fame or infamy, of a fact charged upon you, for concealing the originall letter from New haven in answer to a letter from the Church of Boston for mr. Davenport's dismission, and in stead thereof framing a letter yourselves, and declaring the same to be the dismission of mr. Davenport from the Church of Newhaven to the Church of Boston These things as they are matter of greife and affliction to us, soe we can not but owne it, as our Duty to inquier into the matter, Not that we doe now undertake to Judge you faulty, though; as to the last particular we understand many of the Elders have laboured to Convince you, But only to acquaint you that we (as in duty are bound) Expect your answer to the premises at the next Generall Court in october being necessitated att present to inquier &c: by reason of the absence of the Governour and Deputy And in the meane time shall pray God to guide your hearts and wayes, that peace and truth may be continued in the Churches and Common wealth.

SYM : BRADSTREET

DAN : GOOKIN

DAN : DENNISON

SYM : WILLARD

RICH : RUSSELL

THO : DANFORTH

JOHN PINCHON

September 17th : 1669.

Upon the 13 (7) ber Instant the love of many Brethren in Neighbouring Townes is not to be forgotten who then freely brought in 27 Carte loads of the meeting house timber, and upon the 27. (7) ber brought in 43 Cartes laden with the same timber, from the place where

it was framed, being 14 miles distant from the Towne, besides 13 Cartes from Muddy river with timber all layed in place, Which occasioned the Governour and mr. Ting to direct this letter insueing to Captain Savage Captain Davis and the rest of the late petitioners

We haveing many times manifested our Desire in way of Authority concerning your proceeding in that place, as tending to perpetuate the differences among us, And though we are still of the same minde, yet for peace sake and respect to others ; we now advise and desire you to desist any further proceeding, in building in the ground neere mrs. Norton's house till the Generall Courte where the case may have a legall and finall Issue, And such in which we shall acquiesce, you may therefore prevent further trouble to yourselves and us, And manifest your willingnes, to avoyd offence to your Brethren, And to be well wishers to the Authority and peace of this Collony — this is the desire of your loveing friends

²⁹
the Governor's
and Mr. Tings
letter to im-
pede the meet-
ing house.

RICH: BELLINGHAM Governour
EDW: TING:

BOSTON 29 (7) mo 1669

Upon the Communicating of this letter Captain Savage, and Captain Davis being sent by the Brethren to returne answer to the foregoing letter, came to the Governours house where they found mr. Stoder and Mr. Wiswall, Captain Savage told the Governour and mr. Ting they had received their letter and desired to speak with their worships alone, The Governour replied, speak on, Captain Savage againe exprest, we desire to speake with your worships in private, mr. Ting answered, he did not know whether it was safe to trust the Governour and himselfe with them alone, Captain Savage replied, That he was very much unsatisfied with his speech, and in case they could not have speech with them alone they should take their leaves of them The Governour further said they expected their answer in writing, to which was answered, We are not to leave any thing in writing but to deliver what we are to declare by word of mouth, and in case we can not have liberty to express our Brethrens minde in private we shall take our leave and soe departed.

The frame being in place on the 1: of October helpe came in to raise it, and soe the worke was carried along gradually, to the Compleating thereof, without the least dammage of any one person that was there employed, which is highly to be acknowledged to the praise of Allmighty God, whoe preserved both life and limbs of all persons concerned therein.

The 19th of the 4 mo. last — Application had bin made to mr. Thatcher to signify to him the firmnes and constancy of our hearty

affections and desire towards him, as a labourer in order to office amonge us in Gods time. The church had unanimously elected mr. Tho: Thatcher to be a teaching officer unto them and forthwith sent Captain Savage, Captain Peter oliver to acquaint him there with, And to intreat they might have his Company with them at their church meetings.¹

The 18 (8) 69 the church had appointed a Sollemne day of humiliation to implore the Lords favour towards the Country in respect of the unseasonable raines &c: And also with respect to their difficulties and discountenances by some in Authority impeding the worke of the Lord in their hand, &c: And to make the way plaine for Reverend mr. Tho: Thatcher who had accepted his call to the Lords worke among them.

Mr. John Hull and mr. Edw: Raynseford were nominated for ruling Elders and att the same meeting mr. Jacob Elliot and mr. Peter Bracket were elected Deacons. Mr. John Hull and mr. Edw: Rainseford were elected Ruling Elders and it was voted that this Church should be supplied continually with 2 ruling and 2 teaching Elders,² And the same day the church agreed for to send to Charlestowne Church to dismis mr. Tho: Thatcher unto this Church in order to be ordained a teaching officer over them and also for the Church to meet together, to agree when to send — And a letter should be drawn up to be sent to that church for that end.

mr. John Hull being bound for England,³ It was agreed by the whole Church to desire and improve him to use his best skill, and prudence in England for to obtaine some able orthodox and Godly minister, for to joyne with mr. Thatcher in the worke of the ministry in this Church.

A letter being drawn up in which mr. John Hull was desired, and impowred for to use his best and utmost endeavour to procure an able orthodoxe minister for the ende a bove mentioned was read, consented unto and Subscribed by the Church:

Deare Beloved Brother Mr. John Hull.

When God shall have brought you unto England, whither you are now by Gods grace bound, we doe desire your spetiall care to inquier after and seeke out and get for us some able orthodoxe Godly man, (one who is in choice esteeme and repute among the pious and wise-hearted who are of the congregationall way) to joyne with the Rev-

¹ [The words, "And this was upon the 7th (5) mo. last," are erased.]

² [The words, "This Church should be supplied continually with 2 ruling and 2 teaching Elders," are erased. Mr. Hull declined the office.]

³ ["1669. Nov. 16. I went from my

own house on board Master Clarke's ship [the Society] for to go to London to settle all former accounts with my uncle."

"1670. Oct. 3. I came safe home, and found my wife, daughter, servants, and all in health and safety." — *John Hull's Diary.*]

erend mr. Tho : Thacher, where unto he is already called by us in the worke of the Lord in the ministry of the Gospel. We cannot soe well nominate any person here as you will be informed concerning them when you come thether. We therefore leave the whole unto yourselfe. You well know the necessity which we are in, and the weight and concernment of it unto us ; therefore shall cease from giving, Arguments unto yourselfe to ensure your care and dilligence there in. And we doe here by impower you to act here in for us, as if ourselves were present personally, and shall with thankfullnes acknowledge and owne your actings there in : Now the Good Lord, the Lord of the harvest, the great Shepherd of the Sheep, the God of the Spirits of all flesh, direct your way herein unto such a one as may be much to the glory of God, and may come to us with the fullness of the blessings of the Gospel, and that may be a meanes in his hands (who holdeth the starrs in his right hand) of conversion and building up of the soules of this poor little flock. which you have left in this wilderness, for whome we crave your frequent prayers when absent, and the prayers of the faithfull where God shall cast you, that we may be preserved blameles in these houres of our temptation unto his heavenly kingdome, to whome be Glory through out all the Churches world without End. Now the Keeper of Israell who neither Slumbers nor sleeps, be your all in all, preserve, bless, and direct you in all your wayes in this affair, giving you to finde favour in the eyes and hearts of those you may have to doe with in this or any other of your owne business, and in his good Season returne you unto your very affectionate Bretheren.

THEOPH. FRARY

WM. DAWES

BENJ : THIRSTONE

JOS : BELCHER

JOHN ALDEN

HEZ : USHER

PETER BRACKET

JOHN SANFORD

JOHN TAPPING

THOMAS BRATTLE

THEOD. ATKINSON

EDW. RAWSON

PETER OLIVER

WM. SALTER

THO : SAVAGE

JOSEPH ROCK

BENJ : GIBBS

JOSEPH DAVIS

WILLIAM DAVIS

EDWARD RAYNSFORD

ROBERT WALKER

JAMES PEMBERTON

SETH PERRY

JOSH : SCOTTOW

JOHN WING

JACOB ELIOT

JOSEPH BELKNAP

I, also, deare brother doe heartily consent in this matter with my Brethren, and earnestly desire the same thing of you, who, heartily praying unto the Lord of the harvest to prosper your way therin, that an eminent faithfull labourer may be thrust forth into this our harvest, and that your whole work may be adopted and blessed by him subscribe myselfe

Your affectionate Brother in the Lord

THO : THATCHER Sen

November 8, 1669

A LETTER TESTIMONIAL FROM SEVERALL ELDERS OF THE CHURCHES IN THE BEHALFE OF THE CHURCH TO SUCH REVEREND AND BELOVED MINISTERS AND BRETHREN IN ENGLAND TO WHOME IT MAY COME :

To the reverend much honoured and beloved in our Lord Jesus : the Ministers and Brethren of such of the Churches of Christ in England unto whose hands these letters may come, and who may be more especially concerned in the Contents of them, Grace mercy and Peace be multiplyed unto you from God our ffather and the Lord Jesus Christ our Saviour

Reverend and Beloved in the Lord

It is not without much trembling of heart for the ark of God both here and else where, that we presume to make this our application to you by way of earnest efflagitation for the travelling interest of Christ in this wildernes, The holy God haveing in extraordinary displeasure, (even unto Astonishment) contended with these Churches by a judicall, and successive removeall of many eminent and faithfull Ministers of the Gospel, who in their day were principle pillars amongst us ; whence it is that divers of them are compelled to sit as Sion in her widdowhood, Spreading forth their hands for some that might become instrumentall comforters unto them, to Releive them who yett are far from them. It would be too tedious here to enumerate the causes of those disappointments which we have, for a considerable time, sighed and sorrowed under, But this is that which doth silence us therein, that the righteous Lord hath done it. He hath done that which he hath devised, he hath stretched out the line, he hath not, withstanding, drawne his hand from destroying. We are not, withstanding, not altogether without some hope that our gracious God will not all wayes chide with us, and that he will not powre out all his anger, but grant unto us, (though most unworthy) a reviving in the midst of the yeares. We therefore desire to wait for him in the way of his Judgements untill he shew himselfe favourable to his wearied heritage. We would not be found wanting in any duty incumbent upon ourselves (his watchmen) in order to the Consolation, and Edification of his Churches, here planted and established in the faith and order of the Gospel ; But would take all opportunities presented for the promoveing thereof, that they may stand perfect and compleat in all the will of God, and be furnished with an able and faithfull ministry, where either there never was any placed, or where the Lord hath made a breach upon us in those our pleasant things. And as there be sundry under the one and the other consideration, soe in particular, in refference unto the third church in Boston lately gathered, (concerning which there hath bin and still are many thoughts of heart with us,) We are not able easily to Express of how great importance to the establishment of the kingdome of Jesus christ amongst us, their being provided of an Eminent burning and shining light would

be ; and on the other hand, what a discouraging Remora thereunto, and unhappy obstruction to the progress of the Gospell in these partes, their suffering and disappointment therein, may become in this their [and our] necessitous condition. At present such is the good hand of divine Providence, that we have a convenient season of transmitting our affectionate intreaties unto yourselves, for your pious and faith full Solicitude for us and them in this matter, by our dearly beloved Brother in Christ, mr. John Hull, whose praise is in the Gospell, who hath received instructions to negotiate in this weighty affaire for that church above mentioned to which he doth belonge ; concerning which

29 : (9) 1669

we take ourselves bound to testifie that it is a pretious flock of christ, regularly proceeding in their first gathering into Church Estate, approved therein both by Magistraticall authority and also by the Elders and Messengers of Churches convened at their first constitution, giving them the right hand of fellowship, as a testimony thereof ; and ever since standing and walking regularly in the order of Communion of Churches, a society (above most) amiable and eligible, and with whome a Minister of the Gospell shall find Christian and honorable entertainment, and will be highly esteemed of in love for his worke sake among them. Wee pray you therfore, that (as to this our beloved Brother) you would please to receive him in the Lord as becometh Saints, and that you would assist him by your Councell and prayers to your utmost, in what soever buysines he hath need of you, and in particular, in that great trust committed to him, of seeking out for a sutable supply, of some able Minister of the new testament for that eminent Congregation of the Lord.

We beg a continued interest in your love and prayers, and pray that the Lord would be seen in all our Mounts, That the good will of him who dwelt in the bush may be with you and us in this houre of temptation, that we may keep the word of his patience, and not deny his name, holding fast that which we have, That no man may take away our Crowne, and that the God of grace, even our God would supply all your and our need, according to his riches in glory by Christ Jesus in whome we are.

Your affectionate and ever Loving Brethren
in the fellowship of the gospell

JOHN ALLIN	ZACH : SYMMES	EDMUND BROWNE
SAMUEL WHITING	FFR : DANE	THO : COBBET
ANTIPAS NEWMAN	JOHN WARD	JOHN HIGGINSON
SAMUEL PHILLIPS	WM. HUBBARD	EDWARD BULKLY
SAMUEL DANFORTH	JOHN SHERMAN	SAMUEL TORREY
INCREASE MATHER	SAM : WHITING Junr.	THOMAS SHEPARD ¹
	JOHN HALE	

14 : November 1669

¹ [These letters are printed in the *Am. Antiq. Society*, almost precisely as third volume of the *Transactions of the* we find them in the Narrative. We have

The 29: (9) 69 a letter prepared to send to the Church of Charlestowne for Mr. Thomas Thatcher's dismissal read and approved of by the Church as followeth.

Honoured Reverend and beloved

The consideration of the readines and enlargednes of your Christian love and favour which soe many waies hath bin manifested on all occasions as it call on us, to have our hearts enlarged unto God, who hath put it into your hearts thus to shew forth the kindnesse of the Lord unto us, Soe also to acknowledge unto yourselves the instruments in his hand of so much refreshing unto us, Begets in us boldnesse from former experience to crave of you an addition to what we have received, we doubt not but our helples Condition is upon your heart daily, And that you are considering what to doe, for your little and unworthy sister who yet is without breasts, Our humble request unto you is, That you would please for to dismisse unto us your Reverend Brother Mr. Thomas Thatcher, in order for to be a Teaching officer among us. We have some considerable time since manifested our desire thereof unto himself, who hath answered us with his acceptance, there remaine only your favorable dismissal of him unto us: to capacitate him to joine with us: in order thereunto, which our former experience give us hope, you will gratifie us in, And we hope that the good Lord will cause all spirituall blessednesse to abound more and more unto you, for this Loane. which is lent unto the Lord, begging also that you would also follow this your gift with your fervent prayers, that he may come unto us, with the fullnesse of the blessing of the gossell, That he may be as a star in the right hand of him, who walketh in the midst of his churches, And that ourselves and oures may declare that all the changes of providence and various dispensations, which we have ben under are for our spirituall advantage in our Lord Jesus in whom wishing grace and mercy and peace, we subscribe ourselves.

Your much obliged Brethren and Servants

THO. SAVAGE

ED RAINFORD

by the appointment of the church

BOSTON: 29: 9: 69.

Superscribed to the Honoured Reverend and beloved the Church of Christ at Charlestown these pressent

Upon which letter the church of charlestown dismissed the Reverend Mr. Thatcher as followeth

made a few slight changes in the spelling of the signatures, but have not thought it worth while to change the order in which they stand in the *Narrative*.]

To the honoured, and beloved the third Church of Christ, in Boston ;

Grace, mercy, and peace be multiplied unto you from God our Father, through our Lord Jesus Christ !

Honoured and dearly beloved in our blessed Saviour. When we call to mind some of the daies of the right hand of the most high, upon whose shoulder the government is layd, and whose name (let it be for ever called Wonderfull, Counsellor!) hath been magnified to you ward, we cannot but say with Him ; This, This is the Lord's doing, it is marvelous in our eyes ! The solemne meditation of that

13 : (10) 1669

work of God in Davids time, drew forth from him, we may think, that most pathetical Invocation ; Lord remember David, and all His afflictions ! how he sware unto the Lord, and vowed unto the mighty God of Jacob, Surely I will not come into the Tabernacle of my house : nor goe up into my bed ; I will not give sleep to mine eyes, or slumber to mine eye-lids, untill I find out a place for the Lord, an habitation for the mighty God of Jacob ! Which words doubtlesse are written for our Instruction, that we also should set our affection to the house of our God ; which as we doe believe it effectually worketh also in you that believe, so we trust it hath in measure its influence upon ourselves ; bowing our hearts unto a willingness to offer unto the Lord, that which hath not cost us nothing. For our own part, soe amiable is the enlargement of the kingdome of our Lord Jesus, and so pleasant is the duty of communion of Churches, because of that altogether-lovely-one who walketh in the midst of the golden Candlesticks, that we do, through grace, conceive a secret, and ineffable delight in our exosculation of the opportunity, wherein we may, by our testimony, afford any contribution of encouragement thereunto. Soe it is, then, that our reverend, and deare Brother Mr. Thomas Thatcher, upon your earnest sollicitation of him, hath desired of us Letters of Dismission unto you : yourselves likewise intreating us to shew you the kindness of the Lord therein, by granting the same unto him ; we have considered of the motion thereof made unto us, in the fear of God ; And, though not without an affectionate sense of our own Losse in parting with such an one (for the riches of that gift of the grace of God bestowed upon him, whereof we have had much comfortable experience in his Ministry ; in which work of the Lord (howsoever the Lord shall dispose of him) we trust it will be his study to show himself approved unto God, a workman that needeth not to be ashamed, rightly dividing the word of truth) yet, as to this act of Communion, we must say, who are we that we should withstand God ; We do therefore, according to your and his desire, dismiss this our much esteemed brother unto your holy fellowship, praying you to receive him in the Lord as becometh Saints ; and to esteem him very highly in love for his work sake : and be at peace among yourselves : Truthing it in love, according to the exhortation of the

Holy Ghost: yea we beseech you to follow peace with all men, and holynesse, without which no man shall see the Lord. Dear brethren, we salute you in the Lord, and begg your prayers for us, as it is our hearts desire that we may be allwaies labouring fervently for you in our prayers, that you may stand perfect, and compleat in all the Will of God: And that not ourselves only but all the Churches of Christ may still be with you in the Spirit, joying and beholding your order, and the stedfastnesse of your faith in Christ, in whome we remaine

Your loving brethren in the fellowship of the Gospell.

ZECH: SYMMES

THOMAS SHEPARD

13. 10. 69

with the consent of the brethren of the Church of Christ in Charlestown.¹

The Church met publicquely in the new meeting house, which they had erected for publike worship, Mr. Tho: Thatcher ^{19: (10) 1669} preached both in the forenoone and afternoone, his morning exercise was Ezech: 1 ch. : 1: 2: 3 vrs: &c. in the evening Psal: 47: 4² after ending of it the preceding letter of dismission from the Church of Charlestown was publicquely read, which being done the Church voted his admission and himself entered into Covenant with the Church: The Church kept a day of humiliation, after ending of that duty, Mr. Thatcher was called ^{12: (11)} to the office of a Pastor by the unanimous consent of the Church: Mr. Rainsford ruling Elder Mr. Jaacob Ellyot and Mr. Peter Bracket Deacons. The same time it was unanimously agreed that the 16th of the (12) month ensuing should be set apart for the ordination of the forementioned officers, allso that letters should be sent unto the severall Churches for Elders and Messengers to be assistant in the work: which were as follow

LETTER SENT TO THE CHURCH OF CHARLESTOWN.

Grace mercy and peace be multiplyed in God our ffather and in our Lord Jesus Christ

Reverend and dearly beloved in our Lord Jesus

Thus far the Lord the branch hath bin with us as with the Angell stretching out the line of building upon our feeble work to lay the foundation we trust of many generations, in remembering gratically

¹ [This beautiful letter was written by Mr. Shepard. We have corrected it, as it stands in the Narrative, by the original, which is on the files of the Old South Church.]

² [The text in the morning was: "The word of the Lord came expressly unto

Ezekiel the priest, the son of Buzi, in the land of the Chaldeans, by the river Chebar; and the hand of the Lord was there upon him." The text of the evening was: "He shall choose our inheritance for us, the excellency of Jacob whom he loved."]

the troubles of his poore afflicted, giving them a naile in his house, and hath not onely accepted them into a Covenant of espousalls, but allso prepared a place and builded an house for their assembling, yea he hath allso (we trust through his grace) soe far given us to partake of the benifit of his Ascension, as to chuse out some for us to goe in and out before us, in the work of the Ministry and officers of his house viz: Mr. Tho: Thatcher Pastor, Mr. Ed: Rainsford ruling Elder Mr. Jaacob Ellyot and Mr. Peter Bracket deacons, and directed us accordingly to pitch upon the 16th of the next month for a time to set them apart by prayer and fasting, and laying on of hands unto the service whereunto the Lord hath called them, wee doe therefore humbly intreat and earnestly crave your prayers for us and concurrence with us, that we being strengthened by the right hand of your fellowship may mannage that which remaineth in this great and weighty affaire according to the accepted will of God in Christ. In order whereunto we further desire you to send your Elders and messengers to be present with us, at least on that day to consider together with the Elders and messengers of other Churches, and advise what may be most suteable to our state and work, according to the will and counsell of our deare and blessed Lord, soe shall you lay upon us a further obligation, to acknowledge your love and faithfullnes unto us in the Lord, respecting to our comfort, and the prosperity of these Churches, by the furtherance of the Gospell, and to approve ourselves in the Lord (to whose will) we heartily commend you to be our dear Brethren.

19 (11) 69

Your affectionate Brethren

THO: SAVAGE

WM. DAVIS

JOSH: SCOTTOW

HEZ: USHER

THO: BRATTLE

In the name and by the appointment of the whole Church:

LETTER TO THE SECOND GATHERED CHURCH OF CHRIST IN BOSTON.

Reverend and beloved

It hath bin the good favour and grace of God towards us, after his many afflictive dispensations upon us to vouchsafe unto us the grace of espousalls unto himself, and a name and a place (though most unworthy) among his Churches, here in this his Canaan, and to bestow upon us of these his Ascension blessings, Gifts for the Ministry and offices of his house and hath directed our hearts upon some among ourselves for that worke (viz) Mr. Tho: Thatcher for Pastour, Mr. Edward Rainsford for ruling Elder, Mr. Jaacob Eliot and Mr. Peter Bracket for Deakons which if it please the Lord, we intend to set apart unto that work by fasting and prayer and laying on of hands, the sixteenth day of the next month, our humble request unto you therefore is, that you would assist us therein with your prayers, And that you would send your Elders and Messengers to be thereupon that

day to Strengthen us therein by their prayers and right hand of your fellowship whereby you will much oblige us, who are

Your affectionate Brethren

THOMAS SAVAGE

WM : DAVIS

HEZ : USHER

JOSH : SCOTTOW

THO : BRATTLE

24 (11) 69

In the name and by Consent of the whole Church

The 9:(12) the Church met and agreed upon a letter to be sent unto the first Church of Boston the Copy of said letter followeth with the churchs answer.

To the Honoured Reverend and Beloved the Elders and Brethren of the first Church of Boston.

Honoured Reverend and dearly Beloved in our Blessed Saviour,

Grace mercy and peace be multiplied unto you from God our ffather and the Lord Jesus christ.

The Lord having in his infinite wisdom and grace, so ordered the changes that have of late befallen us, as that according to the advice of the churches (as yourselves know) mett in Councill, wee are brought into an orderly constitution of Church estate ; And having since beheld such a further manifestation of the presence of the Lord graciously going before us, and experienced such a divine manuduction, as hath brought us unto the participation of the priviledg, liberty, and opportunity of calling and electing such Officers in our Church (vizt) Reverend Tho: Thatcher Pastor, mr. Edw: Rainsford Ruling Elder, Peter Brackett Jacob Eliot Deacons, as whereby there may bee a comfortable administration of the Ordinances of Christ therein, wee cannot butt cry grace grace thereunto, And desire therefore to sanctify the name of the Lord alone, with all due thankfulnes to his divine Majesty for the same. And Communion of Churches being a duty indispensable laid upon us, alwaies to bee pursuing ; we doe therefore hereby tender itt unto yourselves, requesting you to extend itt unto us, in speciall by sending your Elders and Messengers to assist us on the day appointed for the Ordination of our Elders and Deacons afore said, (which will bee the 16th day of this instant) and that you would give us the right hand of ffellowship, together with the rest of the Churches to bee assembled then in Boston, by their Delegates for that end, if God permitt.

Wee doe humbly and earnestly begge your Concurrence, our hearts desire hath alwaies beene, is, and shall bee (through grace) that truth and peace may bee continued and established more and more among us, according to the Gospell Lett us professe that wee must love you

as Brethren, and pray for you, as wee desire your love to us and prayers for us: Wee heartily entreate there may bee that Communion betwixt yourselves and us and all other the Churches of Christ, cherished and increased, which Sister Churches owe each to other in the Lord. In whom wee remayne

Your afflicted and affectionate Brethren in the fellowship of the Gospel

THO : SAVAGE Senior

WM. DAVIS

JOSH : SCOTTOW

HEZ : USHER Senior

THOMAS BRATTLE

In the name and by the Order of the whole Church :¹

9 : 12. 69,

Answer sent by the first church unto this letter above written followeth.

ffor Mr. Tho : Thaacher and the rest of that society to be communicated to the Assembly that shall meete att the Ordination.

Beloved in the lord.

The letter sent to be Communicated to us, delivered to our Ruling Elder the 12th of this instant acquaintinge us with your purpose to ordaine officers, and desiringe our Concurrence therein, hath given us a fitt occasion to manifest our sence of that spirit appeares in your letter, and the proceedinge mentioned therein, wee Cannot but wonder and that with grieve of hearte to behold that confidence mentioned in yours, in callinge your Combination a regular Church Constitution which agrees neither with the lawes of Christ, nor (as we Conceive) of this Collonie And that you dare entitle the favor of god, to that which is onely the fruite of your owne wills, and manifestly Crosse to the will of God revealed in his word. The wisdom of god permitting and governinge such motions wee readily acknowledge, but not graciously, Conductinge them. wee gladly would joyne with you to double our Cryes for grace from the lord for your repentance and pardon, that his displeasure may nott break forth in your layinge the topstone of this provocation,

Most willingly wee would have concurred with your desires, had the way bene such, that withoutt offence to our owne Consciences, wee might have approved : but being as it is, wee must declare our dissatisfaction in your proceedinge to ordaine officers either Elders or Deacons among you.

The reasons whereof are

1 Because the persons mentioned to bee Called to those offices, are

¹ [We have corrected this letter by a have added the signature of Thomas copy in the possession of the Mass. Brattle, which does not appear in the Historical Society, and, in so doing, Narrative.]

not withoutt blame, as such ought to bee 1 Tim : 3 : 2 : 7 : Titus : 1 : 10 : Mr. Thacher though hee saw nott light to joyne with you, when you irregularly withdrew yourselves from us, yet since Dismissed from us first hath joynd and so made himselfe partaker of your sinnes, contrary to 1 Tim : 5 : 22 : the 3 others have bene constant actors with you from first to last :

2 all of them have accepted a call to office among you, who are not Capable to Choose or receive any such officers, according to the rules of Christ, or the lawes of this Jurisdiction (as wee understand them) for 1. when wee were according to rule laboring to convince you of your offences, given to us, you did contrary to that rule Matt : 18 : 15 : withdraw from us, not acknowledging the authority of Christ Jesus in his church, and soe not regardinge your Covenant engagement to subjection to it.

2. After which you appointed a time to gather into a pretended Church Society, by yourselves, though not regularly free from your Covenant to this Church, contrary to that law of Christ 1 Cor : 12 : 25 : and the law of this Jurisdiction tit : Eccl Sect 1. (as wee conceive)

3. And notwithstandinge wittnesse bearinge by this Church against that proceedinge, by messengers sent on purpose, with a writeing of the Churches testimonie against it, as also six of our honourd Magistrates, of whom our Honourd Governor was one, who did by a writing declare their desire of your desistinge at the present yet you proceeded, neither regardinge offence to a Church of Christ Contrary to 1 Cor : 10 : 32. Nor havinge due respect to the persons or the authority of magistrates, contrary to Tit : 3 : 1 : and that law of this Colonie Title Eccl : sect : 3. as wee thinke

4. Since which you have erected a meetinge house in a place forbidden by the authority of this towne, not consented unto by the prudentials of the same, offensive to the Churches in it, and to many godly Christians in other places, neither suitinge the ends and conveniences of this place, who by former agreement had appointed a lott for such a buildinge, onely grattifying your owne selfe ends and wills contrary to 1 Cor : 10 : 31.¹

¹ [Among the papers in the possession of the Mass. Historical Society there is a rough draft of a portion of a reply to this letter, in the handwriting of Mr. Thacher, which perhaps it is hardly just to him to print in its unfinished and fragmentary state, and yet we feel that we ought to put it in as part of the controversy:—

“To your 4th Reason where you say Since which you have Erected a meeting

house. Oh horrible crime ! Twas sometimes said He is worthie for he loveth our nation and hath built us a meeting house. Luk. 7. But another spirit spirits your scribes and subscribers. But it was in a place forbidden by the Authority of this town you say] nay but it was built where no authority of this town had any power to forbid us that we knew of. where should men build it but on that ground where they had power ?

Those things and many the like considered, wee Judge it our duty to declare our dissatisfaction in your proceedinge to ordaine officers, as an act highly displeasinge to God and Dangerous to the wellfare of Civill and Church government as settled among us; And therefore wee being obliged in love to Christ Matt: 10: 32: to Confesse his name, not onely by acknowledginge any truth of his, wherein his Crowne and Dignity is Concerned, but also by preventing soe farr as wee may the doinge any thing destructive thereunto, as also in love and duty to this government, which the Lord hath graciously sett over us, they by that law concerninge ordination, not onely givinge leave to organick Churches to declare against any disorderly proceedinge but inviting them thereunto, that they by them may know how to prevent dammage to the government as now Constituted, and in love and duty to preserve the peace and purity of those Churches which are soe manifestly endangered, as wee are prest in Psal: 122: 6: and urged to doe, by the use of all lawfull meanes, of which this is one, and in love to our brethren accordinge to the great rule of love, in such Cases, Lev: 19: 17: doe bare this Testimony against it.

upon that ground which most suited the conveniences of the builders? yea on that ground which was given unto God for such an end! But you say—not consented unto by the prudentials of the town] We had as much of their consent as was necessary for us But you adde that twas offensive to the churches in it. —We knew they had no cause to be offended. not the new church, because it was for them, nor the Second church, because it could not be any prejudice to them nor yourselves: for by that means you had enlargement, and the benefit of all the cost and charges we had ben out at in our time of communion with you. We did not carry from you any part of the common stocke which was—we demanded no help from either of the churches, made no collections, to impoverish the town by it or ingage any. but trusting in the Lord we undertook it and the Lord hath finishd it as it is at this day. Neither indeed had we any notice of any vote of offence past against it in either church: or any church act put forth orderly to hinder it. But if they had that would not have proved it to be offensive to the churches. it would have proved them offenders against Christ to have hindered a sister church in preparing an house of meeting for their God where-

in to enjoy communion with him and with one another in him according to their covenant. Twas not only so but you say further that it was offensive to many Godly Christians in other places. Here you hold forth a great deal of charity to the Godly Christians, the many godly Christians in other places So that you think it a great sin to offend them, and indeed so it is: But where was this care in those who rejected the advice given by the first councill of their own calling, without answering their sollid arguments or returning a reason? where was this care not to offend them, in those that shut the 2d Councill out of their dores. forgetting that the messengers of the churches are the glory of Christ. 2 Cor. 8. 23? where was this care not to offend them when the matter of offence and scandall to so many churches testified against by so many Elders was left unremoved, about concealing the leters of such importance, and cutting off about two thirds of another letter out of it to draw and squeeze forth a pretended dismission: which is not pleasing unto us to repeat Surely that scripture should then have ben minded 1 Cor. 10. 31 where which you so hotly charge us thō without cause. But as for the many Christians that were offended—"]

It is our hearty desire the Lord would open your eyes to see what you have done amisse, you may bewaile and reforme it, and that he would blesse this our faithfull endeavor to that end, however wee have hereby given you warninge from the Lord, and so delivered our owne soules, and shall leave the issue to the wise and soveraigne disposer of the hearts and wayes of men, to deliver yours in his good tyme for which wee pray.

The messengers sent by the Church with this letter unto your Assembly are Capt. Tho. Clark, Capt. Hutchison, Lieutenant Cook and James Everill and to declare the churches mind further as they see cause.

*John Davenport senior
James Allen
James Penn.
with the Consent of the Brethren¹*

This letter above was by Captaine Clark, and Captaine Hutchison and Mr. Everill delivered to Mr. Thatcher the evening before the ordination day at 7 a clocke

[These] Churches were sent unto, but by reason of the deep snow their Elders and Messengers could not be present : ² there was present of the Elders and Messengers onely of those Churches below.

ffrom the Church of Watertowne Captaine Mason and Deacon Hastings their Pastor not being able to come

ffrom the Church of Cambridge Reverend Charles Chancy President of the Colledge, Captaine Dan : Gookin and Mr. Tho : Danforth.

¹⁶ : (12) 1669.
Churches sent to
Beverly Wen-
ham Haverell
Sudbury Con-
cord Ipswich
Andover Man-
chester Billreke
Medfield Rowly

¹ [We have corrected this letter by the original, in the handwriting of Mr. Allen, which is in the possession of the Mass. Hist. Society.]

² ["16. 12. 1669 Mr. Thomas Thatcher was ordained Pastor to the third church in Boston, and Mr. Rainsford Ruling Elder.

"This winter was very sharp and tedious, we had much snow and cold weather, the wayes difficult and unpassable." — *Roxbury Church Records*.

The Rev. Samuel Phillips, of Rowley, entered on the records of his church that he was unable to be present at the ordination, because there was so much snow.

Mr. Phillips was a warm friend of the new church from the start. It would have gratified him if he could have foreseen that descendants of his in the third, fourth, and fifth generations would serve as deacons in this church.

The question is asked, sometimes, What constitutes a quorum of an ecclesiastical council? Our Narrative, we think, gives a satisfactory answer : Those representatives of invited churches who have appeared at the time and place designated constitute a quorum, and should proceed to business accordingly, unless the parties who issued the letters missive desire otherwise. If it be said that a

from the Church of Charles Towne ; Reverend Tho : Shephard, Tho : Lynd Deacon

from the Church of Waymouth, Reverend Sam : Torry, Captain Wm. Torry Elder Bates, John Holbrooke.

Reverend mr. John Allin being present all though not sent from his Church, was Desired by the Church in the time of it to joyne with Reverend mr. Shephard, and mr. Torry, in laying on of hands upon mr. Tho : Thatcher, and Mr. Allin to give the charge, unto him, which accordingly was performed, and then mr. Thatcher mr. Shephard, and mr. Torry layd hands on mr. Edward Rainsford, and mr. Thatcher gave charge unto him.¹

And mr. Thatcher and mr. Ranceford layd hands and gave charge unto mr. Jacob Elliot and mr. Peter Bracket for the office of Deacons.

Aboute 10 of the clock, and before the ordination abovesaid Captain Clarke, Captain Hutcheson, Leutenant Rich Cooke and mr. James Everill came unto the house of Captain Tho : Savage² where the Elders and Messengers of Churches were met, and delivered them a letter of the same Tenour which was sent unto mr. Tho : Thatcher, and his society from the first church of Boston, as is before mentioned Requiring and desiring that it might be communicated to the publique assembly The Messengers of the Churches demanded of the said Captain Clarke and the rest of those with him whither they were sent from their Church to this assembly, by vertu of Communion of Churches to give the right hand of fellowship, and whither their church had sent their Elders, as well as themselves unto which they made answer that their church had not sent their Elders Nor did themselves come to hold Communion of Churches with this church — unto which answer was made that if they would withdraw they would consider what to do about it, The Elders and Messengers went to meeting where mr. Tho : Thatcher preached out of 6 Zach : 12 : v :³ at the End of the Sermon there was respit for halfe an houer (In which time)

majority of the churches invited must be present by their representatives before a council can organize and transact other business, then a majority, by purposely staying away, might postpone or prevent an ordination or installation ; or, in the case of unavoidable absence, might put the inviting church and its pastor-elect to great inconvenience. It would have been unjust, manifestly, to Mr. Thacher, to the church, and to those elders and messengers who had made the effort to be present, to postpone the ordination services, because the representatives of other churches, even a majority of those

sent to, and for a good reason, had failed to appear.]

¹ [The words "for the worke and office of ruling elder" are erased in the manuscript.]

² [In the early years of the colony, Mr. Savage's house and garden were on the north corner of Fleet and Ship streets, near Scarlet's Wharf. See Porter's *Rambles in Old Boston in N. Eng.*, p. 286. In 1656, Mr. Savage built a new house in the vicinity of the present Union and Elm streets, "between the drawbridge and the conduit."]

³ ["Thus speaketh the Lord of hosts,

the Messengers of the churches being at mrs. Nortons house, sent for Captain Clarke and his Companions and told them that they saw no light, to read that writing before the Assembly they not standing as Messengers by vertu of communion of churches &c:— Then the Elders and Messengers of churches Assembled in publike, After mr. Chancy had prayed they proceeded to work of ordination. The Question being putt by mr. Tho : Shepheard to the Messengers of Churches sent by Communion of Churches according to the request of this Church, that if they had any objection against mr. Tho : Thatcher, from being proceeded with to ordination of a Pastor to this Church of christ, they had liberty to express them-^{16 (12) 1669} selves, Captain Clarke, Captaine Hutchison, Leiutenant Cooke, and Mr. Everill being sent by the first Church of Boston [as] Messengers to declare against the proceeding of the day spake as followeth and replies to them were made.[] Captaine Clarke began thus : It is much against my owne mind to speak especially upon such a time and occasion, but being called to it, with some others by the appointment of another church who could gladly (if according to rule) have held forth the right hand of fellowship to this Church and the officers chosen, am necessitated to object, that Church apprehending some thing to lye against both the Electors and the Elected, the particulars whereof refer to a Letter sent to this Society from that Church Mr. Shepheard answered The letter it seemes is sent to this third Church in Boston and we suppose they will be ready to give an account of their way to any who shall orderly desire it. In reference to the thing in Generall the Messengers of the Churches have considered of it and find not that in it as to give a supersedeas to the worke of this day, and therefore doe apprehend in point of order this is not soe proper a worke. Captaine Clark replied order is that we shall willingly sit downe by But we apprehend it orderly to give a hearing of such objections as may Justly be made in such a case.

Mr. Shepheard we are far from shutting our eyes or stopping our eares against any thing that may be brought in justly from the word of God against any Person, but we cannot apprehend any thing of that moment in what you object, and in point of order if you looke upon yourselves as Messengers of a Church and met here by vertu of Communion of Churches, you doe strike up your owne argument there being nothing in the letter but rather denyeth the being of the Church rather than communion with them now owning yourselves as Messengers by Communion of Churches your practise runs counter to your argument conteyned in the letter

Mr. Torrey your speech was in answer to the proposall made to the Messengers of the Churches if you owne yourselves to be of the saying, Behold the man whose name is of his place, and he shall build the temple of the Lord.”]
THE BRANCH : and he shall grow up out

Messengers of the Churches we shall then treat with you in that way.

Lieutenant Cooke : we doe not know that our Church hath professed contrary to the Churches, we were but as messengers of our Church to declare their mindes, if you would have us to owne this Assembly to be a Church by vertu of that Communion we scruple it

Mr. Torry this third Church did send in a way of Communion of Churches to other Churches to send their messengers, if you sent [brethren] in a way of Communion with us, then you stand in the same capacity with us.

Captaine Clark our Church hath expressed their owne mindes, and therefore I desire we may not be put upon interrogatories.

Mr. Shephard this letter you seem to be about to read is sent to this third Church in Boston, and they are to have the first cognisance of it, they have had no time to consider the same as they would desire.

It was sent them this day within the compasse of 24 heures, I suppose

the first Church will receive an answer from this third
 16 : (12) 1669 Church the messengers assembled have already judged the paper not meet to be read at this time :

Captaine Hutchinson I suppose the messengers of the Churches are not sent to give the right hand of fellowship let things [be] how they will :

Mr. Shephard we are willing to heare any objection soe that the end may not be obstructed, and this I assure you in the name of the rest of the messengers, if you will refer the matter to an orderly decision by Councill, you shall have it in time convenient.

Mr. Torry you would have the letter read, pray tell us to whome you would have it read whither to the messengers of the Churches, to this Church as a Church of Christ, to them as brethren still with you, or to the whole Assembly : it was answered to the whole Assembly, and that those persons were never orderly dismissed from them being Brethren under offence, as those who had leapt over the wall and although Mr. Thatcher did not see meet to act then with them, but told them he approved not of their way, yet when he was cleare from their Church joyned himself unto them, being demanded whither their objection was against Mr. Thatcher as standing here to be ordayned, and whither Mr. Thatcher had not publiquely declared his intention to joine unto this Church it could not be denyed but that he had, but it was objected against him that he had professed that he had disowned the dissenters in their acting and would labour to bring them of, yet now was partaker of their sin in leaping over the wall, Mr. Thatcher having liberty granted to speake cleared himself of that false aspersion : but if the thing affirmed were granted it was replied unto them, it argued but the change of a mans mind who might see cause to doe that afterward which he saw not before, and therefore no

matter of obstruction, after further debate it was declared as to the being of this Church it had already bin judged by the orderly judge, the Churches having already judged it to be a Church of Christ, and therefore declared they should proceed in the work which god called unto, the vote being put to the whole Assembly of Christian friends and neighbours, and finally to the Church itself whose votes passing in the Affirmative Mr. Thatcher being called upon to declare whither he accepted of it thus spake :

It is not a matter of small moment to be a Pastor to any people for any man, being to stand in the stead of the Lord Jesus Christ in his ministration and especially at such a time as things are Circumstanced with ourselves : but being thoroughly perswaded that this call is the call of God and Christ I dare not be disobedient therunto, But trusting in the grace of Christ doe freely give up myselfe to the Lord and his people in the worke he hath called me to, resolving by the helpe of his Grace to mannage it in his feare, according to the rules which he hath or here after may make knowne unto mee — after which they proceeded to actuall ordination, premising that the Reverend Mr. Allin of Dedham being there, it was declared by this Churches vote to be their desire he should joyne with Mr. Shepheard and Mr. Torry in laying on of hands on Mr. Thatcher and that he should give him the charge which accordingly was performed as before mentioned.

Elder Ransford declared to the church before the Assembly that the next Lords day the sacrament was to be administered. 20 : (12) 1669

The first Church in Boston had a church metting where the sisters were particularly warned to be present, when met Captain Tho : Clarke, Captain Edw : Hutchinson, Lieutenant Cooke, ^{25 :} and mr. Everill whom the Church had sent as messengers to the Elders with the foregoing paper from the church to be Communicated to the Assembly, gave an account of their service which the Church employed them in, haveing drawn up a narrative of their discou[rse] with the Elders and Messengers of the Churches in publique and private ; therein they charged the Reverend Mr. Chancy for reflecting upon themselves in his prayer, wherein they did him apparent wrong, and allso in the said narrative they gave no better titles to the Reverend Mr. Shepheard and Mr. Torry than Shepheard and Torry, Torry and Shepheard, they being by the messengers of the Churches chosen and declared to be the Moderators to order and carry an end the work of ordination that day : after reading of the same, thankses was returned to them by the Church for their good service : soone after Mr. Davenport applyed himself to the whole Church Brethren and sisters, declaring it was breach of Covenant for any of them to goe from their owne Church to heare the word preached, or to partake of the Sacrament unlesse it were in want of officers to the Church or being on a

Journey (though it was contrary to the frequent practise of the Brethren who ordinarily heard and partake of the supper with the Church [at] the North end of the Towne) this was not put to vote, but by silence consented unto by the Church whereupon the Sisters whose husbands were members of the 3d Church understanding how greivous and deeply offensive it would be for them to partake with their husbands in the seale next Lords day, they out of Christian prudence forbore, not having made particular application unto the Church for their dismission :

The Lords supper was celebrated among them of the 3d Church where sundry Brethren and sisters of other Churches did
 27: (12) partake by vertu of Communion of Churches.

Two sisters repaired to Mr. Davenport for satisfaction about what he had delivered the last Church meeting : namely that
 28: they should lay under breach of Covenant with the first Church if they should heare the word or partake in another Church unlesse &c : and declaring themselves satisfied in the orderly constitution of that Church whereof their husbands were members and said that if the Church would please to let them hold Communion with them, they should not desire to alter their station untill such time as they saw their practise was answerable to their profession, if not they should desire a regular dismission :

The same sisters soone after applied themselves to Elder Pen and Mr. Ja. Allen and to other Brethren to promote their request unto the Church for their dismission, and having drawne up a petition they carried it to Elder Pen desiring him to Communicate it to the Church which followeth.

Honoured Reverend and Beloved Elders and Brethren of the first Church of Christ in Boston whereof we are members.

Such hath bin the order of divine providence that our deare husbands are removed from this Church society And are gathered into a distinct church body by themselves, and have opportunity of administering all the holy ordinances of God among themselves, We considering the duty which lyeth upon us, That we are commanded to aske our respective husbands at home, also considering the faithfull in Scripture Joshua, he and his household would serve the Lord, — David and his traine went together, Moses would have the women and Children goe together to worship, also the Comeliness and sweet order when whole families worship together, On the contrary the confusion, disorder, and disturbance which will unavoidably follow, when husbands goe to one place and wives to another to worship : Allso our owne affections and desires earnestly pressing us hereunto, doe therefore present our earnest request unto you that you would dismiss us from your church fellowship, unto the fellowship of that church whereof

our respective husbands are members. That this is desired of us all witness our hands

MARY SAVAGE

HULLDAH DAVIS

JUDITH HULL

LIDIA SCOTTOW

ELIZ ROCK

MARY BRACKETT

SUSANNA DAWS

SARAH PEMBERTON

ELIZ ALLDEN

RACH RAWSON

ELIZABETH USHER

ELIZ RANSFORD

SARAH OLLIVER

MARY ELLIOT

HANNAH FFRAIRY

RAN BELLCHER

MARY TAPPIN

ELIS THIRSTON

SARAH WALKER

MARY SALLTER

The 3d Church after great travell and trouble being furnished and supplied with officers and ordinances did agree that there should be a narrative of the whole [pro] gres of their proceedings drawn up and kept among the Churches Records for Posterity.

Elder Pen after he had kept the sisters petition three days brought it down to Mr. Brackett, And said it would not doe it was too long a business, They might write two or three lines to be dismisd to a church in order and let every sister write and subscribe there paper, to which Mr. Brackett answered he Judged it not safe for them soe to doe, the sisters might bring themselves into a snare. He answered no, it should not, they might bring every one their owne request and leave it with him. But as it was written he would not read it to the church, upon the elders speech Mr. Brackett replies if the writing of so many Coppyes and each sister to set her hand will satisfy that may be done.

The sisters subscribing the same petition only alltering the term we to me writt soe many individuall papers with each of their names subscribed and by Companyes carried theire petitions up to elder Pen, desiring him to take a season to present them to the Church, to understand their mind, as to the granting of their dismission. And soe left their severall papers with him &c.

Being Lordsday Reverend Mr. Davenport being ill preached not in the afternoon. about 9 Clocke of the Evening was taken very ill and smitten with the dead palsy upon one side of him at once, who continued soe untill 16 day in the Evening about (9) of the Cloke his soule Returned to God that gave it.¹

Mr. Oxenbridge was on the Lords day propounded to be a member of the first Church.²

the same day mrs. Blake widdow was admitted member of the third church by vertu of letter of dismission from the church of Dorchester who in that act owned them to be a church of Christ.³

¹ [The *Magnalia* inscribes for him the following epitaph: "Safely in port. In life, the ornament of New England and the church; dead, the object of their common regret." His death was undoubtedly hastened by the general con-

demnation of his course in connection with the New Haven correspondence.]

² [The Reverend John Oxenbridge was ordained pastor of the First Church, April 10, 1670.]

³ [Mr. William B. Trask has kindly

mr. Oxenbridg was admitted member of the first Church
Reverend Mr. Davenport was interred in the tombe of Reverend

transcribed for us the following, from the
Dorchester Church Records:—

"6 (1) 69-70 Sister Agnes Blake (the wife of William Blake deceased) she having removed her dwelling to Boston was dismissed to Joyne to the third Church in Boston." (1)

"18. 12. 71. John Blake dismissed to Joyne to the third Church in Boston." (2)

"Ann Legar of Boston who was the daughter of William Blake Senior dismissed the 21. 2. 72 to Joyne to the Church in Boston." (3)

"Old Mrs. Mather and Sister Clements was dismissed to the third Church in Boston the 10th 11. 74." (4)

"Mrs. Taylor who was the dafter of Mrs. Stoughton dismissed to the 3d Church in Boston though not in full communion 1675." (5)

"In the 6 mo. 1676 the daughter of Nathaniell Glover now wif unto Mr. Rawson of Boston And was dismissed to the 3d Church in Boston though not in full Communion, but by father's Covenant." (6)

(1) William Blake's will was proved Jan. 28, 1663. He was born in Little Baddow, Essex, England; sailed from Plymouth in the Mary and John, March 20, 1630; and arrived at Nantasket May 30.

(2) John Blake, with his wife Mary, joined the Third Church Feb. 28, 1671-2. He died 1688-9.

(3) Anne, wife of Jacob Leager (whose tombstone is in the possession of the Bostonian Society) joined May 2, 1673. She was in some way connected with the Walkers and Thurstons.

(4) Mrs. Mather (of whom we have already spoken in this chapter) and Mrs. Clements joined March 5, 1674-5. The latter was probably Elizabeth, widow of Augustine Clements, of Dorchester and Boston. She gave a silver cup to the First Church, Dorchester, in 1678. Mrs. Thomas Thacher had given one to it, with "a green cushion for the desk," in 1672. These cups were presented by that church, in 1877, to the Second

Church, of which the Rev. James H. Means was then pastor, "as a token of good fellowship." See *Hist. and Gen. Register*, July, 1886.

(5) Rebecca Taylor owned the covenant in 1676. She was a daughter of Israel Stoughton, a sister of William Stoughton, chief justice and acting governor, and wife of William Tailer, or Taylor, "one of the greatest merchants of Boston." For an account of Mr. Taylor's suicide, July 12, 1682, see *Diary of Noadiah Russell, Hist. and Gen. Register*, vol. vii. p. 56.

(6) Ann, daughter of Nathaniel Glover, married, July 11, 1673, William Rawson, a son of the secretary, and had twenty children. Her husband owned the covenant in 1680, but her name does not appear on any of our church lists.

The Dorchester Church Records contain the following particulars in reference to Mrs. Taylor:—

"The 16 (7) 68, Mr. Mather acquainted the church with a motion made to him and the church by Mrs. Stoughton and her daughter Taylor, namely, that her children might be baptized, she being a member of this church by her parents' covenant; and after much agitation, the issue was that Mr. Mather should speak with Mrs. Taylor, to see if she would join in full communion with the church, and so come to the Lord's supper."

"The 24 (8) 68, Mr. Mather declared to the church that he having spoken with Mrs. Taylor, as aforesaid, her answer was that she did not judge herself worthy or as yet fit for the Lord's supper, and therefore durst not adventure thereupon, but yet did desire baptism for her children; but the church would not fully or comfortably agree about it, and so it rested." (See *ante*, p. 91, note.)

Mrs. Taylor's son, William, was baptized at the South Church, July 9, 1676, probably, when she owned the covenant. He became a distinguished man, held many prominent positions, and was lieutenant governor and acting governor under the second charter.]

Mr. Cotton, Before his carrying forth out of his house it was desired by the Reverend Elders there present, that they might carry him to the tombe, which was denied to them: being ^{22: 1: 69-70} carried by B[rother] Search Mr. Everill and other brethren of first Church

The old church met where they read the afore menti[o]ned desire of the sisters for their dismission to the church whereof their husbands were members: After much agitation, ^{25: 1: 70:} being put to vote, it past in the negative by lifting up of hands,

After the vote past B: Chever moved that the church would further consider of the sisters petition; And in case they did not see light to give them a dismission to the church whereof their husbands were members, Then to give them an indefinite dismission, whereupon Mr. Allen bid the Brother forbear, and attend the businesse in hand, If the sisters had any such motion to make, they might express it themselves, Whereupon one of the sisters having a writing in rednesse with the consent of the other sisters present desired it to be handed up to the elders which was as follo[ws] viz

We having presented our humble request for a dismission as we beleive according to rule, upon reasons renderd in that request, to that Church whereof our husbands are and perceiving that it is not acceptable to you doe humbly request that you would grant unto us an indefinite dismission, and soe liberty to joine unto any Church in order.

Subscribed by some sisters in the name of the rest.

This paper above being given up the elder toke it and put it up in his pocket, neither reading it, nor making knowne their request unto the Church [which] returned no answer unto it. ^{25: 1: 1670}

The sacrament being celebrated at the 3d Church some of the sisters partoke with them and one sister named S: Beck¹ whose husband was no member of this new Church which occasioned much dissatisfaction among many brethren of the old Church for peace sake those sisters did forbear going to the sacrament to the old Church the 3: of the (2) it being then celebrated, waiting when the Lord would incline the brethren to grant them a dismission, having the assurance from the Elders that they should not by that forbearing of Communion be accompted as sismitticks for rending the Church. ^{27: (1) 70}

The old Church kept a day of humiliation.

[5] 2. 70

Our deare Brother Peter Oliver departed this life,²

11:

¹ [S. probably stands for Sister, in this case. Elizabeth, wife or widow of Alexander Beck, joined the new church in 1674. Her son, Manasseh, joined March 6, 1672. His wife, Mary, was a daughter of one of the founders, William Salter.]

died and was lamented by all men." — *Roxbury Church Records*.

Thomas Brattle was chosen and appointed by the General Court "cornet to the troope of horse in the county of Suffolk instead of the late Captain Peter Oliver deceased." — *General Court Records*.]

² ["70. 2 m 11 d Mr Peter Oliver

The sacrament was celebrated at the new Church, where most of the sisters whose husbands were members of it, together
 24: with many sisters of the old Church: both widows and others did partake with them, and after that the sisters whose husbands were members of the new Church gave to Elder Pen this following paper desiring it to be communicated unto the old Church

Reverend and Dearly beloved in the Lord.

Having had communion with our respective husbands in the Supper of the Lord, this Sabbath, And judging it for ædification and consolation so to doe, Wee humbly intreat you, candidly to interpret it, And for the helping of our joy in the Lord for the future, earnestly request you so to release us of our Covenant engagement unto yourselves, that wee may, without offence to you, have liberty so to provide for our own peace and spirituall comfort as may, in our own consciences be most suitable to our duty for our ædification in the Lord :

24: (2:) 1670

MARGREATT THACHER	MARY BRACKITT
MARY SAVAGE	ELISABETH ROCK
HULLDAH DAVIS	SUSANNA DAWES
MARY TAPPIN	MARY SALTER
LIDIA SCOTTOW	MARY ELLIOT
JUDITH HULL	HANNAH FRARY
SARAH WALKER	REANIS BELCHER

SARAH OLIVER

I desire the like liberty when god shall give opportunity

RACHEL RAWSON

I doe desire the like

ELISHUA THURSTON

I doe desire the like liberty with the rest of my sisters

ELIZABETH RAYNSFORD

Soe do the wife of James Pemerton

ELIZ ALDEN.¹

Mrs. Savage, Mrs. Hull, and goody Dawes were desired to goe up
 25: (2) to Mr. Allens where Mr. Oxenbridge, Elder Pen, and some other Brethren of the old Church were met, where when come a reason was desired to be given of their partaking with the new Church in the Sacrament the last Lords day.

It was answerd Mr. Oxenbridge being treated with by the Church

¹ [We have corrected the copy of this letter in the Narrative with the original, in the handwriting of John Hull, preserved on the files of the Old South. It was a singular mistake on the part of the

compiler of the Narrative, to place, as he did, the name of "Margaret Sheaffe" among the signers. Mrs. Sheaffe married Mr. Thacher several years before this.]

about taking of office, declared in his answer to the Church that as for these persons whose hearts were not with the Church whome he termed half members, he desired the Church would take some care about their remove before the day of his ordination, they hearing this it put them upon further thoughts of desiring their dismissal: and also that upon the 18th of this moneth, Elder Pen went to Mrs. Hulls and sister Dawes houses, and to each of them declared, it would be the best expedient for the attayning of their desires, for all the sisters to goe and partake with their husbands in the sacrament that next Lords day, where upon it was replied by this meanes they should be led into a snare, and bring themselves into further trouble, the Elders answer to Mrs. Hull in the generall was, that he would stand betwixt them and any trouble on that Accompt, for he knew no sin in their partaking with their husbands, it was answered likewise that on the 21th of this instant two of these sisters had bin with Mr. Oxenbridge to be informed of the truth of what was reported referring to his speech to the Church on the Lords day relating to his¹⁶⁷⁰ ordination to cleare the sisters from the Church whose answer then was to that effect, whereupon they desiring him to give them his advice and counsell what the sisters should doe in this case, informing him what Elder Pens advice was, his answer was, that it was not convenient for him to give advice as things were circumstanced, but would tell them what his opinion was, that it would be best for all the sisters to partake, and his reason was because they could but be dealt withall by the Church if they did partake and should be soe if they did forbear, for the not giving constant attendance upon the Ministrie of the word everie Lords day, whereupon was farther asked whither they should forbear this sacrament day in partaking with their husbands and ask the Church leave again before they did partake, his answer was no, it was further asked what if they should stay half a yeare what hope is there for them to obtaine their dismissal, if there were any hope they should willingly wait, it was answered by him no it would be for the worse, God may change their hearts, but for present I have no hope of it, this is your onely opportunity now or never in my opinion, the sisters further said, shall we not come into trouble by the Church for soe doing, he answered I tell you, how you may salve the matter, goe and partake, and when you have soe done draw up a few lines to be presented unto the Church which they did as before is expressed, this they gave in as their answer to the Elders and Brethren being called before them to give Account of their partaking with their husbands in the Sacrament the Lords day preceding; at this meeting Mr. Stoddard retorted upon Elder Pen that he had never ruled him in the Church nor ever should, to whome it was replied he spake very true and that had bin the cause of the trouble which had befallen the church. The old Church passed this vote against

the sisters the same day they communicated with their husbands without calling them before them or desiring to know the ground of their actings 24 : 2 : 1670

Whereas we have received testimonie under the hands of some of our sisters, that they have had communion with those with whom we have declared we cannot hold communions till they remove offences given us Notwithstanding the warning the Church hath given against such communion with them as that which would be very offensive to them We do declare, therefore we cannot have communion with such of ours at the Lord's table who have and do communicate with them, untill they give us satisfaction, they having broken that rule : 1 Cor : 10 : 32.¹

JAMES ALLEN
JAMES PEN

28 : (2) 1670

The new Church had a meeting and voted this following letter to be sent by three Brethren to the old Church which was delivered the next day to Mr. James Allen, who in presence of Captaine Savage, Mr. Usher, and Josh : Scottow promised to communicate it to the Church.

To the Honourd Reverend and dearly beloved, the first gathred Church in Boston.

Grace mercy and peace be multiplied.

This humbly presents itself to your candid acceptance, as an answer to that which you directed to our Pastor (a coppie whereof you sent to the messengers of the Churches met at that ordination) for the whole assembly, it was not publiquely read, true, that is not to be imputed to us alone, the messengers of the Churches judged that there was nothing in it, that could justly retard our proceeding :

when we revolve the comforts of love and fellowship of the spirit we enjoyed so long in one society with you, wee account it our affliction that we were necessitated soe to depart from you, yet we esteem it no boldnes but duty thankfully to owne the favour of God in the consent of so many magistrates Elders and Churches with their prayers and blessing at our Church gathering and in providing such officers for us, your objections against the ordination of them center in this question. whither our peaceable secession were lawfull or no.

To cleare the affirmative we pray you to consider us as if it were the case of yourselves in particular, or of others in whome you are in no wayes concerned.

¹ ["Give none offence, neither to the church of God." We find this vote in Jews, nor to the Gentiles, nor to the the record book of the Third Church.]

first we doubt not but it is the liberty of all the Brethren of a Church, in all Church affaires, which are to be mannaged by the brethren especially in the choice of their owne officers to consent or dissent upon scripture grounds, as they are fully persuaded in their owne mindes, in which liberty we as well as others ought to stand fast : Gall : 5 : 1 : of this liberty were we deprived, on the 10th day of 6th moneth 1668 when you renewd your call of Reverend Mr. Davenport to teaching office, and he fully accepted of it, as by the Churchs letter of New Haven dated 12 : (8) 1668 doth appeare, as they writ from his owne letter to them, and that was done unanimously as he saith, which argueth that we were not owned as having any inthrest with you, whose dissent you know in the matter, and how we were excluded and secluded by you, we shall omit other times wherein we were not called to your Church meetings, counsell, and transactions. in that affaire, with other greivances which we could alledge, neither doe we know any rule or example in the word, that a ruling elder or elders with the Major part of the Church have any such power to impose officers upon the minor part, being many of their Brethren dissenting, and to compell them to submit to and abide under their authority.

2ly we desire you to consider how far the chief reasons have been cleared up to be just by the providence of God as first we were unsatisfyed about Reverend mr. Davenport leaving of his Church at New haven without their consent, yourselves allso professed that without their dismission you would not proceed, yea that being once denied by them you would insist no further on that motion, but now it is manifest that your renewed and confirmed election was acted before you had any colour of their dismission, yea by that letter which was concealed, they wholly and that from principles of conscience denied to grant any dismission, yea in their last letter out of which was extracted so much as might carry some show of a dismission, they expressly denied it, and that upon solid arguments, they could not in conscience grant a dismission to him, though indeed its true, there was in it an humble submission of him to the providence of God, in a professed, involuntary leaving of him and yourselves, to proceed in that which they had no power though a right to hinder you from. Our second chief reason was from our solemn ingagement to have our seed owned as members under the watch and discipline of the Church, and you know how the Elders acted in the face of the Church in the case of Brother Negus daughter, even without any vote of the Church, whereby we perceive how we should be deprived of that right which to our consciences is just and necessary.

Thirdly considering the sentence of the Councill called by yourselves wholly, against which and the defence thereof you never gave any reason for your non attendance thereunto, ^{28 : (2) 1670.} according to which we soe sesnably and often by our humble ad-

dresses to the Church desired our dismissal, and with much patience waited untill we were denied by the vote of the Church and attempts made to intangle us for our laboring after it; whereupon we saw no other way but to crave the councill of Churches what we ought to doe in such a case, the assembling of the eleven Churches by their messengers being a lawful Councill, as having all the causes of a Councill, see Platf: Disc: ch: 16: sect: 2: their result you know, and the grounds and reasons of it from the word you never answerd, all these things considered, it is manifest that our secession was upon just and necessary grounds, and acted not rashly or onely upon our owne heads and wills (as your letter unjustly and untrewly affirms) but upon mature deliberation, and upon the grave and sound advice of the Churches by their Elders and messengers unanimously agreeing together, we owne the Ministeriall power of Churches, soe long as they act by the rules of the supreme the Lord Jesus Christ but the exercise of such an absolute power over the members of Christ to deny them their lawfull liberties, and to hold them as in a prison, desiring their dismissal upon just reason, this we cannot beleive, nor could our submission to your officers, had we bin forced to it, stand with our peace and edification, If the Apostles assumed no power but unto edification, not as Lords of the peoples faith but helpers of their joy, why should any Church ascribe more unto themselves over their Brethren, consider doe they not break Covenant with them that doe soe. neither can we beleive but that our Lord Jesus Christ hath provided a remedy for his Saints injured in his Church, as well as to preserve the power of a Major part, which remedy being left Acts: 15: we ha[ve] duely attended: which case of ours in making a peaceable secession, and which remedy of Councill of Churches is generally allowed by the divines of the Congregational way, as may be proved from Mr. Davenports Apologie, and the writings of others but Mr. Norton to Apollonius may be consulted (if need be) page 55. and our Platform of Disc. ch: 13: S: 2: 3: 4: when a member may lawfully remove, the Church cannot lawfully deteine him, &c.

Our secession being thus cleared up not onely to ourselves, but to the impartiall judgement of soe many Churches by their messengers the objections in your letter doe fall of themselves. for.

first thence it followeth that Mr. Thatcher is not under blame in joyning himself unto this our Church, neither our Elder nor our deacons.

2ly nor is our Church incapable of electing officers, and accepting of them. As for the lawes of the Commonweale we find no such thing in them, that should hinder our proceeding, having had the consent of 7 magistrates and 5 Churches to our Church state, no Church or magistrate objecting against us, but those who were members of your Church who were the parties necessitating us to proceed as we

have done, the other three magistrates with them onely declaring their desire of our desisting at the present, therefore to us it seems something hard and very groundlesse, that we are represented by you as disaffected and prejudiciall to the commonwealth for no other cause, your other sharp expressions, hard censures, bitter invectives, and unjust reproches, we very willingly passe by, knowing that love is not easily provoked, desiring rather to overcome such evill with good, and to commit ourselves unto the Lord who judgeth righteously, and soe intreating the renewing of your brotherly love towards us, with the most hearty profession of our sincere brotherly love to you, and desire that once at length, through the grace of our Lord Jesus we may have all our uncomfortable differences and distances totally carried into the land of forgetfullnes, and buried in everlasting oblivion, that we may not be necessitated to insist on things more particularly which we are unwilling to doe, humbly crave leave to subscribe, as we are indeed.

Your poor afflicted yet affectionate Brethren in the Lord,
the third gatherd Church in Boston, with our consent and
by our appointment under the hands of our Elders.

THO: THATCHER

EDW: RAINSFORD

BOSTON, 28 : 2 1670

To the Reverend and dearely beloved Mr. James Allen Teacher and Mr. James Pen Ruling Elder of the first gatherd Church in Boston these for the Church humbly present.

Now that Mr. Davenport was dead, and a minister — Mr. Oxenbridge¹ — had been installed as his successor who had not been involved in any way in the controversy, it might have been expected that terms of reconciliation between the two churches would speedily be agreed upon; but Mr. Allen and Mr. Penn were thoroughly committed to Mr. Davenport's cause, and Governor Bellingham and his friends were hard to conciliate. It was true that the new church was an accomplished fact, and that the seceding brethren were lost forever to the parent church; but the personality and bitterness of the controversy had been intensified by the political complications which had arisen, and as the anti-synodists were for the moment carrying all before them in the General Court, the members of the First

¹ In 1669 Mr. Oxenbridge preached for the First Church in Charlestown, and was invited to become one of its ministers. It will be remembered that he offered prayer at the close of the ser-

vices at the formation of the Third Church, which took place in Charlestown, May 12, 1669, asking God that the infant church might live to condemn its condemners.

Church would consent to no basis of adjustment that did not involve confession and humiliation on the part of their former brethren. It appears from the records—not from the Narrative—that on the 1st of August Mr. Thacher, by authority, submitted the following “Essay for Accommodation:” —

We the Elder and brethren of the third church of Boston, being sensible of the dishonour of the holy name of God, and greif on the hearts of God’s people, occasioned by the late divisions, and desiring that the God of love and peace may dwell among us : Do declare—that to us the known congregational way contained for substance in the platforme of discipline is the very order of the gospell. And professing our readines, upon conviction, to acknowledge any thing wherein we have through infirmity swerved from this rule in this houre of temptation, tho’ now we see it not, And, earnestly desiring the Lord to pardon what he hath seen amiss on either hand, in any part of this transaction, do freely tender fully to passe by whatsoever hath been anyways greivouse or offensive unto us. And further intreating our brethren of the first gathred church to dismisse unto us those who being of our mind have still held communion with us if they still desire it, do hereby testify our resolution what in us lys to walk on in brotherly love and communion with the said first church of Boston as becometh the churches of Christ so neerly related.

This is a true Copy of the Essay for accommodation between the first and third gathred church in Boston, delivered in in writing to Mr. Oxenbridge to be considered of, on the 1. 6. 1670, in the presence of Elder Edward Ransford by Mr

THOMAS THACHER.¹

This overture was not satisfactory. In the church records we find, in the handwriting of Mr. Thacher, a copy of a paper which had been sent by the First Church for the consideration and adoption of the seceding brethren, and to which the communication of August 1 was a reply :²—

We the Elders and brethren of the 3d Church of Christ in Boston, being sensible of the dishonour of God and the sad consequensys of

¹ [A few years later, the Rev. Peter Thacher, of Milton, son of the Rev. Thomas Thacher, married Theodora, daughter of the Rev. John Oxenbridge. Their son, Oxenbridge Thacher, was a member of the Old South Church. His name furnishes a happy illustration of the completeness of the reconciliation which at length was brought to pass between the two long-alienated churches.]

² These papers appear in the records of the Third Church, in the order in which they are printed in the text, although the proposition drafted by the First Church bears the earlier date. It was on this, probably, that the Essay for Accommodation, submitted by Mr. Thacher, was based, and it was entered on the Third Church records as explanatory of the negotiation.

We the Elders & brethren of the third Church
 of Boston being sensible of the dishonour of the holy
 name of God, & grief on the hearts of Gods ppl^e oc-
 casioned by the late divisions & desiring that the
 God of love & peace may dwell among us: Do de-
 clare — that to us the known congregational
 way, continued for substance in the platforme of
 discipline is the very order of the gospell, And pro-
 fessing our readiness upon conviction to acknowledge
 any thing wherein we have thro infirmity swer-
 ved from this rule in this house of temptation tho
 now we see it not, And earnestly desiring the
 Lord to pardon what he hath seen amiss on either
 hand in any part of this transaction, do freely
 tender fully to passe by whatsoever hath been any
 ways grievous ~~unpleasant~~ or offensive unto us.
 And further intreating our brethren of the first
 gathered church to dismiss unto us those who being of de-
 mind have still held com union with us if they thinke
 desire it, do hereby testify & resolution what in
 us lvs to walk on in brotherly love & communi-
 on with y^e said first gathered Church at Boston as
 becometh y^e churches of Christ so neerly related.
 This is a true copy of the sayd declaration
 taken between the first & third gathered
 Church in Boston delivered in w^{ri}ting
 to m^r Oxenbridge to be considered
 of on the 1. 6. 1670 in y^e presence
 of Elders Edward Kayford by m^r
 Thomas Thacher.

the late divisions, and desiring that the God of peace and love may dwell amongst us to this end we do own freely

1 That every particular church of Christ endowed with a teaching officer or officers, hath received immediately from Christ, all Ecclesiasticall power of jurisdiction within itself.

2 That this power is ministeriall and to be exercized only according to the rules of Christ and for ædification.

3 We own ourselves men of infirmitys and therefore wherein through weaknes in the hour of temptation we have swerved from any of the rules above said, we desire and tender mutuall forgiveness betwixt our brethren and ourselves

4 We desire, and hereupon purpose, by the grace of Christ henceforth to walk in brotherly love and communion with our brethren as becometh the churches of Christ.

Received from Major Lusher 24 4 70 to be considered of by myself and our Elder, in order to an accommodation between the churches: which not being accepted by the elders¹—

This proposition explains, in part at least, the arbitrary attitude taken by the First Church in dealing with the brethren who disapproved of the call given to Mr. Davenport, which had become the controlling issue in the controversy. The majority in that church claimed for it, as an independent and duly organized ecclesiastical body, supreme and final jurisdiction over its members. It was distinctly stated at one of its meetings that there was no relief for an aggrieved brother, or for aggrieved brethren, in a church, unless the church would relieve them, until the day of judgment, and that, in the interim, the church itself was the sole and alone judge.² Governor Bellingham, in his will, made two years later, provided, among other objects, for the establishment of a lectureship on "church discipline according to the will of God," and enjoined upon his trustees

¹ [Among the papers of the Mass. Hist. Society we find a fragment in the handwriting of Mr. Thacher, as follows:

"Expressions for the first church.

"3 That we are men of infirmity and therefore wherein in the sight of God we have swerved from that rule by any undue administration to or in our transactions with our brethren of the third Church we desire pardon of the Lord and forgiveness of our brethren and desire for the future to pass by all offences in them, and to hold communion with them as we do with other

churches of Christ being much eased in our spirits and fears by the profession of the Congregationall principalls placing Ecclesiasticall Jurisdiction in the Congregation only not in any man or men without it, which we hope they will conscientiously practise, and that they will be watchfull about receiving their members as we desire to be that our communion may be pure and we shall be willing to answer them in the desire concerning such of ours as have been under offence to us for partaking with them."]

² See *ante*, pp. 53, 56, 57.

to select for the purpose, from time to time, some godly minister, whom they should judge to be faithful to the principles owned and practised by the First Church in Boston. Of these principles, said he, a main one is that all ecclesiastical jurisdiction is committed by Christ to each particular "organically" church, from which there is no appeal, "visible saintship being the matter and express covenanting the form of the church."

This principle, as understood and enforced by him, gave to each particular church that degree of authority over the individual member and over his conscience which the Church of England, as a national establishment, exercised over each particular congregation as well as over each individual; and its effect was to leave a minority, and especially an individual, altogether and hopelessly at the mercy of the majority. To such a theory the founders of the Third Church would not for a moment consent. We have already considered their position as a protest against undue interference, on the part of the government of the colony, with their rights as Christian men; we come now to see its bearings upon the relations of church institutions to those rights. The tyranny of ecclesiasticism is no less dangerous than that of the state, and it is much more insidious in its encroachments. The domination of the lord bishops had been thrown off; and the time was come, to borrow the language of William Blackstone, when a stand was to be taken against the arbitrary power of the "lord brethren." The minority in the First Church had not sought to interfere with the preferences and prerogatives of the majority; they had insisted only upon their own right peaceably to withdraw from the membership, — to dissent and to separate from a local church, as the men on both sides of this controversy, or their fathers, only a few years before, had dissented and separated from a national church beyond the sea. The formation of the earlier churches in Massachusetts was an assertion of the rights of conscience for each congregation of believers; the formation of the Third Church in Boston was an assertion of the same rights for the individual believer, to be exercised always in the full recognition of the coequal rights of every other believer, and of the majority in the membership.

This statement of the case makes less unaccountable the persistent severity of the First Church in its dealings with the dissenting brethren. It explains, also, why these brethren did not at once take their wives with them into the fellowship of

the new church. They wished to bear the brunt of the conflict themselves, and they thought, no doubt, that their church once fully organized, and the ordinances of the gospel established among them, no prolonged opposition would be made to the members of their families in following them.

That the views of Governor Bellingham and his associates did not prevail generally among the churches of the colony we may infer from the action of the councils which favored and assisted at the formation of the Third Church, and from the opinion of the elders who, at a later day, passed upon the case of the excellent women who for four or five years had no complete and regular standing either in the old church or the new.

We return again to the Narrative.

This ensuing letter also was sent

To the first gathered Church in Boston, grace mercy and peace from
God our Father and our Lord Jesus Christ.

Honoured Reverend and Beloved in our deare Lord Jesus

Laying to heart in our measure the sad consequences of our late divisions as occasioning great thoughts of heart to Gods prudent faithfull servants, discomfort to ourselves, advantage to evill, disadvantage to the common good and soe dishonour to Gods holy name which is called upon his people, by their being and continuance in their alienations, and desiring that the God of love and peace may dwell among us and manifest his gracious presence with us, by removing these uncomfortable alienations and restoring that love and peace which is soe needful for us.

Wee after our humble supplications to God make this affectionate addresse unto yourselves, that we may what in us lyes indeavor after these things which may most conduce unto our mutuall peace, strength and comfort in asserting and practising the same truth of the gossell concerning matters of faith and order, as it is professed by these Churches we intreat you therfore to judge no otherwise of us, but that we are set (we speak it awfully) for the same truth of the gossell : we have solemnely professed and doe professe that our Lord Jesus Christ hath given a perfect patterne of his house in the New testament, of all the commings in thereof and of all the goings out thereof, of all the formes thereof, and of all the ordinances thereof, and of all the lawes thereof, to which nothing is to be added, from it nothing may be taken away on any pretence whatsoever, and that everie organically Church hath all ecclesiasticall jurisdiction within itself, by Christs appointment for the regular administration of all these ordinances and execution of all these lawes, as also that this power is Ministeriall, and to be exercised according to the rules of Christ

explained for substance in the platforme of discipline, considering also that we are men of infirmity who have cause humbly to confesse with holy James that in many things we offend all, and with holy David to cry Lord cleanse us from our secret sins, we doe therfore where-insoever in this houre of temptation, we have through weakenes in the sight of God swarved from any of his holy rules, in this transaction between us and you desire pardon of the Lord and also forgiveness of you our Brethren in whatsoever hath bin greivous to you, and earnestly desire that there may be Brotherly love and mutuall communion between us and you for the future, as there is between you and other Churches of Christ who have given unto us the right hand of fellowship, and we further intreat that those of you who for holding Communion with us are forbidden Communion with yourselves, may have their favorable and loving dismissal unto ourselves, according to their desire thereof, which if you grant unto us, we trust in the Lord it shall never be greif of heart unto you afterward, but matter of rejoycing and great consolation to all that feare God, not onely in this Church but in all the Churches of the Saints, who shall therby perceive that God is present with his Churches to heale their wounds, and bind up their breaches, and others that are enimies will be much cast downe in their owne eyes, perceiving that this worke was wrought of God, now God even our God blesse us, you and all his poore Churches with his owne presence, that the trumpetters and singers being as one, to make one sound to be heard in thanksgiving and praying the Lord, saying for he is good for his mercy indureth for ever, his owne house may be filled with the cloud, and manifest gracious testimonies of his owne glory, to the furtherance of the everlasting joy and consolation of his people, we shall add no more but that you are in our hearts to die and to live with you in that Capacity wherein the Lord hath set us, therfore praying for the peace of Jerusalem, and the peace of God to be within our walls, we comend ourselves to the Candour of your Brotherly love, you and ourselves to the grace of our heavenly ffather in Christ Jesus, in whome we heartily subscribe ourselves.

Your Brethren and servants in the gospell.

THO: THATCHER

EDW: RAINSFORD

28 : (10.) 1670

In the name and by the appointment of the rest of our Brethren.

This letter sent was superscribed To all the ruling Elders for to be communicated to the Church the Church being to meet upon some other occasion the next day, but the Elders were not pleased to read it unto the Church, but onely told them they had a letter from the Brethren that went out from them, but had no time then to read it. neither did they read it the Lords day following, yet comunicated it to sundry

Brethren in private, but in the conclusion they sent this following letter but did not send it to the new Church but to three messengers which carryed the new Churches letter to the Elders of the old Church and unto them they superscribed and delivered the letter which en-sueth.

Beloved Brethren

wee desire in our measure to lay to heart not onely the sad Consequences of your late division from us, but much more the sinfull causes of it, which have provoked the Lord to leave any of his to doe that which is such a dishonour to his name, and grief to his pruden[t] and faithfull servants, and soe disadvantageous to the Common good and adva[n]tageous to evill doers, that the God of love and peace may dwell amon[g] us and by his gracious presence remove any uncomfortable alienations in you is our daily supplication at the throne of grace. but it is not unknowne to you, that the fruit of such a presence is to make mercy and truth to meet, and righteousness and peace to salute each other, and therfore where the one is sincerely desired, the other wil[l] be studiously indeavourd, that we may manifest our true Love to both we onely remind you and that with all tendernes what we have formerly written in our last to you, to Convince of your irregular departure from us, the rules which you have broken are there mentioned and we Judge ought to have bin better Considered by you, and due satisfaction tendered that soe our pursute of peace might further our holiness, and make way for our mutuall enjoyment of God in and with one another, we for your further conviction referr you to the scriptures quoted in the margent, which you may see explained in the platforme of discipline, Ch : 3 : Sect : 1 : 2 : 3. 4. 5. the truth whereof is acknowledged by you, were it soe that your hearts did returne, to those truthes which you have formerly practised with us, and now in yours professe, from which you have departed in this houre of temptation, we hope through the grace of Christ you shall find us not onely as before such as are taught of God to love you, but to doe it more and more, and to rejoyce in Communion with you, how far (your confessing your secret sins or those committed in the sight of God which we are not acquainted with nor capable of forgiving) is from any such hearty returne unto the Lord and to your Brethren, that have solemnly warned you from him ought sadly to be considered, we cannot without wrong to the truth we are set for the defence of nor to ourselves, nor you, nay we feare the Lord will be further provoked against us, should we admit accomodation without him, contrary to what we have solemnly witnessed unto which without any ground for alteration in our mindes concerning it, nor are we concerned for ourselves alone but

Heb : 10 : 25.
Prov : 11 : 14.
Rom : 14 : 23.
[1] Tym : 5 : 22.
Ephes : 5 : 11.
Acts : 9 : 25. 30.
[] : 8 : 1 :
[Nehem] : 13.
10.
2 Tym : 4 : 10.
Rom : 16 : 17
Jude : 10.
Eph : 4 : 2 : 3.
Coll : 3 : 13.
Gall : 6 : 1 : 2.

have cause to feare if this wound be slitley healed, that hath been made by your irregular departure from us, that it will prove destructive to all the Churches of Christ among us, therefore we desire to heare no more of this matter untill the Lord shall let you see your deviation from these rules and acknowledge and repaire them we then hope we shall be as ready to receive you, as you shall be to desire it, in the meane time we shall earnestly pray to the ffather of lights to open your eyes that you may rightly understand the way of peace, and to bow our hearts more and more to carry it soe to you, as we may have further reconciliation and such a love that the Lord will blesse and owne we are

Your Loving Brethren in the Lord

dated 16 (11) 1670

JOHN OXENBRIDGE Pa[stor]

JAMES ALLEN

JAMES PEN

JOHN WISWELL Jun

In the name and with the consent of all the Brethren :

Superscribed to Captaine Tho : Savage. Lieutenant Josh : Scottow and Mr. Tho : Brattle to be communicated to the rest of the Brethren who departed from us.

The new church, notwithstanding these drawbacks to its happiness, prospered under the faithful ministry of Mr. Thacher, who was greatly and deservedly esteemed, and was among the most popular preachers in the colony. His sermons are said to have been elaborate in preparation and affectionate in spirit.¹ He preached twice on the Sabbath, and maintained lectures on other days of the week. He was diligent in instructing the children and youth of his charge, and he prepared and printed a catechism for their use. But we are told the "excellency that

¹ Soon after Mr. Thacher's installation he preached a course of sermons on the Canticles. As we write, we have before us the notes of one of these sermons, in his own neat handwriting, upon small sheets of paper, brown with age, which have been in the possession of seven Peter Thachers in the direct line of descent, and which have been given to the church for whose instruction they were originally prepared, by Mr. Peter Thacher, of Sanford, Florida. This sermon was preached April 24, 1670, from Cant. iv. 5: "Thy two breasts are as two young roes that are twins, which feed among the lilies." We quote a few of the quaint opening sentences:

"These breasts are by some thought the old and new testament; by others, mildness, simplicity, purity of heart and life; by others, doctrine in the church for exhortation, etc.; by others, for the ministry sent forth of Christ by two and two, and appointed pastors and teachers. All these may well stand together in their respective applications to several subjects, and so may it also respecting particular persons be taken for their profession and practise, both sweetly answering the rule." The doctrine of the sermon is: "Ministers in union feeding the flock and themselves according to rule, are unto the church an excellent ornament in the sight of Christ."

shined above the other glories of his ministry" was that "he was a person much in prayer ; and as he was much in prayer, so he had an eminency above most men living, for his copious, his fluent, his fervent manner of performing that sacred exercise." During the first year of his pastorate there were between forty and fifty accessions to the membership, many of them by letters from other churches.

One of the first churches to extend its hand in Christian fellowship to the Third Church, after the installation of Mr. Thacher, by dismissing and recommending members to its communion, was the church of the Mayflower Pilgrims, the church originally of Scrooby and of Leyden.¹ John Winslow² and his wife — Mary Chilton of the Mayflower — moved to Boston in 1671, and purchased property in Spring Lane, near Mrs. Norton's house. They brought the following letter from the Plymouth Church, commending them and their baptized children to the watch and care of the Third Church : —

To the third gathered church of christ in Boston Grace mercy and peace from God our father, and from our Lord Jesus Christ, be multiplied.

Reverend and Dearely Beloved in the Lord

Whereas by the Providence of the only wise God, in whose hand are all our times and wayes, our beloved brother and sister, viz Mr. John Winslow and Mary his wife have their settled habitation amongst you, and wee seeing no hopes of their returne unto us, they having also manifested unto us their desires to joyne themselves unto you, in order to the regular participation of all the ordinances of Christ in his church, wee doe therefore by these our letters dismissee them to your holy fellowship, beseeching you to receive them in the Lord as it becometh saints into the bond of your holy Covenant, and in all christian love and faithfullnesse to watch over them, and administer to them those blessed ordinances of Christ, for their further ædification in faith and holinesse ; our prayers to God for them are that they may be fruitfull and profitable amongst you by their exemplary walking according to the rules of the Gospel, for the glory of God and the furtherance of your and their Consolation in Christ Jesus, to whose

¹ "They did not embody into a new church-state, looking upon it as unnecessary, as being a branch of the English church at Leyden." — *Account of the Church of Christ in Plymouth*, by John Cotton, Esq., 1760.

² John Winslow was a younger brother

of Governor Edward Winslow. He was born at Droitwich, Worcestershire, April 17, 1597, and came to Plymouth in the Fortune (November, 1621), with Robert Cushman and Thomas Prince ; the latter was afterward governor of Plymouth colony.

grace and blessing wee commend them and you in all your holy administrations, beseeching God even our father to adde to you daily such as shall be saved, and that you may stand compleat in all the will of God, craving also your prayers for us, wee take leave and subscribe ourselves,

Your truly loving Bretheren in the
order and fellowship of the Gospel

J : C : T : C : with the consent of the church.

PLYMOUTH June 26 : 1671 :

Such of their children also, as live with you whether adult or in-adult wee commend to your care and watch in the Lord, to be received by you according to their capacity desiring of the Lord to accompany the dispensation of his holy word to them for their effectuall Regeneration that in the Lords good time, they may become living stones in his holy Temple.

For the Reverend Elders of the 3d gatherd church of Christ in Boston, these.¹

John Hull was chosen captain of the artillery company at its anniversary, June 5, 1671, and Mr. Thacher preached the annual sermon from the text Rev. xvii. 14: "These shall make war with the Lamb, and the Lamb shall overcome them: for he is Lord of lords, and King of kings: and they that are with him are called, and chosen, and faithful."²

On the 8th of July, 1672, the Rev. Leonard Hoar, M. D., arrived in Boston from London, partly in response to a call to become Mr. Thacher's associate, but probably with reference also to other preferment. He was related by marriage to Mr. Hull, and the call may have been the result of the efforts of that honored member in England in behalf and by request of the church two years before. Mr. Hoar was born in the city of Gloucester, in 1630, as is supposed. He was the youngest child of Charles Hoar, sheriff of the county, a man of large estate and earnest piety, who died in 1638, and who directed in his will that his "sonne Leonard shalbe carefullie kept at Schoole and when hee is fitt for itt to be carefullie placed at Oxford, and if the Lord shall see fitt, to make him a Minister

¹ [The Rev. John Cotton was pastor of the Plymouth church at this time, and Thomas Cushman, son of Robert Cushman, ruling elder. The original of their letter is in the Prince Library.]

² Mr. Thacher preached before the artillery company of Charlestown and

Cambridge, at Charlestown, September 13, 1669, from Ps. lx. 4, "Thou hast given a banner to them that feared thee, that it may be displayed because of the truth." For some particulars about this artillery company in 1686, see *Sewall Papers*, vol. i. p. 151.

unto his people and that all the charge thereof shalbe discharged out of the proffitt which it shall please god to send out of the stocke." Soon after the death of the father the family came to New England, and Leonard was sent to Harvard College, where he graduated in the class of 1650, with William Stoughton, Joshua and Jeremiah Hobart, Edmund Weld, Samuel Phillips, and others. He returned to England in 1653, and after preaching the gospel "in divers places" was presented to the living of Wanstead, in Essex, by Sir Henry Mildmay, as Oldmixon supposes, then lord of that manor, which he held in right of his wife, a daughter of Sir Leonard Holyday, "perhaps a relative as well as namesake." Deprived of his living under the Act of Uniformity, he devoted himself to science and medicine, and in 1671 received the degree of M. D. from the University of Cambridge. Before he had been in Boston a week he was chosen to be the successor at Harvard College of President Chauncy, who had died five months previously. He did not accept the appointment until it had received the sanction of the General Court, and was not installed until the 10th of December.¹ In the mean time he preached frequently at the Third Church, and notes of his sermons have been preserved. With what high hopes and purposes he entered upon his new office, and with what broad and far-seeing appreciation of the wants of the college, appears from a letter written by him, just after his installation, December 13, 1672, to the Hon. Robert Boyle, in which he said : —

It hath pleased even all to assign the college for my Sparta. I desire I may adorn it ; and thereby encourage the country in its utmost throws for its resuscitation from its ruins. And we still hope some helpers from our native land ; of which your honoured self, Mr. Ashurst and some others have given a pledge.

¹ Mr. Hull records in his diary : —

"1672. July 8. Dr. Leonard Hoar arrived at Boston from London, being sent for by the third Church in Boston : but the President of the College, being dead, it was the earnest desire of the ministers and magistrates that they would spare him for that work ; and, upon Nov. 15 they did yield him up to that service."

Thomas Danforth wrote to Governor Winthrop, of Connecticut, in a letter dated "Cambridge, 1. 6. 72,"

"As for Dr. Hoare, He came over under some (though not severe) obli-

gations to the new church. Himselfe seems to referr the matter to their Determination : yet do not in the least decline the motion made in behalf of the college. but as his disposition of mind is thought to be that way, so also it is apprehended that he will be a better president, than a pulpitt man (at least) as to vulgar acception. Yet I perceive the church do not freely come of in the matter. nor do I apprehend that anything will be fully concluded on before the Generall court meet." — *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings*, January, 1874.

A large well-sheltered garden and orchard for students addicted to planting ; an ergasterium for mechanick fancies ; and a laboratory chemical for those philosophers, that by their senses would culture their understandings, are in our design, for the students to spend their times of recreation in them ; for readings or notions only are but husky provender.

And, sir, if you will please of your mature judgment and great experience to deign us any other advice or device, by which we may become not only nominal, but real scholars, it shall, I hope, be as precious seed, of which both you and me and many by us shall have uberous provent at the great day of reckoning, which I know you do respect above all.

If I durst, I would beg one of a sort of all your printed monuments, to enrich our library and encourage our attempts this way.

I know nothing so stunting our hopes and labours in this way, as that we want one of a sort of the books of the learned, that come forth daily in Europe, of whose very names we are therefore ignorant.

The story of President Hoar's short administration is a very sad one, and we will give it as told by President Quincy in his *History of Harvard University* : —

There is a studied obscurity thrown over the defects, if there were really any, of Dr. Hoar. That he was a scholar and a Christian, a man of talent and of great moral worth, is asserted. Yet, for some reason, the young men of the College took a prejudice against him, and, says Cotton Mather, "did all they could to ruin his reputation." The cause of this prejudice is unexplained to this day. "I can scarce tell how," says Cotton Mather, "but he fell under the displeasure of some that made a figure in that neighbourhood." "In a day of temptation, which was now upon them, several good men did unhappily countenance the ungoverned youth in their ungovernableness." It is not difficult from the records of the College, to gather to whom Cotton Mather here alludes ; and it is due to the memory of Dr. Hoar to say that the conduct of "those good men who made a figure in that neighbourhood," and thus encouraged the discontented youth, greatly exceeded, in dereliction of incumbent duty, anything that appears, or was ever suggested, against him.

Dr. Hoar was, in a manner, a stranger in the country. He had come, strongly recommended, seeking the presidency. The General Court had thrown their whole weight into the scale in favor of his election. His success, it was asserted at the time, had occasioned a disappointment to "the emulation of some expecting the preferment." This, probably, is the clue to all the difficulties which assailed and overcame President Hoar. He was chosen in July, 1672. A year

I am glad to hear you long for resolution.
I pray you can not come this day. I do not
so freely as you self did break of it, and a
other things which I might attribute to
expedience, my resignation: with I must
leave unto you and their equity & prudence
I must be mentioned & determined
wherein in all you will be content, that
the Lord would direct you is the prayer
of
at D^y

Camp. Gentry
7 1074.
J. D. Friend & Andrew
secretary & Esq.

had not elapsed before the students began "to strive to make him odious." In the midst of these difficulties, Urian Oakes, Thomas Shepard, Joseph Brown, and John Richardson, members of the corporation, all resigned their seats at that Board, leaving it without a constitutional majority, and with no *quorum* to act, and the president without support. They all fall within the description of "good men, who made a figure in that neighbourhood, and who, in a day of temptation, encouraged" the contumacious. Whether emulation or hope of preferment had any influence in this course of conduct, must be a matter of inference. It is certain, that no conduct of Dr. Hoar could justify, or even apologize for, such a resignation of a majority of the corporation in the actual state of disorderly combination in the College. . . . The corporation reëlect Oakes and Shepard, and they persist in not accepting the trust until the 15th of March, 1675. On this day, Dr. Hoar sent in his resignation of the presidency. On the same day, Oakes and Shepard took their seats as members of the corporation, and the seat Dr. Hoar had quitted was given to the Rev. Mr. Oakes.¹ . . .

There was a singular parallelism in the fortunes of Mr. Oakes and Dr. Hoar, of a nature not unlikely to excite an "emulation" between them in respect to the presidency of the College ; an office which, at that time, placed the incumbent at the head of the clergy, who then possessed almost a predominating influence in the colony. Neither of them was a native ; both were brought into the country in their childhood by their parents. They had been contemporaneously members of the College ; the former having graduated in 1649, the latter in 1650. Both had returned to England soon after taking their degrees. Both had been settled in the ministry there, had been ejected for non-conformity ; and again emigrated to this country within a year of each other : Oakes, in 1671, on an invitation from the church at Cambridge to become its pastor ; Hoar, in 1672, on a like invitation to become its pastor, from the Old South Church in Boston.

The former, being settled in Cambridge, and a fellow of the corporation, before the arrival of Dr. Hoar, and possessing qualities suited to the appointment, had probably ingratiated himself with the students and with persons of influence in the immediate vicinity of the College, and had been regarded by them as the natural successor of President Chauncy ; an expectation which it is not unlikely his own heart fostered. The strong recommendations brought by Dr. Hoar, and the efficient declaration in his favor by the General Court in a manner compelled his election. The event disappointed both the students and Mr. Oakes, and led the former, in the language of Cotton

¹ [*Hist. of Harvard University*, vol. i. pp. 33-35.]

Mr. Oakes at this time agreed only to

act as superintendent of the college, but in 1679 he accepted the presidency. He died in 1681.]

Mather, to "turn cudweeds and travestie whatever he did and said, with a design to make him odious," and the latter to countenance these proceedings, by relinquishing his seat in the corporation until Dr. Hoar had resigned.¹

In anticipation of Dr. Hoar's departure for New England, Dr. Owen and twelve other non-conformist ministers addressed a letter to "the magistrates and ministers in Massachusetts Bay," under date of February 5, 1671-2, in which they said :—

As we desire to bless God with and for you, that so reverend and judicious a person as your president hath for so long a time been continued with you, and that so usefully, so it is a grief of heart to us that there appeares none amongst yourselves to succeed him in that employment, and more that we cannot find persons whose hearts God hath touched to goe over to you, in order to a supply of that expected losse which you mention ; yet, if our advice herein be worth attending to, we would suggest that it having pleased God to stirre up the heart of our beloved friend, Dr. Hoar to intend a voyage towards you by this shipping, we do suppose a speaking providence in it, and doe judge that God hath so farr furnished him with the gifts of learning and the grace of his spirit, as that if your judgments concurre with ours and his inclinations (if God shall bring him to you) he may in some measure supply that want and help to make up this breach, and we shall hope and pray that it may be to some good fruit to you and yours.

One of the signers of this letter was the Rev. John Collins, a classmate of Mr. Oakes at Harvard College, who, on returning to England, became a chaplain of General Monk, and, after the passage of the Act of Uniformity, was minister of an Independent church in Lime Street, near Leadenhall Street, London.² Of this church Dr. Hoar had been a member, and one of the complaints alleged against him was that, without waiting for a letter of dismission and recommendation from it, he had (just before entering upon the presidency) joined the Third Church in Boston. There must have been some good reason for his taking this step, as Mr. Thacher, we may be sure, would not have been a party to any serious irregularity in church order. Mr. Collins had not only joined with his clerical brethren in warm commendation of Dr. Hoar, but a few months later, May

¹ [*Hist. of Harv. Univ.*, vol. i. pp. 36, 37.]

² Wilson, in his *Dissenting Churches of London*, etc., says : " This congregation was for many years very considerable for numbers and opulence, and made the largest collection for the fund of any

church in London." The Rev. Nathaniel Mather (Harv. Coll., 1647) was the immediate successor of Mr. Collins in the pastorate. The site of the meeting-house was afterward occupied by a wing of the East India House.

10, 1672, he thus wrote to Mr. Leverett: "Dr. Hoar, who is in fellowship with us, and yet more yours than ours, through his ardent desire to serve God in what worke he will allot to him in your parts, where he hath had his education, which in the judgment of wiser men than mysele is thought to bee in your colledge employment, to which hee is very well qualified in many things." This letter seems to relieve Mr. Collins from any suspicion of partisanship in favor of Mr. Oakes; but his tone was greatly changed, when, two years afterward, April 10, 1674, he again wrote to Mr. Leverett, who had succeeded to the governorship, to this effect: —

Your concussions you have at the colledge doe greatly grieve mee, and soe much the more that noe friend hath binn pleased to give me a true state of it, but all I gather, from them that I see, are wholly of one syde; it causeth a great rumour here, and is greatly aggravated to the president's reproach, in whom I am concerned, for hee was a member with us, but it seems hath joined himselfe with the 3d of Boston, which surprizeth me, although I doe judge that his relation thereby to us is erased, all that I would say is, that it hath by our New England friends here binn layd as a reproach upon all the elders, yet I think without cause; for if our letter be viewed you will not find that wee did recommend him to bee your president, wee judged that too much for us to undertake, nor did we excite him to come or urge him upon such hopes; it was his own eagre desire after it and his thinking that hee might be serviceable there; all wee sayd was, that since hee was prepared to come wee thought him one that might be helpfull in your colledge worke and left it with you to judge how.

Governor Leverett, who was disposed to be friendly to the president, in his reply to this letter, August 24, 1674, did not attempt to justify Dr. Hoar in his neglect to inform Mr. Collins of the change he had made in his church relations. "Who is," said he, "I doubt, not so cautious in his coming off from former engagements as he ought before he enters upon new; his not concerneing you in his relateing himself in church fellowship here, I cannot look at as independently congregational, I mean in a good sence."¹

¹ Mr. Hull writes in 1673: "Some troubles this summer arose in the Colledge, so that Dr. Leonard Hoar, their new President, who was last year highly courted to accept the place, was now by some wished out of it again. I cannot say there was any apparent cause for it,

more than that God seems to threaten to make divisions in all orders our punishment, as we too readily do make them our sin."

And again, October, 1674: "At this General Court, the President of the Colledge was charged as formerly, but

Dr. Belknap mentions as "a supposed rival" of President Hoar, Thomas Graves, of Charlestown, who was out of sympathy with his contemporaries in many particulars, both political and religious, and who seems to have been a very uncomfortable man to be associated with. Mr. Sibley, the historiographer of Harvard College, does not altogether agree with President Quincy in his criticisms on Mr. Oakes, and thus sums up the case:—

It is obvious from the letter to Flint,¹ which has been cited, that Hoar's standard of scholarship was very high, and that the spirit with which he administered censures would be far from conciliatory. Flattered by an invitation to a settlement in Boston, and by his reception on arriving there from London, elated by his speedy and enthusiastic election to the presidency, with self-assurance increased by prompt concessions to his constant demands, fortified by additional privileges and powers conferred by a new charter, the community apparently ready to coöperate in every measure proposed by him, he undoubtedly entered upon his duties with the conscientious determination to bring the college up to his very high idea of what it ought to be. Urging his views with pertinacity, and thoroughly convinced he was right, he would naturally with the students be very strict and exacting, while he would not be likely to yield graciously to his comparatively young associates in office when they differed from him, and might be overbearing and rough when they opposed him. Herein, perhaps, lay the cause of his failure.²

Dr. Hoar resigned his office in March, 1675; "his grief threw him into a consumption," and he died in Boston eight months later, November 28. His widow, Bridget, who was a daughter of John Lisle, a very distinguished man under the Commonwealth, and of his wife, the unfortunate Lady Alice,³ afterward married Hezekiah Usher, Jr. His only child, Bridget, married the Rev. Thomas Cotton, of London.

Among the Old South papers there is a declaration of which with more vehemency, as the only hinderer of the college welfare; when, as by most indifferent hearers of the case, it was thought, that, would those that accused him had but countenanced and encouraged him in his work, he would have proved the best president that ever yet the college had."

Samuel Sewall, in a speech at Cambridge at this time, October 16, insisted that "the causes of the lowness of the college were external as well as internal."

¹ [In 1661 Mr. Hoar wrote a letter to his nephew, Josiah Flynt, a member of the Freshman Class in Harvard College, afterward minister of Dorchester, in which, at great length and with much detail, he marked out the course he should take as a student.]

² [See Sibley's *Graduates of Harvard College*, vol. i. pp. 228-252, 587-590.]

³ The victim of Judge Jeffreys' brutality at the memorable assizes in Winchester, after the Monmouth rebellion.

whereas in answer to a letter of this Church Enquiring about the Dealings
of Cambridge Church with Leonard Hoar the said Church of Cambridge
'd in their letter refer us to Mr Stanforth &c to be fully satisfied
the Church of Cambridge as a Church never having had Cognisance of
any offence of the said Leonard Hoar This Church doth declare that
the said Leonard Hoar at a Church meeting did desire a full hearing
and that Mr Stanforth &c might be sent for But this Church did not
see reason or rule to send for him on such short notice and for that cause
there was no further procedure in that matter.

/ This was Voted by Church
By a silent vote of 21:9 nbs:
1846

we present a fac-simile on the opposite page, and which must speak for itself, as the records of the First Church in Cambridge throw no light upon it:—

Whereas in Answer to a letter of this Church Enquiring about the dealings of Cambridge church with Leonard Hoar the said Church of Cambridge did in their letter referr us to Mr. Danforth &c. to be fully satisfied the church of Cambridge as a church never having had cognisance of any offense of the said Leonard Hoar This church doth declare that the said Leonard Hoar at a church meeting did desire a full hearing and that Mr. Danforth &c might be sent for But this church did not see reason or rule to send for him on such Account And for that Cause there was noe further Procedure in that matter.

This was voted in the Church
By a Silent Vote the
21 : 9mo 1675¹

In the latter days of President Chauncy's administration the condition of Harvard College was, as we are told, critical and apparently hopeless. Its buildings were "ruinous and almost irreparable," the president was aged, and the number of scholars was below what it had been in former days. Without a new building its situation was considered desperate, and to enable it to erect one an appeal was made to individuals and to churches. Boston contributed £800, of which more than one half seems to have been subscribed by the Third Church. It was ten years before the full sum required had been collected, and the building, Harvard Hall, completed.²

¹ [Nothing can be found in the records of the First Church in Cambridge to show that Dr. Hoar was one of its members, or that it ever took action of any kind in reference to him.]

² See Quincy's *History of Harvard University*, vol. i. pp. 29-31, 508.

Mr. Walter Lloyd Jeffries, in his valuable collection of historical papers, has a memorandum in the handwriting of Hezekiah Usher, as follows:—

"Contributions Given by the Third Church for the Erectinge Harvard Colledge

167½			
March the 3d	To Cash Received	£59:	7: 10
	To Bills Received	£326:	18: —
the 10th	To Mony Received	£19:	10: 2
	To Bills Received	£21:	—: —
		426:	16: —

"The Wholl of the 3d Church Contributions."

Mr. Benjamin Gibbs, a member of the Third Church, gave £50, which may or may not have been in addition to the amount credited to the church in this statement.

President Quincy calls John Hull the earliest of the benefactors of the college, in the second generation, who encouraged or aided the progress of the institution by their bounty. The only contribution made by him of which we have positive knowledge was £100 in 1681. See *History*, vol. i. p. 406.

"10 Dec. At a meetinge of the Selectmen by virtue of an order receaved from the Generall Court dated the 2d of October 1678 to apoynt and impowre meete persons to inquire into the defects of

Governor Bellingham died December 7, 1672, a day or two before Dr. Hoar's installation at Cambridge. Before coming to this country he had been recorder of Boston in Lincolnshire, and he held many prominent positions here, including the governorship for ten years. One of the early New England chroniclers, Edward Johnson, records of him that he was "slow of speech," and had a "stern look." Mr. James Savage says: "The unbroken reign of dismal bigotry from 1649 to 1672 inclusive, under Dudley, Endicott, and Bellingham, hard, harder, hardest, between the mild wisdom of Winthrop and the tolerant dignity of Leverett, came to its end with that last of the triumvirs of Massachusetts." Mr. Savage also quotes, but does not commend, the remark of Governor Coddington, of Rhode Island, in connection with Governor Bellingham's death: "The hand of the Lord cuts him off, not giving him repentance to life, that other sons of Belial of his persecuting spirit might be warned, not to put the evil day far from them."

Nine days before he died the governor executed a will, the chief purpose of which was to perpetuate the Congregational polity as understood and practiced by the majority in the First Church in Boston. After providing for his wife, Penelope Pelham, whom he married in 1641, and giving one of his four farms to his son and his son's daughter for the term of their natural lives, and making other bequests, he devoted his estate, which embraced nearly the whole of the present city of Chelsea, as we have already said, "to be an annual encouragement to some godly ministers and preachers, and such as may be such, who shall be by my trustees judged faithful to those principles in church discipline which are owned and practised in the First Church of Christ in Boston of which I am a member." He appointed as his trustees the ministers of this church, Mr. Oxenbridge and Mr. Allen, the Rev. John Russell, author of the Hadley and Northampton memorial to the General Court in 1670,¹ and Mr. Anthony Stoddard, and he instructed them to

those that are behinde in there payments of there subscriptions to the Colledge and to demand and receave the same, The Selectmen doe apoynt Thomas Dewer and Ephraim Serle to that worke for the subscriptions taken by the Officers and others of the first Church in Bostone, Mr. John Cony and Wm. Coleman for the second Church,

And Lt. Theophilus Frary and James Hill for said subscriptions taken by the officers of the third church."—*Town Records*.

¹ See *ante*, pp. 95, 96. Mr. Russell declined the trust under the will, pleading the distance at which he lived from Boston and his pressing duties as a parish minister.

build at Winnisimmett a minister's house and meeting-house, to make an annual allowance for the support of the gospel there, to train for the ministry four or six young men, more or less, as the estate would bear, and, to quote the words of his eighth direction, "That every quarter of the year, one sermon be preached to instruct the people in Boston in church discipline, according to the word of God; and such competent allowance be given to each of them [the preachers] as my trustees shall judge fit and sufficient."

This will became at once the subject of litigation. "Early the next spring, before the grass had begun to grow on the governor's grave, between Richard Wharton, representing the governor's only son, Dr. Samuel Bellingham, then in Europe, on one hand, and the Rev. James Allen and his co-trustees, on the other, began a series of legal proceedings which were prosecuted in every tribunal, from the lowest to the highest, under three governments, — colonial, provincial, and state, — and were terminated only at the end of one hundred and eleven [fifteen] years, by a decision against the validity of the will by the Supreme Judicial Court in 1787, held by Judge Sumner."¹

Mr. Wharton, the attorney and personal friend of Dr. Bellingham, made the very serious charge against Mr. Allen, not only that he had exercised an undue influence over the mind of the governor upon his death-bed, to the injury of his son, but also that he had actually tampered with the will after its execution by the insertion of a clause revoking all former testaments. A deposition to this effect was made before Daniel Gookin, a member of the court of assistants, January 24, 1673. It should be said that the charge against Mr. Allen was not substantiated; but we can understand that the reproach under which he rested for tampering, directly or indirectly, with the memorable New Haven letter rendered it easy to suspect him of similar action in connection with other documents, when "good ends" were to be served thereby. It would be foreign to our purpose to follow the litigation that ensued through all its tedious stages, but we could not avoid this passing reference to Governor Bellingham's will as part of the case of the First Church against the Third.

Governor Bellingham was succeeded by John Leverett, who had been deputy-governor since the death of Francis Willoughby.

¹ See Sewall's *Letter Book*, vol. i. pp. 99-105, for a valuable foot-note by the editors on this subject, of which we have made free use.

The extreme men in the colony, who by assertion and assumption in their own behalf, and by misrepresentation and denunciation of their brethren, had kindled and kept alive the fires of religious controversy, promoted distrust and dissension among the churches, and brought them to the very verge of disastrous schism, had much to answer for. They were few in number; they could not claim to be more learned, more consecrated, or more successful than the Christian brethren whom they denounced and calumniated; but they were aggressive, pertinacious, self-confident, and self-willed, and they did not stop to think of consequences. They no doubt believed that they were right, but if they had been more modest they might have remembered that they were fallible, and that possibly all the wisdom and all the goodness were not on their side.¹ They certainly ought to have been very confident of their position, in view of the effect of the prolonged agitation, for which they were responsible, upon the spiritual life of the community. This was suffering blight, in the midst of all the wrangling and confusion, all the "browbeatings, censures, reproaches, calumnies, and contempts." Defeated in open debate in the General Court in 1671, the anti-synodists seem to have maintained what we may call a guerilla warfare of misrepresentation and slander. At length, the more judicious men among the leaders in church and state made up their minds that something must be done to stop the evil. The preacher of the Election Sermon in 1673 was Mr. Oakes, Mr. Mitchell's successor in the First Church of Cambridge, and afterward (upon the retirement of Dr. Hoar) president of the college; and he had the courage, in the presence of the influential and representative assembly before him, to rebuke in the severest terms the mistaken and mischievous

¹ Increase Mather, addressing the anti-synodals in 1671, made the following pertinent suggestions: "Consider that it is possible that you may be mistaken in your apprehensions. Many things might be mentioned to you, which ought to cause an humble jealousy in you, lest so it should be. Were there that only consideration, that so many learned and godly men are opposed, it ought to cause trembling, and an holy fear in you, lest your notions should be erroneous. It is a Christian speech and spirit which blessed Burroughs hath in

his excellent *Irenicum* where he saith, He that differs in his judgment from godly learned men, had need to spend much time in prayer and humiliation before the Lord. There is a notable expression of Basil cited in an Epistle of Luther to the Ministers of Norimberg, who were at variance one from another, 'He who will separate from his brethren, had need to consider many things even to anxiety, he had need break his sleep many nights, and seek of God with many tears the demonstration of the truth.' Thus, he."

zeal of these partisans. He took for his text the words of Moses in Deuteronomy xxxii. 29: "O that they were wise, that they understood this, that they would consider their latter end!"¹ This is what he said to the men who had kept the churches in a ferment ever since the formation of the Third Church had been proposed:—

Consider what will be the latter end of your unreasonable jealousies, abusive calumnies, or other ill usage of persons of great worth, use and interest among you. Consider (I beseech you) in the fear of God, what will be the end of the ill-entertainment of the best men among you. Who sees not (that is not wofully blind) that no men are more suspected and taken up in the lips of talkers, (Ezekiel xxxvi. 3,) calumniated and abused, than pious and faithful magistrates and ministers? . . . It is the hard condition of magistrates and ministers that they must bear all the murmurings of discontented people, and be loaded with all the obloquies and injurious reproaches that can be. They had need be men of great meekness and patience, able to bear much, that are pillars in the Church and Commonwealth. But great is the sin and unworthiness of those that put them to such an exercise of meekness and patience. And are not many among us guilty in this respect? It is a sad time when a lying spirit is gone forth into the mouths of many professors; when lies are invented to the disparagement of rulers and ministers, and calumnies and base reproaches are vended and put off and dispersed through the country with much subtlety and industry, as if there were some Lying Office set up in New England. It hath been my observation since I came among you, that almost all the mischief in this poor country is made and carried on by lying. *Tale-bearer*, or *slanderer*, in the Hebrew, hath its origination from a word which signifies a merchant, *quasi famæ ac honoris proximi nundinator*, — one that sets to sale the name and honour of other men. We have many such merchants, or pedlars, rather, that go up and

¹ The sermon was preached May 7, 1673, and was published under the following title: "New England Pleaded with, And pressed to consider the things which concern her Peace, at least in this her Day: Or, A Seasonable and Serious Word of faithful Advice to the Churches and People of God (primarily those) in the Massachusetts Colony; musingly to Ponder and bethink themselves what is the Tendency, and will certainly be the sad Issue, of sundry unchristian and crooked wayes, which too many have been turning aside unto, if persisted and gone on in." A brief address is pre-

fixed to the sermon, signed by John Sherman and Thomas Shepard.

Mr. Shepard preached the Election Sermon in 1672. His text was Jer. ii. 31: "O generation, see ye the word of the Lord: Have I been a wilderness unto Israel? a land of darkness? Wherefore say my people, We are lords; we will come no more unto thee?" He rebuked the divisions and calumnies of the times, in connection with other public sins, but not so scathingly as Mr. Oakes. The sermon was printed, with an address to the Christian Reader by the Rev. Thomas Thacher.

down the country with this kind of commodity ; and it is a lamentable thing that they should have so good a trade of it, and meet with so many chapmen that are ready to take their ware off their hands. . . . Many pregnant instances of this evil spirit might be produced to confirm what I say : but herein I shall spare the guilty only, who knows not (that is no stranger in our Israel) that the ministers of Christ among you indefinitely have been deliberately and solemnly charged with “ declension from primitive foundation work, innovation in doctrine and worship, opinion and practice, invasion of the rights, liberties and privileges of churches, usurpation of a lordly, prelatical power over God’s heritage,” and with the like things, which are “ the leaven, the corrupting gangrene, the infecting, spreading plague, the provoking image of jealousy set up before the Lord, the accursed thing which hath provoked Divine wrath and further threatens destruction ? ” I need give you no other instance of this evil spirit of jealousy and calumny than this. Here is good measure, pressed down, shaken together, and running over. Enough and enough to demonstrate the disaffected and embittered spirit of some men ; and what unkind usage from some hands, those your poor ministers find among you. Such men (whom I wish either that they were better enformed and affected, or less considerable in the Commonwealth) impute all the blastings and droughts and judgments of God upon the country to the defection and apostacy of their ministers. As if the confident accusers themselves were men of such unquestionable innocency, as not to contribute anything to the sins and sorrows of the country ; or as if there were no other sinners among us that are kindling the wrath of God against the land, and pulling down his judgments, but a few despised ministers : Or as if there were no other sins against the Lord our God found among us, to provoke the wrath of a jealous God, but the supposed deviations of pious, conscientious, learned men, truly studious of truth and reformation, and a due progress therein.

We could quote page after page from this faithful and fearless discourse, which might be pondered to good advantage by the men in every generation who set themselves up as conservators, in opposition to freedom and progress in religious thought, and who too often become slanderers and persecutors ; but one paragraph more must suffice : —

What peace can be expected so long as this trade of lying and calumniating men of piety, worth and authority is continued and driven on among us ? And indeed though it may be thought by some that these wretched practises are but the small devices of some petty politicians and little creeping statesmen among us that have no very considerable influence into our publick affairs : yet I must needs say, that I look upon this course of calumniating your best men, as the very

Gunpowder-Plot that threatens the destruction of Church and State. Nothing (as experience shews) is more advantageous to the designs of innovators, than the right knack of kindling and fomenting jealousies and fears in the minds of men concerning magistrates and ministers. Such men are wont to make and improve false alarms of danger, that people may believe that religion and liberties are at the stake, and in danger to be lost! Designers are wont to impose upon the credulitie and easiness of well meaning people this way. . . . Moreover these calumnies are immoralities, and scandalous evils, and it is the duty of Gods servants to lift up their voice as a trumpet, to cry aloud and not spare them that are guilty whatever the issue be: yea to cry to God and man for redress. And I would humbly commend it to our Honourable Rulers, upon whom the lot of this days Election shall fall, that they would take it into serious consideration and fixe upon some expedient, to put these lying lips to silence, and to find out the principal authors and fomentors of these mischievous calumnies. They are certainly moral evils, and God is angry with us for them, (for he is very tender of the name and reputation of pious rulers and ministers) and many good people are deceived and drawn in the simplicity of their hearts, into a disaffection to their leaders; yea, and the people of God abroad are abused and misinformed, and these calumnies (to my knowledge) are handed and transmitted over sea; insomuch that many good people take it for granted that most of the leaders in this country are meditating a revolt from the good old principles and practises of their worthy predecessors.

This sermon must have made a deep impression upon those who heard it and upon those who heard about it. It no doubt prompted the brethren of the Third Church to another attempt at reconciliation with the church from which they had felt it to be their duty to separate themselves, for, as appears from the records of the latter, a letter from the "dissenters" was read before it on the 27th of June, and was "much debated." Its further discussion was postponed to the 8th of July, when a vote was passed that it should be answered by "the three magistrates and the three elders." An answer was prepared, accordingly, and, after several meetings of the First Church had been held to consider and settle its terms,¹ it was transmitted, on the 22d of August, to Mr. John Hull, addressed, "To our beloved brethren, Captain Thomas Savage, Mr. Hezekiah Usher, Mr. John Hull, to be communicated to the rest of our brethren who departed from us." It was conceived in a much more conciliatory spirit than previous communications from the same source

¹ See *First Church Records*.

had been, but it did not yield the point of dismissing and recommending the wives of the seceding brethren to the watch and care of the new church. This point, indeed, the First Church never conceded; and it was only upon the recommendation of an assembly of ministers called, a year later, to consider and pass judgment upon the case, that these long-suffering women recovered their good and regular standing as members of a Christian church. The correspondence which followed Mr. Oakes's Election Sermon is given in full in the Third Church Narrative, to which we again turn:—

After a long silence the 3d Church was encouraged by Magistrates and Elders of the Countrey to make another Essay for
 13: (4) 1673 peace, the teaching Elders of the first Church allso publicly prayed and exhorted to it this ensuing letter was sent unto them

Honourd Reverend and dearly beloved

As the ey of Christ in the midst of us like a flame of fire, and his ff[eet] like fine brasse is a matter of great aw, soe his severe command to love one another as he hath loved us is of deep meditation for constan[t] humble obedience, the thoughts of both presse strongly to have salt in ourselves and peace one with another. for indeed what better becometh the presence of the Prince of Peace than peace in his presence among all his loyall subjects, seing that the Spirit of Christ is one in all his members and is a spirit of love and peace, hence that restlesse working in all his faithfull servants towards this peace, making it easy to them to observe all those other rules of mutuall forbearance and forgivenes as God for Christs sake forgave them, whiles as the Elect of God holy and beloved they put on bowells of mercy and kindnes, humblenes of mind meeknes long suffring to forbear and forgive one another, if any of them have a quarrell against any, even as Christ forgave them for the spirit of prayer is a spirit of forgivenes as it is said by our Lord Jesus Matt. 11. 25. and when ye stand praying forgive if ye have aught against any, that your ffather allso which is in heaven may forgive you allso your trespasses, but if you doe not forgive neither will your ffather which is in heaven forgive you your trespasses for the spirit maketh intercession according to the will of God, and this is his will that ye forgive one another, after his example, who forgave not onely the knowne grosse sins and daily infirmities of his people, which they confesse but sins that they are ignorant of, else who should stand before him, for he knoweth all things, but who of us understandeth his errorrs as we know in part with our best knowledge soe we obey in part in our best obedience, for our obedience cannot exceed our knowledge, what hath passed from

us towards you in these last transactions could but be obedience in part that it was obedience is our comfort, that it was but in part we hope doth humble us, that your knowledge may exceed ours in that matter we would humbly suppose and therefore that which to us is obedience may to you be offence, hence there is a bar to our Communion you being offended, did we know as you we hope we should be as ready through the grace of Christ to yeild as you to require a particular acknowledgement, but acknowledgement cannot be without knowledge, must this be a wall of separation, and must it still keep of our peaceable and Brotherly Communion, God forbid. Is there no compassion for the ignorant, if we are ignorant is not the blood of Christ sufficient without particular acknowledgement to break downe such a wall between those which live by faith for the pardon of their ignorance which they cannot confesse, if there be any power in that better view of the blood of Christ to speak peace between us, then we humbly and earnestly intreat you if you have ought against any or all of us in this or any other matter that you forgive us as he hath forgiven you and let there be and continue brotherly love and Church Communion between us as becometh the Churches of Saints, As there is one body, one Spirit as we are called in one hope of our calling one Lord one faith one Baptisme one God and ffather of all, who is above all and through all and in all, soe let us be likeminded one towards another according to Christ Jesus that we may with one mind and one mouth glorify God and the ffather of our Lord Jesus Christ and let us to that end according to Pauls exhortation receive one another notwithstanding all matters of doubtfull disputations between us as Christ also received us to the glory of God, whereinsoever therefore we or any of us have done or spoken anything that hath bin matter of greif or occasion of offence to you or any of you we againe and againe heartily desire you to forgive it and forget it. and let it be no offence to you that we receive those of you who desire it that have hitherto held Communion at the table of the Lord with us into our Communion, but grant your Loving dismission unto them, neither let it be any offence for any of ours as they may desire it to come and partake with you in your neerest Communion, or of yours henceforth on the like occasion to sit downe at the Lords table with us, we trust it shall be no greif of heart unto you afterwards, we have all the same common cause viz the Congregationall way laid downe for substance in the Platforme of discipline, the same friends, enemies, hopes, feares, dangers, desires, imbarcked in the same Commonwealth, and in hazard to be in the same Common woe, should god let loose an adversary against us, Oh let us serry close together in the Lord, union strengthens, division weakens, exposeth to contempt, maketh a prey to the enemy, multiplieth iniquity, and increaseth transgression and transgressors among men, among saints, its managed by another wisdom

than that which is from above, and therefore is suted to ends not to be desired, could the heathen come to a forgiving, forgetting, burying all offences, to heale publique breaches and strengthen a decayed and jeopardied Commonwealth by morall vertu and prudence, and will it not be below Christians to fall short of heathens in like Case, should we that have through grace bin stated in such a degree of profession fall short, God forbid, Now God even our owne God be the very God of peace, so quench and calme our hearts by his owne Spirit, and supply them with that heavenly oile that we may be tenderly affected with all brotherly love each to other and may dwell together as a daughter with her mother in sweetest nearest neighbourhood to his owne glory and the furtherance of our everlasting joy and consolation of his people, we shall add no more, but that you are in our hearts to dy and to live with you in that capacity wherein the Lord hath set us, to whose grace commending you and ourselves, as ourselves also to your Brotherly love, we humbly subscribe ourselves.

Your Brethren and servants in the Gospell

13: (4) 1673

THOMAS THATCHER

EDWARD RAINSFORD

To the Honourd Reverend and beloved Elders and Brethren of the first gathered Church in Boston.

In the name and with the Consent of the Brethren.

This letter was carryed to the Teaching Elders by T. S. H. U. and J. H. The 22th of the 6th in the Evening the two deacons of the old Church brought unto Mr. John Hull a letter subscribed to
 22th. (6) 1673 our beloved Brethren Captaine Tho: Savage, Mr. Hez: Usher Mr. John Hull to be Communicated to the rest of our Brethren who departed from us. the cobby whereof followeth.¹

Deare and well beloved Brethren in our dearest Lord Jesus.

Yours of the 13th 4th 1673 we received which gives occasion to cleare ourselves of a misconstruction of a passage in our last as if we had imposed a silence as to any friendly treaty with you, for in truth we would neither be, nor thought to be men averse from peace, but rath[er] from division and contention, the former being our duty the latter a[n] abomination to us, the Lord both yours and ours is as ye say the prince of Pea[ce] and his will it is that we should be at peace with all men, but more abundantly with such as professe themselves to have us in their hearts to live and to dy with us and to have the same common cause viz. the Congregationall way as in the
 ☞ booke called the Platforme, the same friends, enimies, and

¹ [We have compared this copy of the letter with a copy (evidently made at the time) in the possession of the Mass. Hist. Society, and we have made a few slight verbal changes in it to bring the two into conformity with each other.]

dangers, embarked in the same Common weale, and in hazard to be in the same Common woe, wherefore deare Brethren we open both armes to receive and unit[e] with you for the Common weale, and against the Common woe of the Lords people in th[is] land, that transgressors may not be favored and multiplied among us, a[s] to your desire in yours of pardon of what may have offended any or all of us in your late transactions we understand you to speake of your departing from us, which being an houre of temptation may have found in you severall deviations from the rule, and that you soe humbly heartily and earnestly againe and againe ask forgiveness as it implyeth some blameable proceeding in the action aforesaid, (for we see not what roome there is for pardon whe[re] there is no fault at all, soe we see not need of so much pressing this knowne duty of Brotherly forgiveness upon us) wherefore leaving the Rule in its owne entirenes, and not revoking our testimony to it, nor calling bitt[er] sweet, we doe in our affection to you passe by what failings have escaped you in that transaction (for soe our judgment was and is) and desire that both with you and us all bitternes wrath and anger evill speaking and clamour may be put away, with all malice, and that we may be kind one to another, tenderhearted, forgiving one another even as God for Christs sa[ke] hath forgiven us. Another desire of yours is that without our offence you may receive some into your Communion that doe desire it, we conceive you to speak of those sisters your wives, whome we find in our Church reco[rds] to have desired a release from their Covenant ingagements. Now you may please to take notice that after that in the Case of Sarah Pemerton one of them the Church did declare that they looked on themselves as disingaged from any Covenant duty to her, and that she ceaseth to stand in memberly relation to us and accordingly we doe now declare in love concerning all the aforesaid sisters that they are upon their owne irregular choice gone out from us and from any further Authority of this Church

One request more you have is that you may have Communion with us at the Lords table in which we desire you Brethren to beare with us that we cannot as to our present light fullfill your desire, and you may the rather beare with us herein because yourselves have laid a new barr in avouching as we conceive your departure to be an act of your obedience and that high if we rightly understand you, Now if it were obedience, we would gladly know the scripture Command for it, that soe we may see your necessity of so doing to avoid sin, and our sin in gainesaying you therein,

Yet in order to the accomplishment of your desire and that this division may be forever buried in the fuller Amnestie, we would rejoyce that the Lord may guide in his way to prevent any the like unhappy breach in any of the Churches of Christ among us.

Thus have we deare Brethren received and Considered your over-

ture with all Brotherly kindnes, and we hope that neither that from you nor this from us will hinder, but further your and our indeavour of a fuller understanding one of another, neverthelesse whereto we have attained let us walke by the same rule farewell beloved Brethren we are

Yours to love and to esteem you in the Lord

19th 6th mo : 1673

JOHN OXENBRIDGE, Pastor

JAMES ALLEN Teacher

reserving mine owne understanding and exception

JOHN WISWELL Elder

with the Consent of the Brethren

Their Elders voted to send their ruling elder Mr. Wiswell¹ to see if any of our sisters would confesse their fault, then they
[20]. (6th) would indeavour to git them a generall dismission to some Church in order.

The only sermon of Mr. Thacher which has come down to us in print was preached on a public fast-day, March 26, 1674. Its text was Isaiah lviii. 5, 6. It was published four years later, with an Address to the Reader by Increase Mather,² and with the following title, which sufficiently suggests its scope: "A Fast of God's Chusing, Plainly Opened For the help of those poor in spirit, whose hearts are set to seek the Lord their God in New England, in the solemn Ordinance of A Fast, Wherein is shewed 1. The nature of such a Fast. 2. The Testimony God will give thereunto of his gracious acceptation. 3. The special Seasons wherein God will bear witness to such a Fast. 4. Some helps to Faith that it shall be so. 5. Why such a Fast is so acceptable and successfull. 6. How much this concerns Gods people in New England. Preached on a Fast Called by Publick Authority, on 26. 1. 74."

¹ [Elder Penn had died October 30, 1671.]

² Mr. Mather said in his Address: "It is marvellous to consider (for his Spirit knoweth what shall come to pass in the world, and inclineth the hearts of his Messengers accordingly,) how God many times causeth the words of his Servants in their publick Ministrations to fall in with his providential dispensations; of which we have some instance in the Sermon herewith emitted, which was delivered some years agoe, even a little before our late troubles. The Lord knew that Boston, yea, that New England would have cause for many days of

Humiliation, and therefore stirred up the heart of his Servant beforehand to give instructions and Directions concerning the acceptable performance of so great a duty. Some that were affected in hearing the Word preached, and that did in short hand take what was delivered, have importuned the Reverend Author to give way unto its publication, unto whose desires he hath at last conceded. And I know not but that the publication of what is in this way presented may be as seasonable as the preaching of it at first was." The Address is dated April, 1678, six months before Mr. Thacher's death.

We come now to the closing sentences of the Third Church Narrative : —

The sisters being the wives of the first dissenters and now are the third Church in Boston whose dismission from the first Church was soe often sought but in vaine, and who had ^{[27] (6) 1674.} bin now above 3 yeares and a half denyed Communion with the said Church ; made their addresse to the 3d Church for their admission with them where they had enjoyed Communion all this time. the Addresse followeth : —

Reverend and much Esteemed in the Lord.

Having long tyme wated in hope of the reconcilliation of the churches and obtaining a dismission to yourselves and after all attempts and Endeavours used by yourselves having this for answer respecting ourselves That they looked at themselves as discharged from any Covenant duty to us and that wee cease to stand in any memberly relation to them And that wee have upon our owne irregular choyce, gone out from them and from any further Authority of their church Wee therefore intreate you to receive us into church membership with yourselves, considering that meerly for holding church Communion with yourselves wee are brought into the same Condition with you in relation to that Church whereof both you and wee were members, For our dismission was at first desired, and that according to the first Council you were advised upon that churches refusall to take it up by a peaceable secession, which you did, and according to order joyned together into a church Society, and officers being orderly chosen and ordeyned with you, wee thought it our duty to hold Communion with you being involved in the same Cause, which holding of Communion they call our irregular going out from them &c for which indeed they never dealt with us singly or together according to any knowne order of the Gospell, but according to their vote on 24 : 2d 1670 in these words [wee doe declare that wee cannot have Communion with such of ours at the Lords table who have and doe communicate with them untill they give satisfaction.] they have refused Communion with us : and so (as may be Conceived) wee ly under the same rule of Joyning to you and being received by you, as you did of Joyning together and receiving each other in your first Coalition for they themselves being interpreters wee have made a Secession from them upon their refusing a dismission unto us, by holding church Communion with yourselves and so are hopelesse of help from them, except wee would renounce communion with you which we cannot in Conscience do, Besides wee understand that it hath bene the advice of many of the Reverend Elders severall tymes at the Election Courts Assembled and under the hands of some of the most Ancient of them, that we should joyne unto you and be received by

you, which advice concurring with the Counsell given yourselves by the Second Council in the same case, wee submit unto and accordingly desire the benefit thereof ; Earnestly intreating the god of all grace so to fill us with his Spirit, that wee may be fit to renew our Covenant with him and with your church, and to walke in covenant with himsele and with yourselves unto all gracious acceptation with him and to his Eternall glory by Christ Jesus our Lord, wee are bold to subscribe ourselves, Dearely Beloved in the Lord.

Your Sisters in the Lord and fellowship of the Gospell.

August 27 : 1674

MARGREATT THACHER	ELIZABETH ALDEN	LIDIA SCOTTOW
ELIZABETH GIBBS	ELIZABETH BECK	ELIZABETH RAINSFORD
MARY NORTON	JUDITH HULL	ELIZABETH ROCKE
JOHANNA DAVIS	SARAH OLIVER	SUSANNA DAWES
HANNAH FRARY	MARY SAVAGE	SARAH PEMBERTON
MARY SALTER	MARY ELLET	JOHANNA MASON
ELISHUA THIRTON	REANIS BELCHER	ALICE HARPER
SARA WALKER	MARY BRACKIT	SARAH BODEMAN
MARY TAPEN		RACHEL RAWSON

Delivered and thus superscribed to Elder Rainsford ffor the Reverend Elders and Brethren of the 3d Church of Christ in Boston.¹

Upon the publishing of their addres unto the Church, the sisters owning of it publiquely, they were all admitted members of this 3d Church. [October 16. 1674.]

This narrative preceding was by Mr. Sam : Sewall, Deacons Ellyot and frary and Josh. Scottow comitted to the reverend Sam : Torry the onely surviving Secretary of the last Councill, and the Assemblies Moderator at Mr. Thatchers Ordination, by him to be examined and compared with records of transactions relating to 3d Church he after having it diverse moneths in his Custody returned it with full approbation, and that this is the true copy of that which past his examination

Attests

JOSH : SCOTTOW²

2 : ffe[buary] 169[]

¹ [We have corrected this letter by the original, which is on the files of the Old South Church. It was written by John Hull, and the names of Joanna Davis, Ranis Belcher, Mary Brackett, Susanna Dawes, Sarah Pemberton, Joanna Mason, Alice Harper, and Sarah Bodman are in his handwriting. Lydia Scottow and Elizabeth Rock did not join the church until the 8th of January, 1674-5. Joanna Davis's name does not appear on the church lists.]

² [After the certificate of Mr. Scottow,

who, as we judge, drew up the Narrative, is the following :—

BOSTON January 25 91-2

Having seen a transcript of the 3d Churches proceedings containing one hundred sixtysix pages of writeing and being desired to passe my judgement on the worth of the writeing therof do accordingly judge it to be worth the summe of foure pounds three shillings money

ELIEZER MOODY.]

it with your own with him and ...
 into all generations and ...
 of Lord, we are glad to subscribe ...
 August 27 1874 Mary Norton
 Hannah Davis
 Hannah Frey
 Mary Baker
 Elizabeth Turner
 Parwa ...
 more paper
 Elizabeth Turner
 Elizabeth Bick
 Judith Hull
 Sarah Oliver
 Mary Savoy
 Mary Elliot
 Jeanne Delchre
 Mary Brackett
 Sidia Scott
 Elizabeth Gibbs
 Elizabeth Davis
 Sarah Ambrose
 Johanna Mason
 Alice Harper
 Sarah Godman
 Rachel Paxton
 Elizabeth Norton

AUTOGRAPH SIGNATURES OF MRS. THACHER, MRS. NORTON AND OTHERS.

The final appeal of the women upon which the church acted, as a formal application for admission to its membership, was supported by the judgment of an assembly of ministers convened in the preceding month of May, in a document written by the Rev. Thomas Cobbett, which has been preserved on the files of the Old South :—

Upon a motion made by the South church of Boston unto such Elders of other churches as were there assembled upon the 28 of May, 1674, for the resolution of this following question,

“What is our duty towards those members of the Old church who were and still are secluded from communion with that church in the sacrament of the Lord’s Supper, only because of their participation with us therein, and who also desire to join in church fellowship with us?”

Those elders, having inquired into and labored after a right understanding of the true state of the Question as it ariseth from matter of fact and relates unto matter of practice in the great duties of church communion and communion of churches, do, humbly and in the fear of God, offer our sincere understanding of the case stated in this question : and, 2dly, our advice and counsell thereupon.

1. That the church inquiring, respecting both its constitution and administrations both of Doctrine and worship, is, and ought to be acknowledged, a true church of Christ, standing right in the order of communion of churches in all respects ; free and clear from any just scandall or offence given or taken. As appears by the oft renewed acts and constant practise of Communion, and by the right hand of fellowship orderlye and mutually given and taken between them and generally all other churches as occasion doth require.

2. That therefore communion with this church in the participation of the Lord’s supper duely and regularly administered is not morall evil, nor justly offensive unto any other church, any of whose inoffensive members shall orderly and occasionally for their own edification and comfort desire to communicate with them therein, by virtue of Communion of churches.

3. That therefore for any other church to seclude or suspend a considerable number of their own (otherwise inoffensive members) from communion with themselves in that holy sacrament, meerly and only for participation with that church therein is not justifiable as to the grounds and reasons thereof : but seems to us to be crosse to the rules and order of the communion of churches, and so to their peace and union.

4. That so to seclude and suspend such and so many members indefinitely from church communion without the ordinary improvement and application of rules of church discipline, or any orderly proceed-

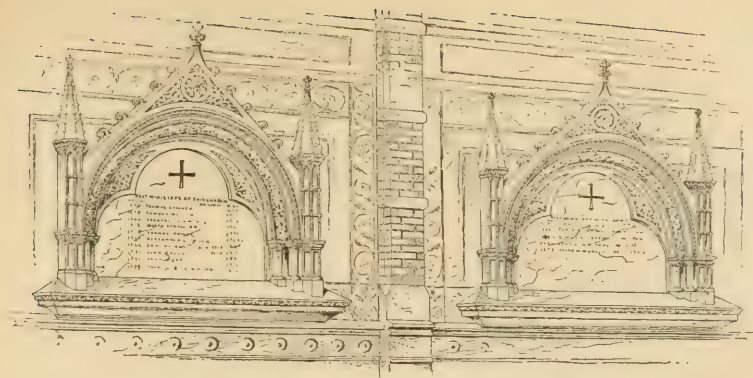
ing in a church way, to call them before the church in public church assembly to convince them of the evil and sinfulness of the fact, to reduce, recover them and restore them and that singly and severally, each one by themselves, and to let such and so many members to live and ly for divers years together under such a suspension without any further proceeding in any church is not justifiable for the manner of it, there having ben no regular forensicall exercise of judiciall power by the church according to known scripture rules of church discipline, nor any liberty or opportunity granted to reputed offenders either to clear their innocency, if innocent, or to hear the church and expresse their repentance if guilty, and therefore we cannot judge such a seclusion and suspension to be any regular church censure.

5. That therefore any such declarative act of any church whereby they do in such a way and manner sentence any or so many of their own members unto non-communication with themselves and so consequently with all other churches it being neither properly an Ecclesiasticall admonition nor excommunication. It is not (*de jure*) binding either in *foro Dei* aut *conscientiæ*, and is therefore no reall regular bar either unto those members from joining with another church, neither unto another church from receiving them into their fellowship, there having ben all due means used for their reconciliation to and dismissal from the said church unto that which they find more for their edification and consolation in the Lord; and yet, it proving in vaine and appearing altogether impossible and (as to man) after so many years waiting utterly hopelesse, that it should be obtained for the future.

In such a case we judge

That such members may joyne, and such a Church unto whome they desire to joyn may receive them into their fellowship without the transgression of any rule of Church order or any just censure given unto the church unto which they did belong, provided they be in a capacity, by a convenient vicinity and other necessary circumstances, to walk with that church constantly in the course of church fellowship, and come according to their church-Covenant.

This judgment was signed by the following clergymen: Samuel Whiting, Sr., of Lynn, John Eliot, of Roxbury, Peter Hobart, of Hingham, Thomas Cobbett, of Ipswich, John Sherman, of Watertown, William Hubbard, of Ipswich, John Higginson, of Salem, John Wilson, of Medfield, Jeremiah Hubbard, of Topsfield, Samuel Phillips, of Rowley, Joseph Rowlandson, of Lancaster, Seaborn Cotton, of Hampton, N. H., and John Hale, of Beverly.



CHAPTER IV.

1675-1683.

PHILIP'S WAR. — THE QUAKERS. — RECONCILIATION.

UPON the abatement of the agitation on the Synodical question, there was a brief period of quiet in the colony. The historian says: "The state of things at this period furnishes no especially exciting topics for conversation. There is no present menace of disturbance from England. The agitation about the Synodical question is abated. Quakers cause little apprehension, and Baptists are getting to be kindly regarded. Now and then a villager who has been at the Thursday lecture in Boston brings back news respecting the King's attitude towards Holland, or the measures of Parliament against the Duke of York, or the conjectured policy of Lord Danby, or the annoyances of English or Scottish Nonconformists. The politics of town and parish are from time to time presenting some new aspect; courtships and marriages, births and deaths, claim notice; militia training days make a recreation and a sort of festival; and all the year round, the doctrine delivered in the last Sunday's sermons is matter for thought and discourse during the week. In the marts of business, interests are more various, and social intercourse has more activity and show. But everywhere alike there is a general appearance of security, prosperity, sobriety, good order, and content."¹

The quiet of this time, we are told, also, was undisturbed by any general apprehension of danger from the aborigines. "For more than a generation there has been no war with them,

¹ Palfrey's *History*, vol. iii. pp. 136, 137.

though there have been occasional difficulties and quarrels. The youngest person of European parentage who has seen war on this continent is already almost too old for military service.”¹

But this brief period of quiet was to be interrupted, and followed by years of terror and disaster.

Massasoit, the friendly chieftain, died in 1660, leaving two sons, Wamsutta and Metacomet, who, being ambitious of high-sounding European names, came by order of the court at Plymouth to be called Alexander and Philip. Alexander lived only two years after his father, and in 1662 Philip became chief sachem of the Pokanokets. From the very first, this wily savage was suspected by the colonists of Plymouth, to whom he professed allegiance and attachment. In August, 1662, they summoned him to a conference with them, when he made many protestations of friendship, and promised to adhere faithfully to the treaty engagements of his father and brother; the English, on their part, engaging to afford to him and his people “such friendly assistance, by advice and otherwise, as they justly might,” and “at all times to carry friendly towards them.” But Philip was almost constantly under suspicion, although he strangely succeeded in defending himself against the charges of hostility and conspiracy which, with a good deal of circumstantiality, were from time to time brought against him. In 1671, during one of his periods of contumacy, he came to Boston, and seems to have made a favorable impression upon the leading men here, for some of them wrote to Plymouth in his behalf, at the same time offering their assistance in bringing about a friendly settlement of the pending quarrel. This proposal for arbitration was accepted, and Major-general Leverett, Mr. Danforth, and Mr. Davis went to Plymouth, and with Governor Winthrop, of Connecticut, who had joined them, “had a fair and deliberate hearing of the controversy.” The result was, that after listening to all that Philip had to say for himself, in his relations with the Plymouth authorities, the arbitrators “adjudged that he had done a great deal of wrong and injury respecting the premises, and also abused them by carrying lies and false stories unto them; and they persuaded him to make acknowledgment of his fault, and to seek for reconciliation.” He made full submission to the Plymouth magistrates, by an instrument dated September 29 of the same year, and, in sign of fealty, he engaged to pay yearly a tribute of five wolves’ heads, besides a hundred pounds

¹ Palfrey’s *History*, vol. iii. p. 132.

in three years to defray the charge which he had now occasioned. The quiet thus obtained continued until 1674, when the governor of Plymouth was informed by Sausaman, a "praying Indian" and a preacher, who had been taught at Cambridge, that Philip was endeavoring to raise new troubles, and to engage all the sachems round about him in a war. Hearing that he was again under suspicion and that he would probably be sent for by the court, he went of his own accord to Plymouth, in March, 1675, and once more made earnest protestations of his innocence. These did not satisfy the assistants, but, "not having full proof, and hoping that the discovery so far would cause him to desist, they dismissed him friendly," with some words of admonition and warning. Soon after Sausaman disappeared, and his murdered body was found in a pond. Philip, who lived at Mount Hope, now a part of the town of Bristol, was daily becoming more bold, and at length on Sunday, the 20th of June, commenced hostilities by a raid on Swansey, the nearest of the English towns to his territory; two houses were then burned, and three days later twelve more were rifled; a day or two afterward, several of the inhabitants were massacred, and their bodies treated with barbarous indignity.

We do not propose to narrate the events of the three years following the outbreak at Swansey, known in our history as King Philip's War, which, spreading from Plymouth Colony, overran a large part of New England. Central Massachusetts was desolated, and almost every settlement beyond the Piscataqua was laid in ashes. "It was a succession of ruthless ravages on a larger or a smaller scale. Outlying houses were fired by night, while their inmates slept. Husbandmen at their work, and women at the well, and travellers on the road, were shot down. Only in the large towns could an Englishman leave his door with safety. Every bush near it might hide a watchful marksman." Of the eighty or ninety towns in Plymouth and Massachusetts, ten or twelve were wholly destroyed, and forty others were more or less damaged by fire, making together nearly two thirds of the whole number. There was scarcely an English family in the two colonies that was not in mourning. Impoverishment was added to bereavement. At the termination of hostilities, the debt which had been incurred by the colony of Plymouth is believed to have exceeded the value of the whole personal property of its people.¹

¹ In this sketch, we have followed fourth and fifth chapters of the third closely Dr. Palfrey's account in the volume of his *History*.

The members of the Third Church bore their full share of the responsibilities and perils of this terrible time. William Davis, as we have seen, went to Plymouth as an arbitrator in 1671, when, it was hoped, arrangements had been made to secure a permanent peace between the red men and their white neighbors. As soon as the intelligence of the first attack on Swanzezy reached Boston, the Council, in response to an appeal from Governor Josiah Winslow, decided to send messengers to the Narragansett and Nipmuck tribes which were within the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, to prevent, if possible, an alliance on



Thomas Savage

their part with Philip, and so to circumscribe the limits of the revolt. These messengers were Edward Hutchinson, Seth Perry, and William Tower. On the 24th of June, when news of the general outbreak came to hand, and a further appeal from Plymouth had been received, Thomas Savage and Thomas Brattle were sent in haste to Philip, on a mission of peace; but when they reached Swanzezy they saw that the time for negotiation and remon-

strance was past, and they returned to Boston without speaking with him. On the same day it was resolved to raise a company of foot soldiers and a troop of horse; Daniel HENCHMAN was appointed to the command of the former, and Thomas PRENTICE of the latter. Other troops were raised as the war went on, and the management of the campaign was entrusted to Major Thomas Savage.¹ Benjamin Gibbs held a captain's commission. John Hull was treasurer-at-war, and some of the account books, a journal and two ledgers, kept by him at

¹ Edward Rawson, as secretary of the Council, wrote to the governor of Connecticut, June 28, 1675:—

“Major General Denison was chosen for to goe General of these forces, but he being taken ill Captain Savage is sent Commander-in-chief, Captain Prentis commanding the horse, Captain

HENCHMAN and Captain Mosley Captains of the foot. Our eyes are unto the Lord for his presence with them, and hope you will not be wanting in your prayers and watchfulness over the Indians, and particularly we request you to use your utmost authority to restrain the Monhegis and Pequods.”

the time are extant. His "system of book-keeping was a sort of double entry, or 'a mixed method.' It was very exhaustive, giving to every department of the colony's transactions a separate ledger account, as well as to every person mentioned in the journal." In these accounts we find three of his fellow church-members, Theophilus Frary, Jacob Eliot, and John Morse, recorded as commissaries of subsistence. We find, also, on the rolls, the names of the following members of the Third Church and congregation: Joseph Belcher, who was wounded in the knee and had his horse killed under him; Perez Savage, who was severely wounded early in the campaign; Nathaniel Davenport, Mr. Thacher's son-in-law, one of the six captains killed in the action of the 19th of December; Moses Paine, Asaph Eliot, Ebenezer Hayden, William Manly, Samuel Veazie, Simon Daniel.¹ In February, 1675-6, Major Savage was placed in command of an expedition for operations in the central part of Massachusetts. His son-in-law, Benjamin Gillam, was second in command, and we recognize in the lists, as Third Church men, Gilbert Cole, David Raynsford, Henry Phillips, Richard Woodye, Manasseh Beck, Benjamin Thurston, Thomas Savage, Jr., William Gerrish, William Pollard.²

John Cunnabell, who joined the church in 1689, was a member of Captain William Turner's company. He assisted in the defence of Northampton, March 14, and he was at the fight near Hatfield a few weeks later, when Captain Turner fell.

While so many of the able-bodied men of the church were exposed to peril in the field, we have reason to believe that the older men and the women were doing their part at home. The Narrative of Mrs. Rowlandson, of Lancaster, who was taken prisoner when that village was sacked by Philip, February 10, 1676 (her husband, the minister of the town, being absent at the time), and ransomed after nearly three months of frightful suffering, on the 2d of May, tells us of their Christian sympathy and liberality:—

The twenty pounds, the price of my redemption, was raised by some Boston gentlewomen and Mr. Usher, whose bounty and charity I would not forget to make mention of.

¹ We read of Mr. Andrew Belcher, an enterprising merchant, and a prominent member of the Third Church a few years later, going with a sloop to the Narragansett country in the winter of 1675-76, laden with supplies, "without

which there must have been great suffering."

² See an interesting and valuable series of papers on Soldiers in King Philip's War, by the Rev. George M. Bodge, in the *N. Eng. Hist. and Gen. Register*.

Our family being now gathered together, the South Church in Boston hired a house for us. Then we removed from Mr. Shepard's, (those cordial friends,) and went to Boston where we continued about three-quarters of a year. Still the Lord went along with us, and provided graciously for us.

"There is a friend that sticketh closer than a brother." Truly have we found him to be such a friend to us in whose house we lived, viz. Mr. James Whitcomb, a friend near hand and far off.¹

After the death of Philip, hostilities broke out in another quarter. A letter from Mr. Thacher to his son Peter, afterward minister of Milton, who had gone to England on a visit, throws some light on these troublous times:²—

BOSTON. 16. 8. 76.

MY DEAR SONNE PETER,

I have received foure letters from you, whereby I have joyfully and I hope thankfully taken notice of the kindnesse of God in your comfortable voyage to and kind reception in England by our freinds ; which hath enlarged my desires to hear farther from you. I hope also that you have long ere this received mine to you. At present you may understand that God hath utterly scattered, delivered up and subdued the heathen that first rose up against us, delivered up Philip to death, cleared the Costs of Plimmouth, Narranganset, Connecticut, Quabaag &c. from those bloody and blasphemous heathen ; But behold a new Enemy is broken out to the East and Northward who have layd wast the Country &c. Slaine my good freind Captain Lake and many others : and this very day past wofull Tidings is come of the taking in by surrender Mr. Scotto's garrison at Stony-point, he being but the last week come from the Same to Boston and leaving Squire Joslin, as they call him, cheif commander ; what the particular circumstances ar is not yet certeine amongst us ; but this is certeine the place is taken, The garison strong, two great peices there and many Small armes and good store of provisions. Such a spirit of fear and cowardice is poured out on the inhabitants of those parts that it is exceeding ominous. the Indians carry all before them by sea and land, on the maine and on the Islands in Casco. have taken severall vessells, one with two great guns in it &c. This part of the warre is like to be the more

¹ [See *A True History of the Captivity and Restoration of Mrs. Mary Rowlandson*. Her daughter, six years old, was struck by a bullet, in her mother's arms, and died after nine days of suffering from exposure and want of food on the march. Mr. Rowlandson was a member of the Second Council in 1669, and one of the signers of the judgment of May,

1674. In the Third Church Narrative his name is spelled Rawlinson and Rowleyson. See *ante*, pp. 62, 67.]

² We are indebted to the Hon. Peter Thacher for a copy of this letter. It was superscribed: "These, For his Sonne, Mr. Peter Thacher, At Mr. Matthew Barker's, at Turners-hall, Cor. Philpot Lane, London."

difficult, because So far off from us : because so neer the French, who are reported to be amongst the Indians. This day it was said that there were twenty in the Exploit above signified ; But we have no certainty of it, and foolish Jealosies may feigne that fear makes Scare-crows to affright the fearfull, and the sluggard says a lyon is in the way. So may those fearfull persons think to hide their shame, by such suggestions. As for myself, I at present injoy a comfortable measure of health and strength : tho' laboring under some weaknes Gotten in my sicknesse. If you have not more than ordinary Encouragement and a most Evident call to stay in England I hope I shall see you here if the Lord lengthens our lives to the next Summer. The Lord guide your whole way and blesse you with all the blessings of his everlasting Covenant : and make you a blessing wherever you come that he may be your Portion. I had almost forgot to tell you that I received a letter from my brother Paul Thacher that lives in Salisbury certifying that my brother John dyd three yeer agoe very Poor. That my mother law's [*sic*] Sister one Mrs. Elizabeth Coombs widdow to Mr. Coombs, the great Anabaptist, is alive. She was a lively hearty Christian when I lived at Salisbury and I am confident would rejoyce greatly to See you ; being an old freind of my father's. If you go thither I presume that you will find many old freinds that will rejoyce much to see you. But I fear such [ruine ?] coming on England that I wish you here. To the g[racious father of our] Dear Jesus I [commend] you resting

your

and loving father,

THOMAS THACHER.

Your sister Betty is newly recovered blessed be God from a sore dysentery flux, which is malignant and hath taken away many. To B. D. your salutations were very acceptable. Your brother Thomas is not yet returned from New York, but is expected dayly. The Lord bring him in safety. Your brother Ralphe and his family as also your brother Thomas's for ought I understand are all in health.

If you can, get Ames Medulla and cases in English for your brother Ralph, do it and forget it not. [Here follows a sentence in short-hand.¹]

Once again I commend you to the grace and Benediction of God according to his everlasting covenant.

18. 8. 76.

This day came news to hand, that Mr. Joslin was deserted by those in the garrison whilst he was treating with the Indians. So that he and foure more men with three women were faine to flee in the night ;

¹ [Mr. William P. Upham, who is very skilful in such matters, renders the sentence in short-hand as follows : " Also, in all your letters, to present your duty to your [step]mother, and if there be anything you would not have her read, write it in Greek, and forget not your brothers."]

one of the women dyd by the way ; they fled in old canoos to a place not far from Piscataqua ; so that Mr. Joslin was innocent in that matter.¹ Present my service to my brother and sister Barker and love to my Sonne and Daughter Sheaf.² Her mother received great comfort in the letter she sent and doth vehemently long for their returne.

Mr. Hull mentions in his diary, in the spring of 1676, the death of several prominent men, among them two of the founders of the Third Church : April 5, Simon Willard, one of the first settlers of Concord, and father of the Rev. Samuel Willard, "a pious, orthodox man ;" he died at Charlestown, during a session of the court of assistants ; April 24, "our good friend and partner," Peter Lidget ; May 14, Hezekiah Usher, "a pious and useful merchant ;"³ May 15, Richard Russell, magistrate and county treasurer ; May 16, Joshua Atwater, whose granddaughter, Mary Clark,

married the Rev. Ebenezer Pemberton ; May 24, William Davis.

Samuel Sewall records a fast at the house of Mr. Benjamin Gibbs, "for Mr. Thacher," who was ill, May 23, 1676 ; he was better on the 24th, and on that day, Wednesday, the Rev. Samuel Willard preached the lecture for him, which we suppose to

¹ ["Sabbath day, Aug. 20, [1676] we heard the amazing newes of sixty persons killed at Quinebeck, by barbarous Indians, of which were Captain Lake, Mr. Collicot, Mr. Padashell. *Dilati sunt in futurum.*"]

"October 15. This day we have intelligence that the Garrison at Blackpoint is surrendered to the Indians. Note, Captain Scottow at home, here at Boston."

"March 13 [1676-7]. Captain Lake, the Remainder of his Corps, was honourably buried."

"Captain Thomas Lake was, with several others, surprised and killed by the Indians on August 14, near a fort on Arowsick Island, Maine, during the continuance of the war at the eastward. He had escaped to another island, and his fate was not known, nor his mangled body recovered, till many months after-

wards. His monument may be seen on Copp's Hill, where he was interred, though it is not decorated with the coat of arms shown in Bridgman's Incriptions." See Sewall's *Diary*.]

² [Perhaps Sampson Sheaffe and his wife Mehitable, daughter of Jacob Sheaffe and his wife Margaret, afterward Mrs. Thacher.]

³ The Old South Church has a chalice which we suppose to have been the gift of Mr. Usher. It is eight inches in height, and has four marks : 1, lion passant ; 2, leopard's head, crowned ; 3, date-letter, indistinct ; 4, maker's mark, M, mullet below, heart-shaped shield. It bears the inscription, The Gift of H. V. Senior. (See the above cut.)

The same maker's mark is found on London-made plate, 1659-1672. See *Old Plate, Ecclesiastical, etc.*, by J. H. Buck, p. 174.



have been a lecture preparatory to the communion.¹ Sewall says: "Being distressed with melancholy, and troubled concerning my state, I was relieved by Mr. Willard's sermon, especially at two places quoted," namely, "I will show thee the path of life," and "Now unto him that is able to keep you from falling," etc. Until now Mr. Thacher had had no assistance for any length of time in the duties of the pastorate, and no colleague had been settled because the church had been unable to obtain the right man for the position. The destruction of Groton by the Indians and the dispersion of the church there sent an excellent minister, Mr. Willard, to Boston, and two years later, having preached more or less for the South Church, he was installed as its colleague pastor.

On the 28th of February, in the same year, Samuel Sewall married Hannah, only child of John Hull, and became a member of the South congregation. He speaks in his diary, to which we shall so often recur in this history, of the benefit he derived from Mr. Thacher's preaching, and, at length, of his desire to become a member of his church.

Jan. 22 1676-7. Went to Mr. Thachers, found him at home, mentioned my desire of communion with his Church, rehearsed to him some of my discouragements, as, continuance in Sin, wandering in prayer. He said 'twas thought that was the Sin Paul speaks of, Rom. vii. At my coming away said he thought I ought to be encouraged.

March 19. Went to Mr. Thachers. He not within, so walkt with Capt. Scottow on the Change till about 5, then went again, yet he not come.² At last came Elder Rainsford, after, Mr. Thacher, who took us up into his Chamber; went to prayer, then told me I had liberty to tell what God had done for my soul. After I had spoken,

¹ See Sewall's *Diary*, vol. i. p. 52.

² [Evidently, Mr. Thacher lived near the Town House, the first floor of which was open and was used as an exchange. Sewall says in his *Diary*, October 12, 1691, — "training-day," — that he dined in the late Mr. Thacher's study, with Major Richards, Major-General Winthrop, Mr. Willard, Captain Scottow, and others, and that Major Richards had served his time in the house to Major Gibbons. We suppose, therefore, that this dinner took place in the house which had belonged to Edward Gibbons, who died in 1652; it stood on the east side of what

is now Washington Street, on the corner opposite the foot of Cornhill and near Dock Square.

See *Mass. Archives*, vol. B xv. p. 163, for petition of Margaret Sheaffe to the General Court, in 1662, for a title to the house and land of Martha, widow of John Coggan (we suppose the Albion lot, on the corner of Tremont and Beacon streets), for which Mrs. Sheaffe had paid the purchase-money to Mrs. Coggan before the latter, having been left by the Lord "to Sathan's temptations, which was too strong for her, made away with herself."]

prayed again. Before I came away told him my Temptations to him alone, and bad him acquaint me if he knew anything by me that might hinder justly my coming into Church. He said he thought I ought to be encouraged, and that my stirring up to it was of God.

Friday, March 30. I, together with Gilbert Cole, was admitted into Mr. Thacher's Church, making a solemn covenant to take the Lord Jehovah for our God, and to walk in Brotherly Love and watchfulness to Edification. Goodman Cole first spake, then I, then the Relations of the Women [Anne Gannet, Rebecca Hackett] were read : as we spake so were we admitted ; then altogether covenanted. Prayed before, and after.¹

In anticipation of the settlement of an associate minister with Mr. Thacher, the members of the Third Church, by the desire of Mrs. Norton, had enlarged her dwelling-house to make it available for the purposes of a parsonage, and it is possible that Dr. Hoar lived here for a time on his arrival from England. Mrs. Norton now executed a deed of the land upon which the addition to her house had been built, and this was her second deed to the Third Church.

To all Christian People to whome these presents shall come Mary Norton Relict Widdow and Executrix of the Last Will and testament of the late Reverend and her deare Husband Mr. John Norton Teacher of the ffirst Church of Christ in Boston in the County of Suffolke in the Collony of the Massathewets in New England sendeth greeting Know Ye that I the said Mary Norton for divers good causes and considerations me moveing thereunto Especially for and in Consideration of that Endeared affection that my Late Deare husband did beare unto his and my assured friends Capt. Thomas Savage Mr. Edward Rawson Mr. John Hull Mr. William Davis Mr. Hezekiah Usher Mr. Peter Oliver Mr. Joshua Scottow Mr. Edward Raynsford Mr. Richard Truesdaile and Mr. Jacob Elliott all of the said Boston in confidence of their faithfullness did on the first day of April 1669 give and grant unto the persons abovementioned a certain peece and parcell of my Orchard and Land to build them a meeting house upon and for the building of an house for the Ministry as in that Deed Refference thereunto being had : amply doth and may appeare : And in remembrance of their faithfull love to me since my said late deare husbands death and their Erecting a meeting house on the place and becoming a Church of Christ with whome I have held

¹ See Sewall's *Diary*, vol. i. pp. 46, 47, for a statement of the doubts with which he was troubled in joining the church and in coming for the first time to the Lord's

table. "I have been exceedingly tormented in my mind, sometimes lest the Third church should not be in God's way in breaking off from the old," etc.

communion ever since : And the Deacons of the said Church Looking to and after the repaireing of my dwelling house wherein I live : Upon their invitation and comeing of the late Reverend Doctor Leonard Hoare, and for an habitation for a Minister on my desire and encouragement they have beene at the sole charge of that now additionall end or building of a Cellar and house over it Kitchen Hall Chambers [*sic*] and Garratts : having promised them to give them the Land on which they built with some priviledges thereunto In performance of which my faithfull promise Know all men that I the said Mary Norton Have absolutely clearely and fully given granted bargained sold aliened enfeoffed and confirmed, and by these presents Doe absolutely give grant bargain sell aliene enfeoffe and confirme unto them the said Thomas Savage Edward Rawson John Hull Joshua Scottow Edward Raynsford and Jacob Elliott yet alive and to such as they have associated unto them in Church ffellowship or shall be associated to them and to their heires and successors for ever for the Ends and purposes in the first abovementioned Deed of Aprill the first 1669 is fully and amply declaired Reference thereto being had may appeare all that peece of Land on which they built the said Additionall Cellar Kitchen Hall Chambers garratts as it is adjoynd to the Easterly part of my now dwelling house being in breadth twenty two foot and in Length from my said house to the Gateway that goes into my Orchard with full and free liberty to them the said Thomas Savage Edward Rawson John Hull Joshua Scottow Edward Raynsford and Jacob Elliott their heires and associates as above said of ffree Egress and Regress up and down the stares on all their occasions into their Cellar and Chambers and Garratts : with free use of the Kitchen Cellar and Chimney for their washing and brewing from time to time : So as they Interfere not with the Brewing and washing dayes of such minister or ministers as shall inhabitt and dwell in that part of the dwelling house I now live in : With Liberty in and priviledge of the yard to Lay twenty Chords of wood in : And also to pass through both the yards at one End and at the other : and the orchard to the meeting house from time to time and at all times as they and their heires or successors shall or may have occasion To have and to hold the granted peece or parcell of Land with the house thereon Erected with the libertyes priviledges and appurtenances thereunto bounded and belonging as above Expressed for the Ends and uses of the ministry that now is or from time to time shall be called by them the said Thomas Savage Edward Rawson John Hull Joshua Scottow Edward Raynsford and Jacob Elliott and such as now are associated to them : or shall be associated to that Church Society forever their heires and assignes for their publick worshipping of God : for the use of their ministers or ministry orderly chosen by the said Society being the third Church of Christ in Boston from time to time and at all times for ever

And I the said Mary Norton sole Executrix of my late Reverend Deare husband John Nortons Last will and Testament for me my heires Executors and Administrators doe Covenant promise and grant to and with the said Thomas Savage Edward Rawson John Hull Joshua Scottow Edward Raynsford and Jacob Elliott their and every of their heires and successors members of the said Society: by these presents that I the said Mary Norton now am and at the Ensealing hereof stand and be the true and proper owner of the above granted premisses and that I have good Right full power and Lawfull authority to give grant bargain and confirme the same unto the said Thomas Savage Edward Rawson John Hull Joshua Scottow Edward Raynsford and Jacob Elliott and Company which they shall associate to them selves and their successors and heires forever And that the said Thomas Savage Edward Rawson John Hull Joshua Scottow Edward Raynsford and Jacob Elliott and their Company which now are or they shall associate to them selves shall and may at all times for ever hereafter have hold possess and enjoy all the above given and granted premisses to the use and uses intents and purposes as above is Expressed without the Least Lett denyall or contradiction of me the said Mary Norton my heires Executors administrators or assignes or by any other person or persons whatsoever having claimeing or pretending to have or claime any title Right or interest therein or by from or under my late Reverend and Deare Husband Mr. John Norton deceased or either of our heires Executors administrators or assignes In Witness whereof I the said Mary Norton have hereunto set my hand and seale the thirtieth day of June in the yeare of our Lord one thousand six hundred seventy and seven and in the twenty ninth year of his Majesties Reigne

MARY NORTON [Seal]

Signed Sealed and delivered in the presence of us the grantees being already in possession of the above granted premisses

JNO HUBBARD

JOHN HAYWARD scr

This Instrument was acknowledged by Mrs. Mary Norton to be her act and deed this 30th of June 1677

before mee

SIMON BRADSTREET Assist

BOSTON Jany 13th 1804 Received and Entered with Suffolk Deeds Lib 207 fol^o 241

per WM ALLINE Regr.

In the summer of 1677, the good people of Massachusetts suffered from one of those incursions which it was more diffi-

cult to know how to deal with and successfully to resist than any Indian raids against which they had to defend themselves. The savages who came stealthily upon peaceful villages and helpless women and children, with torch and tomahawk, could be met only in one way. There must be war. There was no question that force must be used, until the leaders in the cruel assaults were vanquished and slain, and their followers intimidated if not pacified. But the come-outers, the Quakers, who now again invaded the colony, disturbed the public peace, and testified, not in season, but out of season, against the established institutions both of government and religion, against both magistrates and ministers, railing at them in the streets and denouncing them in the meeting-houses, — how could they be silenced and suppressed? They prophesied in the name of the Lord; they claimed to be the followers of Jesus Christ; many of them were women. They would not listen to reason; they would not yield to entreaty. There could be no rest for the colonists, as it seemed, while they remained among them; there was nothing to be done, therefore, but to expel them. When they came back, as they did again and again, it is not strange that they were treated as brawlers, enemies to the peace of the people, and outlaws, and that they received in their persons the penalties inflicted at the time upon both sides of the ocean on such offenders.¹

Dr. Ellis, in the Puritan Age, has brought to light a petition to the General Court in the autumn of 1658, signed by twenty-five of the leading men of Boston, against the Quakers as “pro-

¹ It is very difficult for us to recognize in the amiable and peace-loving Friends of the present century the historical descendants of these troublesome people. Whatever they may themselves say, in their steadfast loyalty to their fathers, they certainly are not of the same spirit. How different the methods of the Gurneys, Frys, Sturges, and Whittiers, in protesting against and denouncing the enormities of negro slavery, from those of the men and women who, in the seventeenth century, set themselves against law and order, and defied the authorities in both church and state; and how different, also, the results! We think there is an unconscious recognition of this difference on the part of Whittier, in these lines from *The King's Missive*;

“With its gentler mission of peace and good-will,
The thought of the Quaker is living still.”

In a Boston pamphlet in the Prince Library, “Printed for the Public Good, 1741,” in defence of the “Manufactory Undertaking,” and of the paper money which the chartered company was authorized to issue, it is said (p. 28): “Numbers of the People called Quakers or Friends, noted for their Honesty, Industry and good Order, are Partners in this Scheme, and many others (not Partners) in Heart and Practice favour it.”

This is testimony not only to the “good order” which characterized the Friends in Boston in the eighteenth century, but also to the appreciation of their valuable qualities by the community in the midst of which they lived.

fessed enemies of the Christian Magistrate and seducers of the people." Among the propositions offered for serious consideration is the following: "Whether the increase and strengthening of their obduracy, perversity, malignity does not give reason for apprehending a renewal of the spirit of Muncer, or John of Leyden, and justify, as in other commonwealths, a rule for self-defence against the incorrigible, and require that the penalty of death be inflicted upon those returning from banishment, as well our own people as strangers?"¹ The enactment of the death penalty, by a bare majority of the court, immediately followed the presentation of this petition, and four persons suffered the consequences of their persistent defiance of the law, in returning again to the jurisdiction from which they had been banished.

We do not intend, in these pages, to condemn the fathers for the course which they took with the Quakers; there are others who are ready enough to remind us of all the motes which floated in their eyes. At the same time, we have no intention of justifying them. There was a wide difference of opinion among themselves as to what it was right and best to do under the trying circumstances. Cotton Mather said, in reference to the policy which had been pursued: "If any man will appear in the vindication of it, let him do as he please; for my part, I will not. I am verily persuaded, these miserable Quakers would, in a little while, (as we have now seen) have come to nothing, if the civil magistrates had not inflicted any civil penalty upon them."

Dr. Ellis says that the most offensive and extravagant of the eccentricities of deportment in individual Quakers occurred after the harshest severity of the treatment of them had been much relaxed. It is at this point that the strange and painful narrative runs into the history of the South Church. Samuel Sewall says in his diary, July 8, 1677: "In Sermon time there came in

¹ *The Puritan Age and Rule in Mass.*, by George E. Ellis, pp. 448, 449. *Mass. Archives*, vol. x. p. 246. The petition is in the handwriting of that stalwart and uncompromising conservative, Anthony Stoddard, and in the signatures we see a strange commingling of the men who ten years later were to be on opposite sides in the controversy between the First and Third churches: Anthony Stoddard, Nathaniel Duncan, John Wil-

son, William Colborne, James Penn, Edward Raynsford, Robert Walker (?), Thomas Bumstead, Thomas Clark, Theodore Atkinson, William Dinsdale, Thomas Snow, John Hull, William Davis, James Johnson, Nathaniel Williams, Henry Powning, John Evered, *alias* Webb, Hezekiah Usher, Thomas Marshall, William Hudson, William Salter, Henry Phillips, Thomas Savage, John Newgate.

a female Quaker, in a Canvas Frock, her hair disshevelled, and loose like a Periwigg, her face as black as ink, led by two other Quakers, and two other followed. It occasioned the greatest and most amazing uproar that I ever saw." They were arrested; and, on the day following, Mr. Bradstreet issued an order to the keeper of the prison, directing that they should be detained until legally discharged. The order began: "Whereas there was one man and four women, Quakers, committed to prison yesterday, being the Lord's day, for making an horrible disturbance, and affrighting the people in the South Church in Boston, in the time of the public dispensing of the Word, whereby several women, as I am informed, are in great danger of miscarrying," etc. The principal actor in this disturbance was Margaret Brewster, who came from Barbadoes. She had sent what she called "A Warning from the Great God of Heaven and Earth to the Rulers and Magistrates of Boston, in New England, that they put not in practice that cruel law they have made concerning swearing." Thinking herself commissioned to denounce judgment upon the people for their sins, she went, as William Coddington wrote to Ralph Fretwell, August 16, "into Thacher's meeting, in sackcloth, with ashes upon her head, and barefoot, and her face blacked. With her was Lydia Wright of Long Island, and Sarah Miles and Elizabeth Bowen Jr, and John Easton Jr. who took her riding clothes and shoes when she went into the house. The fourth of this month," continues the letter, "they were called before the Court at Boston, and she was sentenced to be whipped up and down the town with twenty lashes and the three maids were to follow the cart."

At the trial the magistrate asked Margaret Brewster, "Are you the woman that came into Mr. Thacher's meeting-house, with your hair frizzled, and dressed in the shape of a devil?" She answered, "I am the woman who came with my hair about my shoulders, ashes upon my head, my face colored black, and sackcloth upon my upper garments." Increase Mather says that one of the women who had been frightened by her died in consequence.¹

¹ Cotton Mather says of Mr. Thacher: "He was one very watchful over the souls of his people, and careful to preserve them from errors as well as vices: but of all errors, he discovered an antipathy unto none more than that sink of all errors, Quakerism. . . . When he heard of any books left by the Quakers in any houses of his neighbourhood, he would presently repair to the houses, and obtain those venomous pamphlets from them: for which, that the wolves

Mrs. Norton made her last will and testament August 20, 1677, and died a few months afterward, in her seventy-sixth year. John Hull says in his diary: January 10, "Mrs. Mary Norton fell speechless. 17th She died, and, 21st was interred in her husband's tomb." Her will was admitted to probate on the 1st of February, and was as follows:—

In the name of God Amen, The Twentyeth day of August in the yeare of our Lord, One Thousand Six hundred Seaventy and Seven, I Mary Norton of Boston in the Collony of the Massachusetts, in New England Relict Widdow of Mr. John Norton Sometime Teacher of the Church of Christ in said Boston, being of Competent bodyly health, and of sound and perfect memory, prayesd be the Lord for the same, doe make this my last will and Testament in manner following (that is to say) ffirst I commend my Soul to God who gave it, and my body to the Earth to be buryed in such decent manner as to my Executors hereafter named shall be thought meete and convenient, and as touching such worldly Estate as the Lord hath Lent mee, my will is that the same shall be employed and bestowed as hereafter in and by this my will is expressed.

Imprimis, I doe hereby revoake and make void, all wills by me formerly made, and declare and appointe this my last will and Testament. Item I will that all debts I justly owe, to any manner of person or persons whatsoever, shall be well and Truly paid in convenient time after my decease by my Executors hereafter nam'd Item I give and bequeath unto Third Church of Christ in Boston, my now dwelling house with all the land belonging to the same, as it is scittuate neere the Third meeting house in Boston aforesaid, with all Proffitts priviledges Rights and appurtenances whatsoever to the same belonging or appertayning, for the use of the ministry in the said Church successively forever, And my will further is, that the said Third Church, or some person or persons in their behalfe shall be possessed of the said house and Land, with the Rights and appurtenances, at and Immediately after my Decease, for the reasons following First Because many of the particular members of the said Third church have bene large contributors to that meeting house, and Church treasure,

barked more at him than at many other men, and would sometimes come with their faces hideously blacked, and their garments fearfully torn, into his congregation, whereby the neighbours were frighted unto the danger of their lives, is not at all to be wondered at."

The founders of New England "knew that liberty in the hands of feeble-minded and unreasoning persons (and all the worse if they are honest) means nothing

else than the supremacy of their particular form of imbecility; means nothing less, therefore, than downright chaos, a Bedlam-chaos of monomaniacs and bores. What was to be done with men and women who bore conclusive evidence to the fall of man by insisting on walking up the broad aisle of a meeting-house in a costume which that event had put forever out of fashion?"—James Russell Lowell, *Among my Books*.

from whence they issued Secondly because of the great Charge that the brethren of the said Third Church have bene at in building their meeting house. Thirdly, because I conceive it will prove inconvenient for a minister to live so neere a meeting house, where he doth not preach,¹ Provided alwaies that the said Third Church or some person or persons in their name and behalfe, pay or cause to be paid unto the first Church of Christ in Boston, the full and Just summe of One hundred Pounds of Lawfull money of New England, within the space of one yeare next after my decease, and my will is that the payment of the said summe and tender thereof be made at or in my now dwelling house Item I Give and bequeath unto my Couzen John Norton, the summe of Twenty pounds to be paid unto him within one yeare next after my decease Also I give unto my said Couzen John Norton the use of all my said Late husbands bookes Provided he give sufficient security to the satisfaction of my Executors that the said bookes shall not be sold nor carryed out of this Country,² also my will is that in Case my said Couzen John Norton, shall have a Son or Sons, that shall be fitted for the worke of the ministry, that then such Son or Sons shall also have the use of the said bookes, to them and their heires, the like Security remayning, that the said bookes be not sold from the family, But in case my said Couzen, John Norton, shall dye without any Son, who shall be fitted for the worke of the ministry my will is that then the said bookes shall be divided equally, and that one halfe part of them shall be delivered for the use of Harvard Collidge at Cambridge, and the other halfe part of them to be to the use of these five ministers and their children who shall be brought up to the worke of the ministry, Namely Mr. Phillips of Rowley Mr. Torrey preacher at Weymoth, Mr. Josiah Flint preacher at Dorchester Mr. George Shove preacher at Tanton,³ Mr. Noah Newman preacher at Rehoboth. And my will is, that if Either or any of the Said Ministers dye without a Childe, that shall be brought up to the worke of the ministry, that then such bookes given unto him or them, as afore-

¹ [This confirms our supposition that Mr. Thacher lived near the First Church meeting-house, and had to pass its doors in going to his own.]

² [The word "cousin" is here used for "nephew." John Norton graduated at Harvard College in 1671, in the same class with Samuel Sewall, Peter Thacher, and Thomas Weld; he married Mary, daughter of Arthur and Joanna Mason, was minister of the Hingham church, and died October 3, 1716. The library bequeathed to him consisted of 159 folio volumes, and 452 quarto, octavo, and duodecimo.]

³ [For an account of the Rev. George Shove, third minister of Taunton, and successor there of the Rev. Nicholas Street, see Emery's *Ministry of Taunton*, vol. i. pp. 171-176.

Mr. Shove married for his second wife, February 16, 1675, Hannah, widow of Thomas Walley, Jr., and sister-in-law of the Hon. John Walley, of Boston; she died in 1685. Of his death, April 21, 1687, Sewall says in his diary: "Mr. George Shove was a principal Light in those parts [Taunton], and the death of their Saint George at this time calls for special mourning."]

said, shall be return'd to my Executors or the Survivors of them, to be distributed to such poore Schollars, or ministers, as they shall see meete. Item I give and bequeath, unto my Sister Mrs. Lucy Norton, my Silke gowne and Petticote Item I give and bequeath, unto Grace Clarke, the wife of Thomas Clarke of Ipswich, Mary Harris of Midletowne Anne Clap wife of Nicholas Clap of Dorchester, all my wearing apparrell, that I shall Leave undisposed of, to be equally divided between them, And that Mrs. Rawson Wife of Mr. Edward Rawson, shall see and order the said Devision to be made betweene them. Item I give and bequeath, unto my Couzen Edmund Fernely of Westcreting hall in the County of Suffolke in England, to his brother Thomas and to his Two sisters Elizabeth and Mary, the summe of Tenn pounds in New England money apiece, to be paid unto them or their order in New England within one yeare next after my decease Item I give unto Mrs. Mary Willard wife of the late Major Willard, the summe of five pounds in money And to old Mrs. Broughton five pounds Item to Mrs. Sarah Leverett, wife of the now Governor John Leverett, the summe of fifty Pounds, Also to Mrs. Tabitha Bowler of Virginia five pounds to buy her a peece of plate, Item I Give to James Peirce of London, Chirurgeon, the summe of Thirty pounds in New England money, Also to Mr. Peter Thacher and Ralph Thacher fifty shillings apiece in Moneys Also to Mr. Rawson the elder Tenn pounds, to my brother Mr William Norton Twenty Shillings to Mr. Thomas Norton Twenty Shillings, to Mr. Eliott the Elder Twenty Shillings, to Mrs. Mary Danforth of Roxbery Twenty Shillings, and to Major Generall Dennison forty Shillings, Also I Give Severall Small Legacies to sundry persons, whose names I have communicated unto my faithfull friend, Mr. John Hull of said Boston, which I neede not here perticularly insert, Item I Give and make over by these presents, all my deeds and other writings that Concerne my said house and Land, in said Boston, unto Capt John Hull, and Mr. Jacob Elliott, all of Boston aforesaid, as Trustees for the said Third Church of Christ in Boston, for the end and use before declared Item my will is that if there be anything doubtfull, or that may be variously interpreted in this my last will, that the same shall be decided, resolved and finally determined by the major part of my Executors hereafter named. Item my will is that if either my brother William Norton, or either or any of his Sons, shall Trouble or molest my Executors, or Legatees, by Suites of Law or otherwise whereby they shall be dam-nified, then the dammage shall be made good, to such party or parties, out of the books that I have ordered unto my Couzen John Norton And farther my will is that my Executors detainne the Same, untill the said Trouble (if any be) shall be fully issued, Also my will is, That if Either or any of my Legatees, give Trouble to my Executors or other Legatees in any thinge relating to the Legacies given, in

and by this my last will and Testament, That then the said Legacy given to such person or persons shall utterly cease, and he or they shall have no benefitt, by this my last will Item I Give and bequeath, the full remainder of my Estate, that is undisposed of in and by this my last will, unto my Executors hereafter named, to be equally divided betwene them. Item I do hereby nominate, constitute, authorize and appointe John Leverett Esquire now Governor of the said Massachusetts Collony, Mr. Edward Rawson Secrettary Capt John Hull Treasurer of said Collony, and Mr. Jacob Elliott of said Boston the Executors of this my last will and Testament. In Witnesse whereof, I the said Mary Norton have hereunto sett my hand and seale the day and yeare first above written

MARY NORTON and a Seale.

Signed and Sealed, and what is Contayned in these foure pages, was published by the above named Mary Norton as her last will and Testament in the presence of us, Seven words in the Eighteenth line, and Three words in the Twenty fifth line, being first oblitterated in the Third page

SAMUEL SEWALL

DANIELL QUINSEY

JOHN ALCOCKE

JOHN HAYWARD scr.

Samuel Sewall and Daniell Quinsy made Oath in Court pr^o Febr'y 1677 that they were present and did see Mrs. Mary Norton Signe and Seale, and her publish this Instrument to be her last will and Testament, and that then she was of a disposing minde to their best understanding

Attested p

Is^A ADDINGTON

It seems to have been understood between Mrs. Norton and the leading men in the Third Church that this church was to be in effect residuary legatee under her will ; that it was to come into possession, at her death, of her house and the remainder of the land ; and that it was to assume the payment of her funeral expenses, of whatever bills were then due, and of certain legacies.¹ It is possible that both she and the church expected that her property, independently of the real estate, would be larger than it proved to be on the settlement of her affairs. We have

¹ John Hayward wrote to John Hull, to speake to the deacons to pay me ten on a scrap of paper which lies before us, shillings which was promised for drawing Mrs. Norton's will." February 16, 1677 : " Please to remember

the papers and accounts before us, many of them in the handwriting of John Hull, and the inventory, certified to by Thomas Savage and Henry Alline. "The old dwelling-house," that is, the house, not including the addition which had recently been built, "and that part of the land that is yet undisposed of," was valued at £400, lawful money of New England; the library at £200; debts due to the deceased at £200; and there were personal effects of nominal value. The only available asset was the money due to the estate. The papers show that the executors, or Mr. Hull, who transacted the business, collected £206.17.6, and that against this they or he disbursed for funeral expenses, outstanding bills, and part of the legacies £207.1.8. There remained the legacy of £100 to the First Church, of £40 to members of the Ferneley family in England, and of £30 to Mrs. Norton's nephew, James Peirce or Pearse, of London, all which the deacons of the Third Church discharged, as against the value of the house and land which came to them under the will.¹ But there had been other disbursements made by them, amounting with these legacies to £500 at least, as appears from an instrument executed in 1687 by Edward Rawson, Joshua Scottow, and Jacob Eliot, which we shall presently give in full, and in which, as a consideration moving Mrs. Nor-

¹ Mr. Hull collected from Robert
Brimsden and Enoch Greenleaf
£206.17.6

He disbursed

For funeral expenses 67.12.11

" mourning for John

Norton 13. 5. 0

" sundry bills . . . 20. 3. 9

" " legacies . . 106. 0. 0

£207. 1. 8

The legacies paid from the estate were
as follows:—

Mrs. Sarah Leverett . . . 50. 0.0

Mrs. Rachel Rawson . . . 10. 0.0

Mrs. Mary Willard . . . 5. 0.0

Mrs. Mary Broughton . . . 5. 0.0

John Norton 20. 0.0

Ralph Thacher 2.10.0

Peter Thacher 2.10.0

Daniel Denison 2. 0.0

Martha Ofield 2. 0.0

Mrs. Mary Danforth . . . 1. 0.0

Mrs. Ann Eliot 1. 0.0

Mrs. Batt 1. 0.0

Mrs. Jane Pole 1.0.0

Mrs. Mary Greenleaf . . . 1.0.0

William Norton 1.0.0

Elias Corlett 1.0.0

£106.0.0

One of Mr. Hull's memoranda is as
follows:—

Leagicies to Pay for Mrs. Mary Nor-
ton which the ch. must repay

To Abyel Stiles 1.0.0

To Mrs. Lack. Symonds . . 1.0.0

To Mr. Edmund Fernly . . 10.0.0

Thomas Fernly . . . 10.0.0

Eliz Fernly . . . 10.0.0

Mary 10.0.0

Tabitha Bowler . . . 5.0.0

James Peirce . . . 30.0.0

Thomas Norton . . . 1.0.0

To 1 ch. of Boston . . 100.0.0

£178.0.0

Ben Davis a debt he saith . 3.18.4

Rhoda Porter for candles . 14.0

Recd of John Hull money in full of alms given by my sister Norton last will viz twenty shillings by me this 9th of May. 1678.

William Norton

Boston octob^r. 22. 1678. Recd of John Hull money in full of alms given me by my
Hon^d Aunt Mrs Mary Norton deceased the sum of Twenty Pounds
also for money lent by me to my said Aunt which I never yet received the sum
of seven Pounds six shillings both which I now receive of L^{tho} John Hull as witness
my hand & sign unto Put the day above. Mr John Norton Acknowledged
the Receipt next above written to be his Act & Deed June 23. 1685 John Norton
Before me Sam^l Sewall A. Sift.

Recd of John Hull on my for alms given for my self of
my Brother Ralph Thacher five Pounds in full by me Peter Thacher
deced^d 3. 1678. Mr. Peter Thacher Acknowledged the Receipt next above
written to be his Act & Deed. Before me John Richards Clerk
May 1. 1684.

Recd of John Hull a Legacy given me by Mrs Mary Norton deceased viz
fifty Pounds in money this 20th of Decemb^r 1678 I say and in full by me

Mrs Sarah Leverett Acknowledged the Receipt next above
written to be her Act & Deed: Before me Sam^l Nowell A. Sift.
April, 21. 1684.

Received of John Hull of Land Chit for & in behalfe of the first church of Ch^h
Boston one hundred Pounds in money being in full of a Legacy given by the
last will of Mrs Mary Norton unto the first church w^{ch} was
the 18th of this month day of January 1678.

of
of

awithness ther unto
Sam^l Willard.

Peter Burdett.

Henry Collins
Deacons of the
first Church in Boston

Mr. Robert Sanderson, and Mr Henry Collins, Deacons

of the first Church of Christ in Boston, personally appearing, acknowledged the Receipt next above-written to be their Act & Deed and that in Confirmation hereof they did subscribe their names, and affix their Seals: Taken before me

April 3^d 1684

J^{as} Russell

Boston 13 July 1685.

Recorded with the Records of wills. Lib: N^o 3. page 497.
with a reference to m^{rs} Mary Norton her will. m 49.
same book. page 497.

W^m H^g Huntington

CCCCCCCC

ton to convey her real estate to the Third Church, mention is made of "disbursements for her in repaying her dwelling house, and afterwards taking downe six chimneys and building new in their place etc, erecting a new end and addition to the said dwelling house, paying and discharging severall debts and legacies which shee had resolved by her last will and testament should be paid, in all to the value of five hundred pounds at least, as in the deacons bookes of accounts do appeare." From this statement, it appears that the Third Church paid at various times to Mrs. Norton and to her estate five hundred pounds, New England money, against the gift by her, at various times, of property for which her husband, in 1659, paid two hundred pounds sterling. This, however, was not all. When Samuel Sewall was in England in 1689, he "paid forty pounds to the heirs of Mr. Stephen Winthrop, for releases of Meeting-house Ground" and his own warehouse.¹ The church, therefore, paid for the land which came into its possession all that it was worth at the time, and perhaps considerably more. In saying this, we do not desire to detract in the slightest degree from the credit of Mrs. Norton as one of the founders and benefactors of the Third Church. She was warmly attached to the men and women with whom she had cast in her lot, and to the principles for the sake of which she and they had seceded from the old church. She intended, no doubt, to make a contribution as valuable as that of any other founder, and whether or not her intention was literally fulfilled, she deserves honorable and grateful remembrance from the membership in every generation. As we have already said, she would never have thought of claiming for her gift any consideration beyond and above that accorded to the gifts of John Hull, Thomas Savage, and the other founders of the church; certainly, she never would have consented to the imposition for all time upon the Third Church, with which she was in full sympathy, of conditions which she did not lay upon the First Church, by whose recent

¹ *Sewall Papers*, vol. i. p. 286.

On the return voyage from England Sewall wrote in his diary, concerning this payment, November 20, 1689: "If it should Please God, who is Righteous in all his Ways, and Holy in all his Works, to put an End to my Life before I come to Boston, my Desire is . . . that the Money laid out with the

Winthrops, on account of the Land the South Meeting House stands on, be given the persons concerned, that so I [who?] have done them no good, may doe them no hurt. Provided no damage happen by a Bond I have given the Winthrops, or one of their Husbands, a Copy of which is in my Papers."—*Ibid.*, vol. i. p. 282.

action she had been much aggrieved. To this latter church she bequeathed one hundred pounds, to be used according to its discretion ; upon what she gave or intended to give to the former, she could not have wished to keep a mortmain grasp for all time. We should not have thought it necessary to be thus explicit on this subject, if it had not become the habit of those outside the church and congregation, who from time to time seek to meddle in the direction of its affairs, to invoke the name of Mary Norton, and to make her liberality a pretext for their interference.

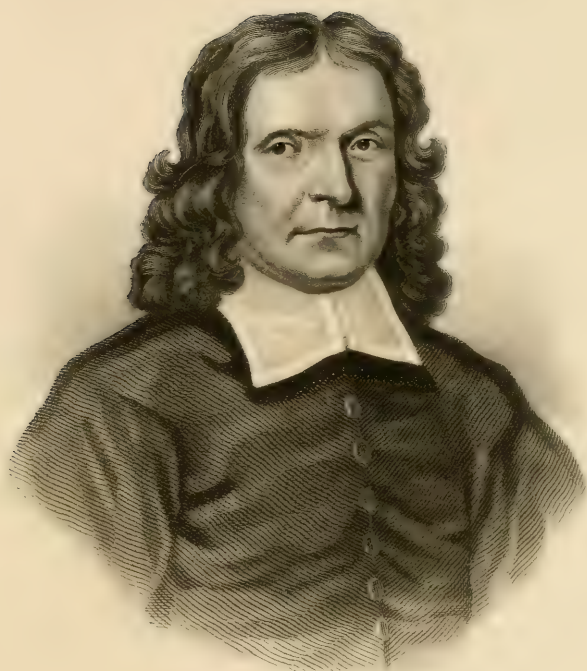
Mr. Willard was admitted to the membership of the South Church February 12, 1677-8, and was installed as colleague pastor, or teacher, a few weeks later, March 31. No particulars of the installation services have come down to us. He was a son of Simon Willard, one of the first settlers of Concord, — a very prominent man in the colony. Samuel was born in Concord, January 31, 1640, and graduated at Harvard College in 1659. On the 13th of July, 1664, as we learn from the Roxbury Church Records, a church was gathered at Groton, and he was ordained as its minister.¹ He had been preaching there for several months, and the town had voted "That Mr. Willard, if he will accept it, shall be their minister as long as he lives, which Mr. Willard accepts, except a manifest Providence of God appeared to take him off." Such a providence appeared in 1676, when, on the 13th of March, the village was destroyed by the Indians, and the little flock was dispersed.² Mr. Willard came to Boston, and we hear of his beginning to preach almost immediately at the Third Church, of which his father had been from the first a steadfast friend. Of his removal hither, Mr. Pemberton said in a funeral sermon, preached thirty years later : —

¹ Mr. Willard married, August 8, 1664, Abigail, daughter of the Rev. John Sherman, of Watertown ; and, secondly, July 29, 1679, Eunice, daughter of Edward Tyng.

² Many of the people went to Concord, and remained there until the spring of 1678. At a town meeting of the inhabitants of Groton, held in Concord on the 12th of December, 1677, "such as were present did then and there agree, that if the Providence of God prevent not by death or sickness, or by the enemy, that then we will go up in the spring follow-

ing and begin to repair our habitations again, if God permit ; and for the true performance of this agreement we do engage the forfeiture of our whole right in Groton unto those who do go up and carry on the work."

Soon after the resettlement of the town, measures were taken for the erection of a new meeting-house. Mr. Willard, however, had gone to Boston, and had accepted a call to the pulpit of the South Church. The Rev. Gershom Hobart was settled as his successor. — Butler's *History of Groton*, pp. 85, 86.



Saml. Richard. Governor

At first in his younger years, his master committed to his pastoral care a flock in a more obscure part of this wilderness: But so great a light was soon observed through the whole land: And his Lord did not design to bury him in obscurity, but to place him in a more eminent station, which he was qualify'd for. The providence that occasioned his removal to this place was an awful judgment upon the whole land; yet was eventually a mercy in this respect, that it made way for the translation of this bright star to a more conspicuous orb; where his influence was more extensive and beneficial; and in this it was a great blessing to this congregation, to this town, nay, to all New England.

In the same sermon, we have a very full and discriminating estimate of Mr. Willard's qualifications for the conspicuous position to which he was now called. "In him, bountiful heaven was pleased to cause a concurrence of all those natural and acquired, moral and spiritual excellencies, which are necessary to constitute a great man, a profound divine, a very considerable scholar, and an heavenly Christian." "The God of nature was pleased with a liberal hand to bestow on him those natural intellectual endowments, which laid the foundation of great improvement in knowledge. And did from his youth presage uncommon service for God and his people, which his master had designed him for. In natural endowments, he appeared as the elder son among many brethren: in these very few, if any, could pretend to stand upon a level with him." We learn further that he had a copious fancy and a quick and accurate perception; in argument he was profound and clear. His piety was consistent, devoted, self-denying, and confiding. His learning was extensive and solid, especially in theology, which was his favorite study, "and a great divine must of necessity be a great clerk."

"His discourses, were all elaborate, acute and judicious; the matter being always weighty, and his subjects well chosen, suited to the state of his flock, and every way adapted to make them wiser and better. His common discourses might have been pronounced with applause before an assembly of the greatest divines." "His style was masculine, not perplexed, but easy as well as strong." His delivery was characterized by "gravity, courage, zeal and prudence, and with tender solicitude for perishing souls. And, when the matter required it, no man could speak with greater pathos and pungency." "He knew how to be a son of thunder to the secure and hardened, and a

son of consolation to the contrite and broken in spirit." "His public prayers were always pertinent and pathetic, animated with a spirit of devotion and" marked by "an uncommon compass of thought." As a pastor, he was distinguished for "prudence, faithfulness and impartiality." "All his talents and acquisitions were consecrated" to the service of Christ, and over the whole was shed the lustre of a "remarkable and unaffected modesty," and a "spirit truly pacific." He was ardently attached to the work of the ministry, and unusually diligent in performing its various duties.¹

After Mr. Willard had been admitted to the church, but before his ordination, a vote was passed which was recorded by him, and which undoubtedly had his approval. It was a step towards the mitigation of the severe rules which then governed the admission of members to the churches.

¹ [We have in our possession a paper containing an abstract evidently made from an account-book kept by the deacons, which shows the sums paid to the various pastors from 1669 to 1740, with other items of expenditure. We copy it entire : —

1669

Dec 19 Mr. Thacher 1st minister 40/
p Week

Contributed this year from 7 to 8£

Ministers had provisions etc. sent in to
the Value of 130/.

Bell cost £18.

Deacons Frary and Eliot Brackett Tomp-
son

[There is a mistake in connection with
the last name. It should be Williams.]

A present of £20 made Mr. Thacher }
1672 }

Do 20 Do 1674

Do 5 Mrs. Norton }
1675 }

Help by the Ministers pd. p the Ch. @
20/ p diem

Rev'd. Mr. Willard settled 1678, his wood
allowed him cost 8/ p Cord.

1677-8 Contrib. abt 110/. p Week

1679 raised to 140/.

1685 abt 110/.

from 1686 to 1694 abt 100/. to 1703
abt 110/.

Mr. Willards Salary 60/ }
Mr. Pembertons Do 40/ } 1701

The Ch. allowed Mr. Willard £10 p
annum for Entertaining the Elders, be-
sides abt £6 for Every Election

After Mr. Willards Death 1707 Mr.
Pemberton had 50/ and presently after
60/ p Week Salary, and 20/ for help.

Deacons Hill, Checkley, Green, Hensch-
man, Simpson Hubbard.

Contrib. 1703 To 1708 150/ To 170/
To 1711 abt 180/. 1711 and 12 abt £12
during the Old Ch. meeting there after-
wards abt £8.

The Ch. allowed Mrs. Willard £40 p
annum for her Support and £10 for
Entertaining, for 4 years after his Death
and then the same to Mr. Pemberton for
Election and Elders.

Dr. Sewall invited to preach 1713
allowed him 20 p Week Settled Sept. and
then 40/ Anno 1714 50/ and Mr. P. 70/
1716 Mar. Dr. Sewall 60/. 1719. Oct.
65/. 1725 July 85/ 1730 Aug. 120/.
1740 May 180/.

Mr. Prince preacht 1st time after his
return from London Aug 26 1717. Set-
tled in 1718 @ 40/. p Week 1719 Oct
65/. 1725 July 85/. 1730 Aug. 120/.
1740 May 180/.

Capt Belcher left £50. Legacy to the
Ch.]

February 14, 1678.

At a Church meeting ;

That it shall be left to the discretion of the Eldership ; in case any that desire fellowship with the Church, through scruple of Conscience shall bee unwilling to consent that his Relation shall be read before the Church, apprehending it not to bee according to rule to require it ; and they shall otherwise Judge him a person desirable for communion ; that the relation of such person or persons given to the Elders, and by them attested to the church, shall be received as if it had bin made before the Church, provided that in other cases our common and constant practice shall be attended.

Consented to by the Church.

Mr. Thacher did not long survive to enjoy the benefits of the co-pastorate, nor was he permitted to see the completion of the first decade of the church's history. Under his ministry the admissions to its membership had increased from the original twenty-eight to two hundred and seventeen ; but only in elevated spiritual vision could he have anticipated its future enlargement, influence, and prosperity. Only to the borders of the promised land might he go with the people of God whose wise and honored leader he had been through many hard and bitter experiences.

Cotton Mather gives the following account of Mr. Thacher's last sermon, — preached at the North Church, — and of his sickness and death : —

It happened that this excellent man preached for my father a sermon on 1 Peter iv. 18 : "The righteous scarcely saved ;" the last words of which sermon were, "When a saint comes to die, then often it is the hour and the power of darkness with him ; then is the last opportunity that the devil has to vex the people of God ; and hence they then sometimes have the greatest of their distresses. Do not think him no godly man that then meets with doubts and fears ; our Lord Jesus Christ then cries out, My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me ? God help us that as we live by faith, so we may walk in it !" And these proved the last words that ever he uttered in any sermon whatever. For visiting a sick person, after his going out of the assembly, he got some harm, which turned into a fever, whereof he did, without any "hour and power of darkness" upon his own holy mind, expire on October 15, 1678.¹

¹ [Mr. Thacher is supposed to have been buried in Mr. Sheaffe's tomb, in King's Chapel burying-ground ; but strange to say, there is no inscription to show that this was so. His funeral expenses amounted to £45.6.3. His library was valued by Increase Mather and John Usher at £110, and consisted of 160 volumes in folio, 120 in quarto, 130 in octavo, with a considerable num-

Among the many tributes to his memory, perhaps the most interesting is a Greek verse, written by Eleazar, an Indian youth then studying in Harvard College, and preserved for us in the *Magnalia* ; the following is a translation :—

Though earth contains his dust, his name is yet immortal :
It shall light the future ages as o'er the past it beamed :
While his soul, set free from prison, seeks the ever-open portal
Where the shining ones are waiting to welcome the redeemed.

Mr. Thacher's youngest son, Peter, arrived in Boston, on his return from England, May 9, 1677. He kept house here in 1679, occasionally supplying the pulpits of the Second and Third churches. There are a few entries in his diary, at this time, which seem to belong to our history.

March 2. I preached at the South Church in the afternoon for Mr. Willard. My text was out of the 94 Ps. 11 v about the vanity of thought [The Lord knoweth the thoughts of man, that they are vanity.] the Lord was pleased graciously to help and assist both in praying and preaching, blessed be his holy name, tho I was greatly surprized with fear and sorrow remembring my Honoured and Dear Father.

March 16. I heard Mr. Willard both parts of the day. . . . About 4 a'clock the morning Governor Leverit Dyed.

April 3. I was at a fast at the first church in Boston occasioned by the death of Governor Leveret. Mr. Mather preached in the forenoon Isa. 3 — 1. 2. 3, in the afternoon Mr. Willard prayed, then Mr. Allen preached 34 Ps. 18. there was much of god to be seen in carrying forth his servants both in preaching and praying.

April 27. This day was Sacrament at our Church which I was at. Mr. Willard preached in the morning Mr. Foster in the afternoon.¹

May 25. Was the Sabbath and I was at the South Church both parts of the day heard Mr. Willard of Christs being altogether lovely and Mr. Higginson 8 Ezek 15 this day I received the sacrament.

August 7. Night about Twelve or one a Clock there was fire brock out at Grosses and prevailed exceedingly for soe much that most of the considerable warehouses were burnt and abundance of dwelling Houses. Mr. Ting Mr. Nowell &c. were burnt out of house and home. It is judged that there was consumed by the fire above five and twenty hundred thousand pound [*sic*] lost in that fire. I was to preach the

ber of small books. The inventory of his estate included "1 negro maide Nan" and "1 negro man Franke." Mrs. Thacher died February 24, 1693-4.]

¹ [We suppose this was the Rev. Isaac Foster, a classmate of Samuel Sewall

and Peter Thacher. He succeeded the Rev. Joseph Haynes as pastor of the First Church, Hartford, in 1679 or 1680, and died "in his prime or youth," August 20, 1682. See Walker's *History of the First Ch. in Hartford*, pp. 212-220.]

next Sabbath for Mr. Willard and had almost prepared upon the Heb. but when I saw the fire mind soe run upon the 4. Amos 11 ["Ye were as a firebrand plucked out of the burning"] that I must preach upon it the next Sabbath. This fire was the most dreadful that ever was in New England. It was Judged to be wilfully done. the wind dureing the fire was very little and that which was, was favourable. It was North West as I Judged but as soon as ever the fire stayed the wind came East and North East a very fresh gaile which if it had done soe before it would have carried most of the towne.¹

Aug 24. Sabbath, I was at the South Church both parts and heard Mr. Willard. This day wee had a Contribution for those that were burnt out to which I gave five shillings. After this the Church stayed to chouse Messengers for the Synod, and Major Savage, Capt. Hull and myselfe were chose to Joyne with the Elders.

The last entry brings us to the Synod of 1679, known as the Reforming Synod. There had been a long period of material prosperity in the colony. Hutchinson says that "the colony about this time [1669] made a greater figure than it ever did at any other time. Their trade was as extensive as they could wish. Some of the magistrates and principal merchants grew very rich, and a spirit of industry and economy prevailed throughout the colony." The same historian says, also, that during this time there had been a gradual and rapid decline of religious life, the effect in part, as was believed, of the prevailing worldly prosperity, but more especially of "the mingling of politics and religion from the beginning," and the "prostituting of the mysteries of our holy religion to mere secular views and advantages." This condition of affairs gave great uneasiness to the more sober-minded and religious portion of the community; it was seriously and earnestly discoursed upon in several election sermons as well as in the regular pulpit utterances of the clergy; and to quote the words of Thomas Prince, "it grew very visible and threatening, and was generally complained of and bewailed bitterly by the pious." The feeling of sorrow was soon succeeded by one of alarm, for, as was thought, the displeasure of the Most High began to be manifested in the events of his providence. "Consuming disasters befel the labors of the husbandman; losses at sea were uncommonly numerous;

¹ [John Hull thus describes the extent of this fire: "Aug. 8. About midnight began a fire in Boston, an alehouse, which, by sunrise, consumed the body of the trading part of the towne: from the

Mill Creek to Mr. Oliver's dock, not one house nor warehouse left; and up from my warehouse to Mr. Skerret's, thence to Mr. Hezekiah Usher's, thence to Mr. Thacher's, thence to Thomas Fitch's."]

desolating fires wasted the chief seats of trade ; a dreadful pestilence raged through the colony ; and, in the political horizon, a cloud was gathering of most portentous aspect."

On the other hand, Cotton Mather gives us a much less gloomy view of the moral and religious character of the colony at this time. He says : " New England was not become so degenerate a country, but that there yet was preserved in it far more of serious religion, as well as of blameless morality, than was proportionably to be seen in any country upon the face of the earth."

In May, 1679, the General Court, in compliance with a memorial addressed to it by John Eliot, Increase Mather, and eighteen others, "reverend elders," called upon the churches to send elders and messengers to a synod to be held in the following September. We give a copy of the call addressed to Mr. Willard, which is still preserved on the files of the church, with a private note from Mr. Secretary Rawson accompanying it. It is addressed : These fore the Rever'd Mr. Saml Willard, Teacher to the 3d Church in Boston To be communicated to the Church.

REV'ND. SIR. These are only to inform yourself and church of the underwritten Generall Court's Answer and order, not doubting of your and their obedience and compliance therewith at the time, remaying
Your friend and servant

EDW. RAWSON Secty

BOSTON 11th July 1679

At a Generall Court held at Boston, 28th of May 1679 : In answer to a motion made by some of the Reverend elders, that there might be a convening of the Elders and messengers of the churches in the form of a Synod, fore the revisall of the platforme of discipline agreed upon by the churches 1647 ; and what else may appeare necessary for the preventing schisms, heresies, profaneness, and the establishment of the churches in the faith and order of the Gospel : This Court doe approve of the said motion ; and order their assembling for the ends aforesaid, on the second wednesday in September next at Boston. And the Secretary is required to give seasonable notice hereof to the several churches. And it is further ordered that the charge of this meeting shall be borne by the churches respectively. By order of the Court

EDW RAWSON Sectry.

Questions given in were. 1 Quest. What are the evils that have provoked the Lord to bring his judgments on New England ? 2 Quest. What is to be done that so those evils may be reformed ?

While the several churches were really independent in the management of their own affairs, the mutual relations of church and state were such that they could be brought together authoritatively, to take united action, whenever any seeming exigency required it. Nor does the calling of a synod by the General Court seem so strange, when we know that all the members of the court were also church-members, and that therefore the whole body of freemen in the court was only a meeting of representatives of all the churches. "In the General Courts of magistrates and deputies, none but church-members could legally sit, or have a voice in choosing others to sit. . . . Thus, when the General Court took cognizance of ecclesiastical affairs, it was but the whole body of the church legislating for its parts; and this, with the important peculiarity that all the legislators by whom the church exercised its supreme power were of the laity. The system had no element of prelacy or presbytery: it was pure democracy installed in the ecclesiastical government."¹

The proposal for a synod was received and acted upon by the churches with becoming solemnity. A general fast was observed, "that the gracious presence and Spirit of God might be obtained" for its direction. At the appointed time, September 10, a very full representation from the churches convened in Boston. Mr. Willard was present, and Edward Raynsford, John Hull, Thomas Savage, and Peter Thacher accompanied him, as messengers from the Third Church.² Mr. Sherman, of Watertown, and Mr. Oakes, of Cambridge, were chosen moderators. The deliberations began with "a day of prayer with fasting before the Lord." "Several days were spent in discoursing upon the two grand questions laid before them, with utmost liberty granted unto every person to express his thoughts there-

¹ Palfrey's *Hist. of N. Eng.*, vol. ii. p. 40.

² The First Church voted, August 5, to send its elders and messengers to the Synod, but evidently with some hesitation, fearing, possibly, that the questions at issue between it and the Third Church might be brought forward. To its vote it added this proviso: "Tho wee doe not see light for the calling of a Synod att this time, yett there being one called: that what good there is or may bee motioned may bee encouraged and evil

prevented by our Testimony, wee are willing to send our Messengers to it: Tho whatever is there determined, wee looke upon and judge to bee no further binding to us than the light of Gods word is thereby cleared to our Consciences." This last sentence contains the very essence of Congregationalism. No synod or council has any right to legislate for the local churches. It may commend its views "unto the serious consideration of all the churches and people," but beyond this it may not go.

upon. A committee was then appointed to draw up the mind of the assembly ; which being done, it was read over once and again, and each paragraph distinctly weighed ; and then, upon mature deliberation, the whole was unanimously voted, and presented unto the General Court.”¹ In an act passed October 15, 1679, the Result was “commended unto the serious consideration of all the churches and people in the jurisdiction,” and all persons were enjoined and required, “in their respective capacities, to a careful and diligent reformation of all those provoking evils mentioned therein, according to the true intent thereof, that so the anger and displeasure of God, many ways manifested, may be averted and his favor and blessing obtained.”²

The Synod appointed “a committee of elders” to draw up a confession of faith for the churches, and assembled again on the 12th of May, 1680, to take action upon what had been prepared. In the preface to the Confession it is said: “That which was consented unto by the elders and messengers of the Congregational churches in England, who met at the Savoy, being for the most part, some small variations excepted, the same with that which was agreed upon first by the Assembly at Westminster, and was approved of by the Synod at Cambridge in New England, *anno* 1648, as also by a General Assembly in Scotland, was twice publicly read, examined and approved of ; that little variation which we have made from the one, in compliance with the other, may be seen by those who please to compare them.”

Of the Confession of 1680 we would speak with the utmost respect. It is the work of great and good men. It is the result of the best thought of that and the preceding time upon the profound and awful questions with which it deals. It is a part of the history of the ancient churches of Massachusetts. These

¹ [“16 Sept. 79. There was fast in the Synod Mr. Higginson began and prayed, then Mr. Cobbet preached Isa 63. 7. Mr. Buckley prayed. in the afternoon Old Mr. Eliot prayed Mr. Mather preached 99 Ps. 6. Then Mr. Cobbet went to prayer who was Exceeding enlarged. there was much of god appeared in him. I desire to blesse god for this day my heart was much drawn forth this day and in family prayer after ward.”

“6. Octo. 79. The deacons of our Church came and brought mee five pound for preaching and being a Messenger

from the Church to the Synode.” — Peter Thacher's *MS. Diary*.]

² In this account of the Synod of 1679 we have followed Dr. Wisner, who has condensed the statements of Mather in the *Magnalia*, and Hutchinson in his *History*. Palfrey says of the Result (drawn up by Increase Mather), that it is “chiefly remarkable for its freedom from that sectarian jealousy which would have marked any similar document in earlier times.” It contains a passing reference to the Quakers and Baptists, but no repressive measures are proposed.

churches may never have adopted it formally, — it does not appear that the Old South ever adopted it by formal vote, — and it has no binding force upon them now; but it represents historically and authoritatively the doctrinal position of these churches and of their ministers in the seventeenth century, and it should always be read in the light of the period which produced it, and never in the brighter and clearer light which shines upon our homes and altars to-day.¹

“Very remarkable,” says Cotton Mather, “was the blessing of God on the churches” which conformed to the recommendations of the Synod, “not only by a great advancement of holiness in the people, but also by a great addition of converts to their holy fellowship. And many thousand spectators,” he adds, “will testify that they never saw the special presence of God our Saviour more notably discovered than in the solemnity of these opportunities.” The additions to the Third Church during the next six or twelve months were not as many as from such a statement as this we should expect to find; but we cannot help thinking that the register is defective here, as we know it to be elsewhere, for only two admissions are recorded during the entire year 1681, — Eunice, second wife of the Rev. Mr. Willard, and Mary Baker.

We have, however, striking evidence of the religious interest which prevailed among the families of the congregation at this time in the register of the baptismal covenant, and an illustration also, as we think, of the light in which this covenant was regarded, and how it was made use of by the first members of this church. On the 30th of April, 1680, seventy-nine persons owned the covenant; of these, at least thirty were children of the founders. So far as we can judge, they were all, or nearly all, young people, and this was their first step in the open confession of Christ’s name and of their purpose to lead a religious life. Most of them in later years became members in full communion of this or some other church. Among the number were three children of Elder Raynsford, Solomon, Elizabeth (Grenough), and Mary; three daughters of Deacon Frary, Han-

¹ A manual was printed in 1841 (and another edition in 1855), entitled *The Confession of Faith and Form of Covenant of the Old South Church, etc.*, in which the Confession of 1680 was given in full and was declared to be that of the Old South Church. This was correct

only in a qualified sense, as explained in the text. Manuals had previously been prepared, in 1826 and 1833, in which the same statement about the Confession of 1680 was made, but only the Form of Covenant adopted by the Church in 1769 was printed.

nah (Walker),¹ Mehetabel (Lilly), and Abigail (Arnold); Joseph, son of Deacon Eliot;² Mary, daughter of Thomas Savage, wife of Thomas Thacher, Jr., and mother of the Rev. Peter Thacher, of Weymouth, afterward of Boston; Elizabeth, daughter of John Alden, who married first John Walley (not the Hon. John Walley), and then Simon Willard; four children of William Davis, Benjamin, one of the founders and first deacons of Brattle Street Church, Mary (Frost), Huldah (Raynsford), and Ruth (Royce); three children of William Dawes, Jonathan, Mary (Webster), and Rebecca (Marshall); two daughters of John Morse, Elizabeth (Eustis) and Hannah (Dawes); three sons of Edward Rawson, Grindall (the Rev. Grindall Rawson, of Mendham), William, and John; two daughters of Mrs. Joanna Mason, Joanna (Breck) and Abigail (Gillam);³ three sons of Peter Oliver, Daniel, Nathaniel, and James; two sons of Josiah Belcher, John and Jonathan; Hannah, daughter of John Hull, and wife of Samuel Sewall;⁴ four children of Thomas Brattle, Thomas, afterward treasurer of Harvard College, William, afterward the Rev. William of Cambridge, Elizabeth, wife of Nathaniel Oliver, and Katharine, who married first John Eyre, and then Wait Winthrop; three children of James Pemberton, Mary (Breame), Joseph, and Benjamin; Abigail, daughter of the Rev. Samuel Willard, who married first the Rev. Benjamin Estabrook, and secondly the Rev. Samuel Treat; Mehetabel, daughter of Benjamin Thurston; Daniel Quincy; John Eyre; and Joseph, son of Joseph Belknap.

The Charlestown church had been twice bereaved since its kindly dismissal of Mr. Thacher to the membership of the Third Church, with a view to his becoming its minister. Mr. Symmes died in 1671, having passed the limit of threescore years and ten, and Mr. Shepard in 1677, in the prime of life. The latter had borne the name of an honored father, the minister of Cambridge, and had given it to a son who was destined

¹ Hannah Frary married first Isaac Walker, and secondly Andrew Belcher, father of Jonathan Belcher, governor of Massachusetts, and afterward of New Jersey.

² Asaph Eliot, another son of Deacon Eliot, owned the covenant two months before, on the 22d of February. He died September 3, 1685. Sewall speaks of his sickness, death, and funeral, in his *Diary*, vol. i. p. 94.

³ Arthur Mason did not join the Third Church until 1704, about four years before he died. His daughter, Joanna, called by John Dunton "the very Flower of Boston," married first Robert Breck, and then Michael Perry. She became a member of the First Church.

⁴ Mrs. Sewall became a member of the church in full communion, 1 January, 1688-9. It was during her husband's absence in England.

to succeed him in the pastorate. This young man graduated at Harvard College in 1676, — his only classmates being Thomas Brattle and Jeremiah Cushing, — and while he was yet little more than twenty years of age, says Cotton Mather, he preached his first sermon at Charlestown, “with a very charming, solid, and serious gravity,” from the text Exod. xv. 2, “He is . . . my father’s God, and I will exalt him.” The hearts of the people were drawn towards him, and in due time they called him into the sacred succession. Their letter-missive to the Third Church, inviting it to the ordination, is the oldest document of the kind upon its files, and is worthy of careful perusal, both for the quaint and beautiful simplicity of its language, and for the light which it throws upon the fellowship of the churches at this time, as exhibited among them mutually in the settlement of their pastors. “The calling together of pastors and delegates from other churches” had grown “into a custom, though the inherent right of each church to ordain their own officers was constantly affirmed.” “The calling in of councils to perform the ordination services was understood to be, in theory, nothing more nor less than the church itself performing them by proxy, on the principle *qui facit per alium facit per se*. In their reasonings on the subject, to leave the ultimate decision of the question to other churches, whether a company of believers should be a church and have a pastor, would be to adopt the Presbyterian rule, which they had no thought of adopting; to leave it to the good pleasure of neighboring ministers would be to resume the yoke of prelacy, which they had just thrown off.”¹

Honoured Reverend and Beloved in our Lord Jesus Christ.

It having pleased God, after His afflicting hand upon us, by the death of our faithfull Shepard and frustration of other endeavours for supply, to Give us Some revivall by raising up the Son of our Blessed Shepard; whom Judging by the observation and experience we have had of him not only to have drunk in the principles, but also to be very Considerably endued with the Amiable and Christian spirit of his father; We have unanimously Called and prevailed with to undertake, with the help of God, the office of a Pastour among us.

¹ Joseph S. Clark’s *Historical Sketch*, pp. 23, 24. The author says further: “Every step taken towards uniformity and affiliation during this period [1630 to 1640] was taken with the utmost caution, and not till it was clearly seen that the fundamental principle of their eccle-

siastical organism — independency or self-government — was not endangered thereby. So that these seeming restraints, which the usages of the times were throwing upon their liberty, they regarded as merely the bonds of fellowship, which did not trammel their freedom.”

In order to the execution of that office we doe, according to the Custome of the Churches in these parts, by these our Letters entreat you to afford us the presence of your Teaching Officer with such other Messengers as shall seeme Good to you upon may the fifth next coming at nine in the morning, to joyn with the Elders and messengers of other Churches we have sent unto, in the Ordination of the Reverend Mr. Thomas Shepard ; that so by the Laying on of the hands of the Presbytery, he may be lawfully authorized to discharge the worke of a Pastour in this part of God's flock.

So craving your prayers to the great Shipheard for such an Influence upon the Labours of our Shepard as may cause an Increase of his flock and the spirituall growth of each member therein, we commend you also to the same God and the word of his grace, and Rest

Your Bretheren and Servants in Christ Jesus,

Signed in the Name and by the Order of the Church of Christ in Charlestowne

LAUR. HAMMOND
JOHN CUTLER
JOSEPH LYNDE
JOHN PHILLIPS
THO : GREAVES

CHARLESTOWNE April 4 1680

We have a brief account o. this ordination in Sewall's diary : —

The reverend Mr. Thomas Shepard was ordained May 5, 1680 by Mr. Sherman, Mr. Oakes Giving the Right Hand of Fellowship. Mr. Sh.'s Text Heb. 13. 20 — That great Shepherd of the Sheep.¹

Five years later this promising young pastor was gathered to his fathers.

Simon Bradstreet, who was chosen governor of the colony on the death of John Leverett, joined the church, together with his wife,² May 22, 1680. He was the son of a Non-conformist cler-

¹ [Sewall's *Diary*, vol. i. p. 82. The text given above may have been that of Mr. Sherman's charge. Cotton Mather says that the pastor elect preached from Ezek. xxxiii. 7, "O Son of man, I have set thee a watchman unto the house of Israel." At Mr. Shepard's funeral, June 9, 1685, the bearers were Mr. Mather, Mr. Symmes, Mr. Willard, Mr. Hubbard, of Cambridge, Mr. Nathaniel Gookin, Mr. Cotton Mather. We see above how much play upon the name there was in the

letters-missive. Peter Bulkely wrote on the death of the first Thomas Shepard :

Fitly his name and office were the same :
Shepherd by office — Shepard too by name.]

² Anne, second wife of Simon Bradstreet, was a daughter of Emanuel Downing, and widow of Joseph Gardner, who was killed in King Philip's War. She was the junior by nearly forty years of her second husband. They were married June 6, 1676. He died in 1697, she in 1713.

gyman, was born at Horbling, Lincolnshire, in 1603, was educated at Emanuel College, Cambridge, and came to New England with Governor Winthrop in 1630. He was assistant forty-eight years, by annual election, deputy governor in 1678, and governor from 1679 to 1686. He was one of the first settlers of Andover, and lived there for many years, but after the death of his first wife, Anne Dudley, a highly gifted woman, in 1672, he moved to Salem, and thence to Boston. He brought to the Third Church a letter from the First or North Church of Andover, of which we give a reproduction slightly reduced in size:—

*The Elders, and Brethren of the Church at Andover,
unto the Elders, and Brethren of the Third Church
of Christ at Boston, Greeting.*

*(Rev^d and Beloved: The good hand of providence having removed
from us, our Honoured Gov^r: M^r Simon Bradstreet a member
and Brother beloved of this Congregation. now at his desire,
according to Order doe dismisse him to Communion with you
in your holy fellowship, desiring you to receive him as
is meets in y^e Lord, and to honour such. Praying for your
guidance, & Consolation in Christ, and requesting your prayers
for us.*

*Andover this 23
of 2^d month 1680.*

Your loving Brethren in Christ

Francis Dane.

John Abie Deion

With y^e Consent of the Church.

One of the recommendations of the Reforming Synod had been the observance of seasons of special humiliation and prayer, accompanied by a public and solemn renewal of church covenants. The Third Church responded heartily to this recommendation, and held a fast with great solemnity on the 29th of June, 1680, "publicly acknowledging their sins and the sins of the people at large, binding them to a faithful reformation, and consecrating themselves and their offspring anew to the

service of God." The form of covenant used on this occasion was entered upon the records by Mr. Willard, and was as follows : —

June 29 1680 The Church renewed Covenant as followeth

Wee who, through the exceeding riches of the grace and providence of God, do continue to be a church of Christ, being now assembled in the holy presence of God, in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, after humble confession of our manifold breaches of the Covenant before the Lord our God, and earnest supplication for pardoning mercy through the blood of Christ, and deep acknowledgment of our great unworthinesse to be owned to be the Lord's covenant people ; also acknowledging our own inability to keep covenant with God, or to performe any spirituall dutye, unlesse the Lord Jesus do enable us therto by his Spirit dwelling in us ; and being awfully sensible that it is a dreadfull thing for sinfull dust and ashes personally to transact with the infinitely glorious majesty of heaven and earth : we do, in humble confidence of his gracious assistance and acceptance through Christ, each one of us for ourselves, and joyntly as a Church of the Living God, explicitly renew our covenant with God and one with another, in manner and forme following, *i. e.*

We do give up ourselves to that God whose name alone is Jehovah, Father, Son and Holy Ghost, the one only true and living God, and to our blessed Lord Jesus Christ, as our only blessed Saviour, Prophet, Priest, and King over our soules, and only Mediator of the Covenant of Grace, promising (by the helpe of his Spirit and grace) to cleave unto God as our chiefe good, and to the Lord Jesus Christ by faith and Gospel-Obedience, as becometh his Covenant people, forever.

We do also give up our offspring to God in Jesus Christ, avouching the Lord to be our God and the God of our children, and ourselves with our children to be his people : humbly adoring the grace of God, that we and our offspring with us may be looked upon to be the Lord's.

We do also give up ourselves one to another in the Lord, and according to the will of God ; freely covenanting and binding ourselves to walke together as a right ordered congregation and Church of Christ, in all the wayes of his worship, according to the holy rules of the word of God, promising, in brotherlye love to watch over one another's soules faithfully, and to submit ourselves to the discipline and government of Christ in his Church, and duly to attend all those ordinances which Christ hath instituted in his Church, and commanded to be attended by his people, according to the order of the Gospel, and degrees of Communion unto which we have attained, not resting in measures attained, but pressing after all.

And whereas the Messengers of these churches who have met together in the name of Christ, to enquire into the Reason of God's con-

troversye with this people, have taken notice of many provoking evils and procuring causes of the judgments of God upon New England ; so farre as we, or any one of us, have bin guilty of provoking God by any sin therein discovered to us, we desire from our hearts to bewaile it before the Lord, and humbly to entreat for pardoning mercy for the sake of the blood of the everlasting Covenant, and, as an expedient to Reformation of these evils, or whatsoever else have provoked the eyes of Gods glory among us, we do freely engage and promise as in the presence of God,

First, that wee will (Christ helping) endeavour, every one of us, to reforme our heart and life, by seeking to mortifye all our sins, and laboring to walke more closelye with God than ever yet we have done: and will continue to worship God, in publick, private, secret, and this without formality or hypocrisie: and more fully and faithfully than heretofore to discharge all Covenant duties one to another in Church Communion.

Secondly, to walke before God in our houses with a perfect heart ; and that we will uphold the worship of God therein continually, according as he in his word doth require, both in respect of prayer and reading the Scriptures, that so the word of God may dwell richly in us: and will do what in us lyes to bring up our children for Christ, that they may become such as they that have the Lord's name put upon them by a solemn dedication to God in Christ ought to be, and will therefore, (as need shall be) Catechise, exhort and charge them, to fear the Lord, and endeavour to set an holy example before them, and be much in prayer for their conversion and salvation.

Thirdly, to endeavour to be pure from the sins of the times, especially those sins which have bin by the late Synod solemnly declared and evidenced to be the evils that have brought the judgments of God upon New England ; and in our place to endeavour the suppression thereof, and be carefull so to walke as that wee may not give occasion to others to sin or speake evill of our holy profession.

Now, that wee may observe and keep this sacred covenant, and all the branches of it, inviolable forever, we desire to deny ourselves, and depend wholly upon the power of the eternall Spirit of grace, on the free mercy of God, and merit of Christ Jesus: and where wee shall faile, there to waite upon the Lord Jesus for pardon, acceptance and healing, for his names sake.

This Covenant was solemnly acknowledged and engaged in by the whole church, June 29, 1680.

Not long after this solemn service, on the 16th of August, Edward Raynsford died, "being old and full of days." He was ordained ruling elder in 1670, on the day of Mr. Thacher's installation, and he is the only member of the Old South Church

who ever served that office. The question of filling the vacancy was considered from time to time, but no action was taken. The First Church advanced two of its deacons to the ruling-elder-ship as late as 1701.

Another founder, and an eminent man in church and state, Thomas Savage, died February 14, 1682.¹ On the next Lord's Day, Mr. Willard preached a funeral sermon, which was printed with the title "The Righteous Man's Death a Presage of Evil Approaching." We quote a few sentences from it:—

God hath now for a long time been pleading with New England in this kind; how many precious names are there registred in the black bill of a few years? nor is his anger turned away, but his hand is stretched out still. And now God calls us again to a further occasion of deep consideration, by that awful hand of his in the sudden and unexpected departure of that precious one from us, and that at such a time as this. I know he was gathered to his People in a good old age and full of dayes. He lived long enough for himself, but dyed too soon for us: I will not be curious in noting the day of his removal, though I believe that it deserves its remark: nor need I give light to his personal worth, which challengeth a sorrowful remembrance of us; his own works shall praise him in the gates: And though some evil tongues (which evermore account much deserving a fault) have sought to blemish him, yet his name shall live in despite of envy itself. His long service in publick employment; and his skilfulness in that service; his great dexterity in military Discipline (a thing now little valued by degenerate spirits) and his great industry in propagating it to those under his guidance; his love to his Country, testified, not in a few empty words, but real deeds; his adventuring of himself in the highest places of the field, in the greatest difficultyes and hazards, and that once and again, at such time as eminentest dangers threatned us, and enemies flushed with success were most insolent; yea, and then when for his years he might have received his white wand, and been acknowledged to be *Miles emeritus*; his tender care for the welfare of this people (under the weight whereof, there is good ground to think, that he sunk and dyed) these things I say, besides his uprightness towards God as a private Christian, his tenderness and love to his brethren as a member of the Church, his affability and sweet deportment towards all men in his ordinary converse, speak eminently his worth, and our loss. He is now gone from an unthankful world, to receive his reward with God. But that which most of all should

¹ The Rev. Peter Thacher says, in his diary, February 14, 1681-2: "This death this morning before break of day." February 20. "Went to Major Savages funeral." night I heard of Major Savages sudden

affect us, is, that by his removal, the gap is wider, and we left the more naked.

The time for reconciliation between the First and Third churches was now come. The members of both must have been drawn somewhat nearer together during the revival of religious interest of which we have been speaking; and as the Anglican hierarchy was threatening the peace and liberty of the colony, they may have determined to forget their differences, and to unite their forces in the presence of the common enemy.¹ Years before this, President Oakes told the people, in a sermon from which we have already quoted, that they were endangering their religious liberties by their uncalled-for controversies. He reminded them that God had brought them into this wilderness, that they might here set up his way and worship in the purity and gospel glory of it; that here they had seen the orderly administration of the ordinances, and church officers duly qualified and ruling authoritatively in the Lord, according to the gospel, using their power to edification, and not destruction; and that here they had to a considerable degree been enlightening the world as to the pattern of God's house. He expressed the conviction that God had been doing for them that which shall be done more universally and gloriously hereafter; and then he solemnly warned them that their differences were preparing the way for those who would "make no difference between synodists and anti-synodists, old or new church-men," but would oppress them all alike.

The first step formally taken was a vote adopted by the old church, in kindly and courteous terms, and sent to Mr. Willard by the hands of its minister, Mr. Allen,² and Mr. Samuel Nowell,

¹ "An effort was made in that year to establish an Episcopal church in Boston. Both societies regarded such a church as a common enemy, and so both came together and united their energies to prevent its establishment." — Ellis's *History of the First Church*, pp. 134, 135.

The forms of the English Church were not introduced into Boston until 1686, but Edward Randolph had been scheming and plotting for several years, and Edward Rawson had been one of the most prominent and persistent in resisting him. Writing to the Bishop of Lon-

don, May 29, 1682, he said, in reference to the First and Third churches: "But now, heering of my proposals for ministers to be sent over, (for they have very good correspondancy with some of the clarks of the Council), they are joyned together, about a fortnight ago and pray to God, to confound the devices of all who disturbe their peace and liberties."

² The Rev. John Oxenbridge died December 28, 1674, after a brief pastorate, and Mr. Allen had sole charge for several years.

an eminent magistrate; the original document has been preserved, and we present a fac-simile somewhat reduced in size:—

*At a Meeting of the First Church in Boston
April 23. 1682.*

2. *Whither you be willing (keeping the Rule in its Intireness, and not revoking your Testimony thereunto, viz. That Rule of Church Order, which we have professed Assent unto, and is published as the Judgment of y^e Churches of New-England, Plat. of Discipl. chap. xiiij throughout) To Forgive and Forgett all offences respecting our selves, that we Judge have justly been taken at our dissenting Brethren.*

Supposing this pass in the old Church.

Will it not be expedient that it be lovingly presented to the dissenting Brethren, and that Society, by a meet Person, or Persons, and that they be desired to signify by Writing, their approbation of that Rule, and Judging any deviation from it to be Irregular. And if their Returne be acceptable, that it may be Recorded by Both, in memory of an happy Issue of that uncomfortable & long Breach, and the begining of our desired Peace; wh the Lord grant.

Voted in the Affirmative together. !

*This was delivered to me by Mr Sam^l Noel
& Mr James Allen. April 25. 1682. as
mission for Union by yr Old Church:
Saml^r Norton.*

James Allen

The reply of the Third Church, agreed upon at a meeting held on the 3d of May, was equally courteous, and was communicated personally through Mr. Willard and Mr. John Hull:—

Worshipfull, Reverend, and Beloved:

As wee cannot but with grieve acknowledge the great evil that there is in Divisions, from the sad experience which we have had of the dangerous influence which the distance that hath bin between you and us hath had in this land; so wee desire heartily to acknowledge the

goodnesse of God, in moving of your hearts to looke towards a pacification ; and with great thankfulness to accept at your hands the kind tender of reconciliation made unto us ; to the furthering whereof, God forbid that wee should wilfully put any obstruction, who rather desire to put all the hands we have to the promoting of it ; as being sensible of the truth of what he intimated, 2. Sam. 2. 26. that if the sword devoure for ever, it will be bitterness in the end.

As for the condition of accommodation which hath bin presented to us from yourselves by the worshipfull Samuel Nowell esqr. and the reverend Mr. James Allen, wee are fully and freely ready to subscribe it. As wee have publickly (and particularly in the last Synod) acknowledged the platforme of Church Discipline which was agreed upon by the Elders and messengers of these churches, to bee for the substance of it Orthodox, soe wee do now in particular professe, that we do believe Chap. 13th of that Booke, throughout, to be according to rule, and the mind of God in his word, respecting that case therein treated of ; and that any deviation therfrom is Irregular. and wherein any of our sinfull infirmities have been grievous to any or all of your Church, wee aske forgiveness both of God and of yourselves ; and desire dayly to pray, what we know not teach thou us, and if we have done amisse wee will do so no more. For ourselves wee are heartily content, that all things wherein we judge ourselves to have bin aggrieved may be buried in oblivion.

The God of peace direct you to a good and happy issuing of this great affaire, which you have so candidly begun, and cover all the failings of his people under the robe of Christ's Righteousnesse, graunting unto us all the blessings of the Gospel of peace, and to yourselves the Blessednesse of peace-makers :

So pray,

Worshipfull, Reverend, and Beloved :
your Brethren in the Lord Jesus Christ

SAMUEL WILLARD

in the name and with the
free and full vote of the
brethren of the third gathered
church in Boston

To the Rev. Mr. James Allen,
teacher and Mr. John Wiswall,
ruling elder, of the first gathered
church in Boston. These

To be communicated
to the church.¹

To this response, the First Church, at a meeting held May 7, adopted the following rejoinder :—

¹ [These letters appear in Mr. Emerson's *History of the First Church*, and in the notes to Dr. Wisner's *Historical Sermons*. In printing Mr. Willard's

letter, we have followed the draft in his own handwriting, which is on the files of the Old South. The variations are slight and unimportant.]

Honoured, Worshipfull, Reverend, Beloved in the Lord :

We have received your return by the worshipfull Mr. John Hull esqr. and the reverend Mr. Samuel Willard, to our motion to hear, wherein you express your thankful reception and full concurrence with the condition of accommodation therein mentioned, which we declare to be acceptable to us. And, wherein our sinful infirmities have been grievous to you or any of your church, we mutually ask forgiveness of God and you. And desire all offences we judge have been given us, may be forgiven and forgotten, desiring to forgive others, even as we believe God for Christ's sake hath forgiven us.

And we further entreat, that both our motion and your return and this conclusion may be recorded with you, as it shall be with us, in memory of a happy issue of our uncomfortable dispute and the way of our peace.

Now the God of peace, that brought again from the dead our Lord Jesus Christ, that great shepherd of the sheep, by the blood of the everlasting covenant, make you perfect in every good work to do his will, working in you that which is most well pleasing in his sight,

So pray,

Honoured, Reverend, Beloved :

your brethren in the faith and

fellowship of the gospel,

JAMES ALLEN

JOHN WISWALL

with the full and unanimous consent of the brethren.

Cotton Mather thus writes of the reconciliation of the two churches : —

Indeed, for a considerable while, tho' the good men on both sides really Loved, Respected, and Honoured one another, yet thro' some unhappy misunderstandings in certain particular Persons, the Communicants of these two particular Churches in Boston, like the two distinguish'd Rivers, not mixing, tho' running between the same Banks, held not Communion with one another at the Table of the Lord : but in two sevens of Years, that Breach was healed, and unto the general Joy of the Christians in the neighbourhood, both the Churches kept a Solemn Day together, wherein, Lamenting the Infirmities that had attended their former Contentions, they gave Thanks to the Great Peace-Maker for effecting this Joyful Reconciliation. The Schism was not so long lived, as that which happened at Antioch, about the Ordination of a Minister ; whereof, Theodoret says, it endured Fourscore and Five Years.¹

¹ [*Magnalia*, Book V. p. 83. The Rev. went to Boston fast and thanksgiving of Peter Thacher writes : " 14. 7. 1682. I the first and third Churches who are re-

One third of the dissenting brethren of 1669, who would have rejoiced to see this reconciliation and to participate in it, "died without the sight." Mr. Thacher and Elder Raynsford had been transferred to the church invisible and indivisible; and the following brethren also had been called home, in the order in which we give their names: Peter Oliver, Richard Trewsdale, William Salter, Hezekiah Usher, William Davis, Benjamin Gibbs, Benjamin Thurston, John Morse, and Thomas Savage. On the other hand, Mr. Davenport and Elder Penn, and many of the brethren of the First Church, had passed into the immediate presence of their Lord. May we not think that in the upper air there had been no renewal of the strife of earth, but, rather, that a happy reconciliation had been reached there, long before the surviving members of the two churches had sheathed their carnal weapons?

John Hull closed his honorable and useful life October 1, 1683.¹ Six days later, Mr. Willard preached his funeral sermon from Numbers xxiii. 10, "Let me die the death of the righteous, and let my last end be like his," and bore the following testimony to his character and worth:—

They are little things to be put into the account, and weigh but light in the commendations we have to give him, to say this government hath lost a magistrate; this town hath lost a good benefactor; this church hath lost an honourable member; his company hath lost a worthy captain; his family hath lost a loving and kind husband, father, master; the poor have lost a liberal and merciful friend; that nature had furnished him with a sweet and affable disposition and even

united. Mr. Allen preached in the forenoon, Mr. Willard in the afternoon."

Benjamin Walker writes in his diary: "May 18 1730 First church meet to consider whither they will Inlarge their principals (viz) to baptize children that their parents were not in communion, and to lay aside making public statements." The Half-way Covenant was not recognized by the First Church until March 3, 1731. The Second Church, admitted a member under it, for the first time, January 15, 1693, and for the last time in 1786.]

¹ John Hull was born at Market Harborough, Leicestershire, December 18, 1624, and came to New England in his eleventh year, with his father, Robert Hull. He was married to Judith Quincy,

by Governor Winthrop, May 1, 1647. A few months before his death, June 20, 1683, he wrote to his agent, Mr. Thomas Glover, in London, to advance £500 on his account to Mr. Joseph Dudley and Mr. John Richards, the agents of the colony, "to buy our peaceable enjoyment of men, though the Lord hath freely lent us the so long enjoyment,"—that is to say, to be given to Charles II. in exchange for favors expected.

The Rev. Peter Thacher writes: "Oct. 5, 1683. My dear and I went to Boston to Capt. Hull's funerall, and as the magistrates and ministers were in his great room the summer [a horizontal beam or girder] crakt thro' and the flower sunk an inch under us. I had a scarfe and gloves."

temper ; that Providence had given him a prosperous and flourishing portion of this world's goods ; that the love and respect of the people had lifted him up to places of honour and preferment. This, this, outshines them all, that he was a saint upon earth ; that he lived like a saint here, and died the precious death of a saint, and now has gone to rest with the saints in glory. This has raised those relics of his above common dust, and made them precious dust. When conscience of duty stimulated me to perform my part of his exequies, and put me upon it to do him honour, methoughts justice required, and envy itself would not nibble at, this character ; and, if the tree be to be known by its fruits, his works shall praise him in the gates.

The more we know of John Hull, the more we are led to admire the vigor of his mind and the strength of his religious character. He could not have had many advantages in early life, but he became a thoroughly trained merchant, and he was able to hold his own with liberally educated men. His notebooks show him to have been well read in the classics. The papers which we are able to trace to his pen, during the controversy with the First Church, are among the best in style and expression that have come down to us from that period. His diligence as an annalist was exceptional ; and it is probable that we are indebted largely to his example and influence for the invaluable diaries of his son-in-law, Samuel Sewall.





CHAPTER V.

1683-1696.

THE INTER-CHARTER PERIOD. — WITCHCRAFT.

ON the 23d of October, 1683, Joseph Dudley and John Richards arrived from England with the intelligence that a blow which had long threatened the colony had been struck, and that a writ had been issued, which, as Dr. Palfrey says, "summoned it to stand for the defence of its political existence and of the liberty and property of its people, at the bar of a court in London." During the same week, Edward Randolph landed in Boston with the notification of the *quo warranto*, which he presented to the governor and General Court. In the midst of the consternation which followed, a public fast was held, of which the Rev. Peter Thacher has left us an account :—

9 Nov. 1683 I went to Boston was at the fast of the generall Court and Elders ; Mr. Willard preached Prov. 16. 3. which was his text. [Commit thy works unto the Lord, and thy thoughts shall be

established.] then prayed and Mr. Adams went to prayer then Mr. Increase Mather preached Rev. 3. 10 [Because thou hast kept the word of my patience, I also will keep thee from the hour of temptation, which shall come upon all the world, to try them that dwell upon the earth.] Mr. Torrey concluded with prayer. wee sang 46 ps. and soe concluded about two a Clock in the afternoon. Wee Eat a bit of cake and drank a glasse of wine and then the governor propounded two cases of Conscience to the Elders and requested their help therein. In order to the facilitating of the work of the generall Court who met about the [*quo warranto*] which was out against the patent, and the ministers considering of it together at Mr. Willards did conclude that if the patent was forfeited by law, then it was best to resigne it up to his majesty for such regulation as might make it most fit for his majesty's service, that soe the Essentialls of the patent might be continued, and the patent continued.

A "Declaration" from the king was made known to the people, that if the colony, before prosecution, would yield full submission to his pleasure, he would regulate their charter for his service and their good, and with no further alterations than should be necessary for the support of the government here. The governor and a majority of the assistants voted an humble address to his majesty, saying that they would not contend with him in a course of law, as they relied on the gracious intimation of his purpose to regulate and modify the charter, and not to annul it. This action seems to have had the approval of Mr. Willard and most of the elders; but Increase Mather was opposed to it, and under his lead the deputies refused to agree to the address. Hutchinson says that if this vote of the assistants had received the concurrence of the deputies, "it is doubtful whether the consequent administration of government would have been less arbitrary than it was upon the judgment against the charter, but, upon the Revolution, they might have reassumed their charter, as Rhode Island and Connecticut did their respective charters,—there having been no judgment against them." ¹

The proceedings by *quo warranto* were dropped, and a new suit was begun in the Court of Chancery. On the 18th of June, 1684, a decree was entered vacating the charter, and on the 23d of October next following this was made final. More than a year and a half passed, however, before Edward Randolph returned with an exemplification of the judgment, and with commissions for the officers of a new government.

¹ *Mem. Hist. of Boston*, vol. i. pp. 374, 375.

In 1685 Cotton Mather was ordained as colleague pastor with his father over the Second or North Church.

Sabbath May 3rd, a letter read from the N.[orth] Church wherein Mr. Willard and Messengers desired to be sent in order to ordain Mr. Cotton Mather, Pastor of that Church; signed, Increase Mather, at the desire and order of the Church. The Governour [Simon Bradstreet] and self with the Deacons [Peter Brackett and Jacob Eliot], nominated to goe.¹

Wednesday, May 13. 1685. Mr. Cotton Mather is ordained Pastor by his Father, who said, My Son Cotton Mather, and in's sermon spake of Aaron's Garments being put on Eleazer, intimating he knew not but that God might now call him out of the world. Mr. Eliot [of Roxbury] gave the Right Hand of Fellowship, calling him a Lover of Jesus Christ. (Sewall.)

A few days later, at a fast observed at the house of Samuel Sewall, we see all the ministers of the three churches taking part together. The Rev. Joshua Moodey, of Portsmouth, having been driven away from his church by the persecutions of Governor Cranfield, of New Hampshire, was acting as an assistant to Mr. Allen. The venerable John Eliot offered prayer on this interesting occasion.

Friday May 22d 1685, had a private Fast: the Magistrates of this town with their Wives here. Mr. Eliot prayed, Mr. Willard preached. I am afraid of Thy judgments — Text Mother [Mrs. Hull] gave. Mr. Allen prayed; cessation half an hour. Mr. Cotton Mather prayed; Mr. Mather preached Ps. 79,9. Mr. Moodey prayed about an hour and half; Sung the 79th Psalm from the 8th to the End: distributed some Biskets, and Beer, Cider, Wine. The Lord hear in Heaven his dwelling place. (Sewall.)

On the 27th of May, at a General Court, the following proclamation for a public fast was agreed upon:—

¹ [In the records of the Second Church, Dr. Increase Mather says: "2d month, 5th day 1685. The brethren stayed in the meeting-house and unanimously consented, that the 13th day of May should be the day for my son Cotton's ordination as their pastor; and that letters should be sent to the two churches in Boston, to Charlestown, Cambridge, Roxbury, Dorchester, to desire them to send their messengers to give us the right hand of fellowship; that Mr. Allen and Mr. Willard should be desired to join with my-

self in imposing hands." — *Two Discourses* by the Rev. Henry Ware, Jr. (1821), p. 49. The italics are Dr. Ware's.

"May it not be hoped that the next attempted change in our polity will be either the disuse of ecclesiastical councils altogether, except in cases where *the fellowship of the churches is mainly to be expressed, as in the settlement and dismissal of pastors*, and the gathering of churches, or their employment merely as referees?" — *Hist. Sketch*, by Dr. Joseph S. Clark, p. 283. The italics are ours.]

This Court having taken into their serious consideration, that in respect of afflictive Sicknesses in many Places, and some Threatenings of Scarcity as to our necessary food, and upon other Accounts also, we are under solemn Frowns of the Divine Providence ; being likewise sensible, that the People of God in other parts of the World are in a low Estate,

Do therefore appoint the Sixteenth day of July next, to be set apart as a Day of publick Humiliation by Fasting and Prayer throughout this Colony, exhorting all who are the Lord's Remembrancers, to give Him no rest, till Isai. 62. 7. He establish and make Jerusalem a Praise in the Earth : And do hereby prohibit the Inhabitants of this Jurisdiction all servile Labour upon the said Day.

The sentence "upon other accounts also" was as direct a reference, perhaps, as it was thought best by the magistrates to make to the political troubles then threatening the colony.

We have intimations at this time of the occasional presence of Quakers in the town and in the meeting-houses :—

Thursday June 18. A Quaker comes to the Governour and speaks of a Message he had which was to shew the great calamities of Fire and Sword that would suddenly come on New England. Would fain have spoken in the Meeting house, but was prevented.

Sabbath, June 21, 1685. Mr. Solomon Stoddard preaches in the Afternoon from Gal. 5. 17. shewing that there is a principle of Godliness in every true Believer ; and how it differs from Moral Vertue &c. Some little disturbance by a Quaker about the time of Baptism. (Sewall.)

As we have seen, the church voted, February 14, 1678, that candidates for admission to membership should be excused, when they desired it, from the reading of their "relation" before the Church and congregation. The church now decided that henceforward persons might be admitted to membership in the presence of the Church only.

[1685 August 14.] At night Mr. Willard, Eliot Jacob, Robert Walker, Frary, Nathaniel Oliver, Benjamin Davis meet here to discourse. Because the two last named desire to come into the Church without making any Relation at all ; or having Mr. Willard report the Substance of what they said to him.¹

¹ [Benjamin Davis was one of the founders, 1699, and Nathaniel Oliver, one of the first members, of Brattle Street Church. In organizing that church, it was determined, among other matters, "to lay aside the relation of experiences which are imposed in other churches, in order to the admission of persons to the Lord's table." Mr. Davis was a deacon in Brattle Street Church.]

This day [Friday] August 28. is a Church Meeting at which 'tis consented that Persons may be taken in, the Church only being present, and not the Congregation : at the same time Mr. Benjamin Davis, Mr. Nathaniel Oliver, and Mr. Samuel Checkly were propounded.

Sabbath-day, September 13, 1685. Mr. Benjamin Davis, Nathaniel Oliver, Samuel Checkly and his wife [a daughter of Joshua Scottow] are received into the Church, which is a Sabbath or two sooner than I expected. The Lord's Supper not being to be administered till October 4th. Samuel Checkly had most in's Relation : two wear Perriwigs : viz : Davis, Checkly. (Sewall.)

The following is from the church records :—

At a church meeting. Octob. 26, 1685. Some expositions presented to the Church about Regulation of seats in the Meeting House ; especially Pews.

1. That these are not to be counted, (though built at private men's Charges), to be an Inheritance in Fee-simple ; because not so intended by the grantors, nor any record or evidence for it pleadable by the grantee, but many living witnesses to the Contrary.

2. It is but equal that they who built the seats should enjoy them, as long as they ordinarily attend the Assembly in publick worship, and their Children after them, or so many of them as they shall leave their interest to or shall (in case they have not determined it, and there be need of it) be appointed by the order of the Overseers of the Seats, deputed by the Church.

3. If such Parents dy in the Infancy of their children, the Overseers shall no farther give liberty to any of sitting in their seat, than with condition to relinquish it agen, when such children are come to age and demand their right.

4. It is both illegall, unequall, and contrary to the true intention of the grant of the Pews, for an owner, when he removes, or shall have no more use of his Seat to sit in himself, to sell or give his right to whom he sees meet, without the approbation of the Overseers ; both because it is contrary to the intendment of the first grant, and opens a door to confusion, and so the most unworthy may be preferred before the most deserving.

5. If such builder, leaving the house, requires his charge, the Overseers shall order his re-imbursement by the Church, which they shall either receive agen for the church, of such whom they agen grant it to, or referre it to the Churches dispose, as they in prudence shall see meet.

6. Where two families are equally interested in one seat, and there falls out difference between them about their seat, or sitting, the said Overseers are empowered to issue the controversy ; and if the parties concerned will not submit to their determination, they shall, if

Church members, be lyable to Answer it to the Church, if otherwise to the Civill authority.¹

7. For the further managing of this affair we commend to the Overseers.

1. That they take an account of the Pews and the present proprietors, who either have themselves built, or are the Children of such, in lawfull possession.

2. That when any seat, so considered, is vacant, they do not presently dispose of it, till they first enquire whether there be not some person or persons, to whom, on the foresaid grounds, there may be speciall Reason to determine it.

3. That they be desired to grant no more pews, without the approbation of the Church.

These were deliberated upon, and voted by the church, Oct: 26. 85.

The same time the worshipfull Samuel Sewall Esq was chosen to join with Mr. Jno Joyliffe and Capt. Joshua Scotto, and Capt. Wm. Geresh in the oversight of the seats.²

In November of the same year Theophilus Frary was ordained deacon, having been elected to the office several months before.

[Sabbath, November 8, 1685.] In the Afternoon Mr. Willard Ordained our Brother Theophilus Frary to the Office of a Deacon. Declared his Acceptance January 11th first, and now again. Propounded it to the Congregation at Noon: Then in Even propounded if any of the Church or other had to object they might speak: Then took the Church's Vote, then called him up to the Pulpit, laid his Hand on's Head, and said I ordain Thee &c., gave Him his charge, then Prayed, and sung the 2d part of the 84th Psalm. Four Children Baptised before the Ordination. Thomas Eyre; William [Colman], Eliza [Landon], Joseph [Belknap]. So God in some measure is building our House when pulling down others. (Sewall.)

The ministers of the colony had fixed upon the 3d of December as a day for public thanksgiving, and Mr. Willard called on Samuel Sewall to ask him to obtain the official approbation of Governor Bradstreet. The governor hesitated, and proposed to submit the question to his council. The trouble

¹ [The sixth vote, attested by Samuel Checkley, is to be found in *Mass. Archives*, vol. ii. p. 39.]

² [Sewall tells us of one of the first cases which came before the overseers for adjustment January 25, 1685-6: "Mrs. Harris and Baker present their mutual offences against each other as to

their seating before Mr. Willard and the Overseers."

The disputants were probably Rebecca wife of Thomas Harris, and Mary Baker.

Mr. Joyliffe died November 23, 1701. "He had been blind, and laboured under many infirmities for a long time." (Sewall.)]

was with the terms of the proclamation which it would be necessary to issue: "The difficulty of printing an Order is, lest by putting in, or leaving out, we offend England." The proclamation should give specific reasons for the observance of the day, and it was not desirable to express those reasons. It was suggested, therefore, whether it would not be convenient for the churches to observe the day without an "Order from Authority as usual." Here the matter rested, so far as the authorities were concerned, and the ministers went forward upon their own responsibility.

Sabbath-day, November 15 1685. In the Afternoon Mary Smith, Widow, Mr. Wheelwright's Grandchild, was taken into Church; then Mr. Willard mentioned what the Elders had done as to a Thanksgiving, and propounded to the Church that we might have one on the First Thorsday in December: because had Fasted, and God had graciously answered our Prayers; so should meet Him in the same place to give Thanks for that, and any other Providence that hath passed before us. Silence gave Consent, no one speaking. (Sewall.)

A council was held at Malden, April 7, 1686, to which the South Church was invited. Deacon Eliot and Samuel Sewall were chosen to accompany Mr. Willard, as delegates.

March 28. Letter read from Maldon, directed to the three Churches in Boston, desiring Council respecting their Pastor, Mr. Tho. Chiever, who is charged with scandalous immoralities, for which hath not given satisfaction.¹ Mr. Eliot and my self to accompany Mr. Willard thither next Wednesday come Sennight, 7th April.

April 7. Get up about 4 *mane* to go and accompany Mr. Willard to Maldon, went most by Water, some by Land. Those that went by Water were landed at Switzer's Point, then went two miles on foot. (Sewall.)

The next entry on the church records is as follows:—

At a Church meeting May 25, 1686.

Voted that the worshipfull Richard Wharton Esqr shall have a pew granted him for his family in the meeting house before the pew of Mrs. Mary Dudley, and up to the pulpit stairs, and that the Overseers of the seats be desired, with the advice of the Deacons, to lay it out

¹ [The Rev. Thomas Cheever was son of the famous schoolmaster, Ezekiel Cheever. He was ordained July 27, 1681. Charges against him were made and sustained before a council, and he was dismissed May 20, 1686. He afterwards regained the public confidence, and was ordained pastor of the church in Chelsea in 1715, where he continued for about thirty-five years, dying at the age of ninety-one. (Eds. of the *Sewall Papers*.)]

for him, and according to their prudence order the manner of the building, so as shall bee most fitting.¹

The Rev. John Bailey had been preaching for more than a year as assistant to Mr. Willard. This faithful man was born in Blackburn, Lancashire, in 1643, and began his ministry in the neighborhood of Chester, at the age of twenty-two; but he was soon silenced for his non-conformity, and suffered imprisonment for a time at Lancaster. He afterward went to Limerick, and preached there with great success for fourteen years. Here he was offered church preferment, even a bishopric, upon the first vacancy, if he would conform; but this he could not do, and again he was sent to prison. On his trial he said to the judges: "If I had been drinking, and gaming, and carousing at a tavern with my company, my lords, I presume that would not have procured my being thus treated as an offender. Must praying to God and preaching of Christ, with a company of Christians, that are as peaceable and inoffensive, and serviceable to his Majesty and the Government as any of his subjects, must this be a greater crime?" The recorder answered, "We will have you to know it is a greater crime." With this strength of principle, Mr. Bailey had great gentleness, sweetness, and sensitiveness of nature. John Dunton, the London bookseller, who heard him preach while he was at the South Church, says that his text was, "Looking unto Jesus," and he adds, "I thought he spake like an angel." In the summer of 1686 he accepted a call from the church in Watertown, and he was installed there in the autumn.² We catch a few glimpses of his ministry in Boston at this period, in Sewall's diary:—

Thorsday, March 12, 1684-5. Mr. John Bayly preached from Amos

¹ [Richard Wharton was a large landholder, a public-spirited citizen, a judge of the Court of Pleas and Sessions, and a councillor under Dudley and Andros. To oppose the measures of the latter, he went to England in 1687, and died there May 14, 1689. He married, first, Bethiah, daughter of William Tyng; secondly, Sarah, daughter of the Rev. John Higginson; and thirdly, Martha, daughter of John Winthrop, Jr. His name does not appear on the list of members, but his first wife, Bethiah, owned the covenant in 1671, and his third wife, Martha, in 1679; his daughter,

Bethiah, became a communicant in 1691. His affairs were found to be much involved, after his death.]

² For a sketch of Mr. Bailey's life, see Ellis's *History of the First Church*, pp. 150-155. Mr. Bailey returned to Boston in 1693, and preached as an assistant to Mr. Allen at the First Church, until his death in 1697. His second wife was a daughter of Richard Wilkins, the bookseller. She joined the South Church, in which she had been brought up, in 1698, and in 1699 she became the second wife of the Rev. Peter Thacher, of Milton.

4. 12, and Mr. Willard from 2 Cor. 4. 16-18; both Sermons and Prayers Excellent.

Friday morn May 8th 1685. Mr. John Bayly preached the Lecture for Mr. Mather, [probably the day before,] from Ps. 37. 4. Delight thyself also in the Lord &c.

Thorsday Septr. 3. Mr. Jno. Bayly preached the Lecture.

Note, Sabbath-day, Septr. 20. Mr. Jno Baily preaches with us all day: Mr. Willard at Watertown. In the Afternoon from those words of Job, Till my Change come. Doct. Death a very great Change.

Thorsday [Jan 13, 1686] exceeding cold: Mr. Jno Bayly preaches the Lecture for Mr. Mather from Eccles. 9. 10. Whatsoever thy hand &c.

Fast-day March 25, 1686. Mr. Willard exerciseth all day, Mr. Bayly being constrained to keep house by reason of the Gout.

Mr. Jno Bayly preaches his farewell Sermon from 2 Cor. 13, 11. Goes to Watertown this week. July 25, 1686.

July 28. A considerable Troop from Watertown come and fetch Mr. Bayly, some of ours also accompany them.

We have before us a receipt, signed by Samuel Sewall as a member of the council, for money collected at the South Church on the 8th of August, but for what specific purpose we do not know:—

Augt 13. 1686

Recd the day above written of Capt Jacob Eliot and Capt. Theophilus Frary Deacons of the South Church in Boston Two and Thirty pounds four shillings and 2d in Money; and two Bills; one for fourty shillings in Corn, the other for four shillings in Bisket at 16s pr [] being the Contribution made last Sabbath in Answer to the Brief put forth by the Honble President and Council

I say Recd

p. SAM SEWALL.

The queen's birthday was celebrated on Saturday, September 25, by the officers of some frigates lying in the harbor, with music, cannon, and bonfires, and the noise and excitement were allowed to invade the stillness and sanctity of the Sabbath eve.

Sabbath, Septr 26. Mr. Willard expresses great grief in's Prayer for the Profanation of the Sabbath last night. Mr. Lée preaches for us in the afternoon from Isa. 52. 7. Said that all America should be converted, Mexico overcome, England sent over to convert the Natives, look you do it.¹ (Sewall.)

¹ [This was the Rev. Samuel Lee, of husband was Mr. John George, a merchant of good standing; her second, the Rev. Cotton Mather, whom she survived.]

The Rev. Charles Morton was installed as pastor of the Charlestown church on Friday, November 5. He had been a clergyman of the Established Church, and lost his living under the Act of Uniformity in 1662. He objected to the laying on of hands at this time, as throwing a shadow upon his previous ordination; and what had hitherto been the usage in this respect was waived in his case, as it had been a month before at the installation of Mr. Bailey at Watertown. Mr. Morton's text was Rom. i. 16: "For I am not ashamed of the gospel of Christ." "He took occasion to speak of the 5th of November very pithily, and said the just contrary to that Epistle was taught and practised at Rome. Mr. Mather spoke in praise of the Congregational way, and said were [he] as Mr. Morton, he would have Hands laid on him. Mr. Moodey in's prayer said, though that which would have been gratefull to many was omitted, or to that purpose."

At a Church meeting, Octobr. 11. 1687.

Voted that Mr. Moses Pain and Captain James Hill be joyned with Capt. Sewal and Capt. Scotto and Mr. Jno. Joyliffe, in the oversight of the seats.

The position of the New England colonies as an integral part of the British Empire was for a long period a peculiar one. Nominally dependencies of the Crown, their people acted independently in all matters relating to civil as well as religious affairs. In a half-enlightened age and under an arbitrary administration of government, they had constructed free Christian commonwealths; and they had adapted the Congregational idea, as it had been known and put into practice on a limited scale in England and Holland, to the necessities of large and prosperous communities, without taking thought or making provision for the establishment of any other form of church organization. Echoes of princely and prelatical displeasure would reach them from time to time from beyond the sea, but, fortunately for them, steam and electric telegraphy were not yet available for the practical annihilation of distance, and those who would have crushed out their freedom had other and more pressing concerns near at hand. They remained secure, therefore, in the enjoyment of their exceptional liberties for many years. At length, in 1664, Charles II. appointed four commissioners, whose duty it was to visit the New England colonies, to hear and determine various matters of complaint, to settle conflicting ques-

tions which had arisen concerning the charters, to adjust all difficulties, and to effect the peace of the country. These broad powers were given largely with reference to ecclesiastical affairs, and one of the chief objects of the commission undoubtedly was to obtain a foothold and an opportunity for episcopacy on this new soil. It must have been galling to the persecuting bishops of the English Church to hear of the men whom they had driven from their pulpits and parsonages, whom they had harassed with imprisonment and other penalties, and whom they had banished from the land, as successful ministers of prosperous parishes on the other side of the sea, and as together constituting a clergy not only held in high esteem by the people, but exercising a marked influence in moulding and directing the character and policy of the state. The temptation to interfere with these non-conforming clergymen and their associates, and to make them feel the strong arm of ecclesiastical law in their far-off retreat, was too powerful to be resisted.

Two years before the appointment of the commission, June 28, 1662, the king sent a letter to the Massachusetts colony, in which he said:—

Since the principal end and foundation of that charter was and is the freedom and liberty of conscience, we do hereby charge and require that that freedom and liberty be duly admitted and allowed, so that such as desire to use the Book of Common Prayer, and perform their devotions in that manner as is established here, be not debarred the exercise thereof, or undergo any prejudice or disadvantage thereby, they using their liberty without disturbance to others, and that all persons of good and honest lives and conversations be admitted to the Lord's Supper, according to the Book of Common Prayer, and their children to baptism.

The injunction to the ministers and Christian laymen of New England to allow the exercise of liberty of conscience among them did not come with a very good grace from the men who that very summer were putting into operation the Act of Uniformity, under which two thousand exemplary clergymen were obliged to abandon their livings and their homes, not because they did not accept all the essential doctrines of their church, but because they would not submit to re-ordination, and could not conform conscientiously in certain matters of detail relating to clerical vestments and bodily postures.¹

¹ "The rectors and the vicars who were driven out were the most learned and the most active of their order. The bulk of the great livings throughout the

The plea that those among the residents of New England who had a decided preference for the Anglican ritual should be permitted to worship according to its forms was not unreasonable, and if they could have done this without prejudice to the paramount interests of the churches already established here, they might have been allowed to do so. Even the king had said, "They using their liberty without disturbance to others." They had come voluntarily and for their own purposes to a country in which they knew beforehand that Congregationalism was the dominant polity, and that they would be at the utmost disadvantage in any endeavor to set up a religious system antagonistic to that polity. Sewall records, November 5, 1686: "One Mr. Clark preaches at the Town-House. Speaks much against the Presbyterians in England and here." Thus, when, at length, they did meet together, they were not satisfied with the enjoyment of the forms of prayer for which they had a preference, but they attacked the great majority about them with whom they were out of harmony. Further, it would seem that until this time, and later, those who desired for themselves the forms of the Book of Common Prayer were not able to pay

country were in their hands. They stood at the head of the London clergy, as the London clergy stood in general repute at the head of their class throughout England. They occupied the higher posts at the two universities. No English divine, save Jeremy Taylor, rivalled Howe as a preacher. No parson was so renowned a controversialist, or so indefatigable a parish priest, as Baxter. And behind these men stood a fifth of the whole body of the clergy, men whose zeal and labor had diffused throughout the country a greater appearance of piety and religion than it had ever displayed before. But the expulsion of these men was far more to the Church of England than the loss of their individual services. It was the definite expulsion of a great party which from the time of the Reformation had played the most active and popular part in the life of the Church. It was the close of an effort which had been going on ever since Elizabeth's accession to bring the English communion into closer relations with the Reformed communions of the Continent, and into greater harmony with the re-

ligious instincts of the nation at large. The Church of England stood from that moment isolated and alone among all the churches of the Christian world. The Reformation had severed it irretrievably from those which still clung to the obedience of the Papacy. By its rejection of all but episcopal orders, the Act of Uniformity severed it as irretrievably from the general body of the Protestant churches, whether Lutheran or Reformed. And while thus cut off from all healthy religious communion with the world without, it sank into immobility within. With the expulsion of the Puritan clergy, all change, all efforts after reform, all national development, suddenly stopped. From that time to this, the Episcopal Church has been unable to meet the varying spiritual needs of its adherents by any modification of its government or its worship. It stands alone, among all the religious bodies of Western Christendom, in its failure through two hundred years to devise a single new service of prayer or of praise." — Green's *Short History of the English People*, pp. 609, 610. (1875.)

for the maintenance of these forms. One of the propositions of Edward Randolph was, that some of the funds collected in England for the conversion of the Indians in North America, to which the non-conformist party had largely contributed, should be diverted from its proper and legitimate use to this purpose; and another, "that the three meeting-houses in Boston might pay twenty shillings a week each, out of their contributions, towards defraying of our church-charges, that sum being less per annum than each of their ministers receive."¹

It was not only, perhaps not chiefly, the Episcopal Church of England as a religious body, as one among the Christian denominations, to which the fathers were opposed, and whose progress on these shores they feared. It was the Church of England established by law; the Church of the Tudors and the Stuarts; the Church of Parker and Laud; the Church which had sought to coerce its refractory children with prison and pillory, which had maimed their bodies and tried to crush their spirits,

¹ Edward Randolph wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury, August 2, 1686:—

"More would daily be of our communion had we but the countenance and company of the President and Council, but instead thereof wee are neglected and can obtain no maintinance from them to support our minister. Butt had we a general governour we should soon have a large congregation and also one of the churches in Boston, as your Grace was pleased to propose when these matters were debated at the Councill Table. I humbly remind your Grace of the money granted formerly for evangelizing the Indians in our neighborhood. It's a great pitty that there should be a considerable stock in this country (but how imployed I know not) and wee want 7 or 800*£* to build us a church. . . . It is necessary that the governour licence all their ministers, and that none be called to be a pastor of a congregation without his approbation. By this method alone the whole Country will easily be regulated, and then they will build us a church and be willing to allow our ministers an honorable maintenance. . . . It would be very gratefull to our church affaires if his Majestie would please to grant us his Royall letters, that the 3 meeting-houses

in Boston, which severally collect 7 or *£*8 on a Sunday, do pay to our Church Warden 20*s.* a weeke for each meeting-house, which will be some encouragement to our ministers, and then they can but raile against the Service of the Church. They have great Stocks, and were they directed to contribute to build us a Church, or part from one of their meeting-houses, such as wee should approve; they would purchase that exemption at a great rate, and then they could but call us papists and our Ministers Baals Priests." — Foote's *Annals of King's Chapel*, vol. i. pp. 51, 52.

The excellent Robert Boyle was president, and Henry Ashurst was treasurer, of the Company for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England, — the oldest of all the Propagation Societies, — and we may be sure that they never would have consented to the perversion of its funds to sectarian uses. Edward Rawson was "steward and agent" of the society in New England, and among the commissioners were William Stoughton, Thomas Hinckley, John Richards, and Increase Mather. Randolph would not have been likely to obtain very satisfactory information from any of these men about the employment of the money entrusted to them.

which had brought some to death and had driven multitudes into exile ; the Church which with all its wealth at home was proposing now to levy upon their scanty treasury for its support here, — this was the Church which with good reason they feared, and whose encroachments they were determined to withstand.

The sententious remark of James I. after his conversion from Presbyterianism to Episcopacy, No bishop, no king, was a saw that cut both ways. The second generation of New England men were shrewd enough to see that royal and prelatical prerogatives were closely related and interdependent, and that every degree of toleration yielded to the latter was, in effect, a new concession made to the former. The fathers had come hither to escape from the hierarchy, not from the monarchy, but in their new home they had been free, practically, from both. The sons did not discriminate very closely, certainly while the Stuarts were on the throne, between the two. Quincy says that the policy adopted here at this time was simply one of self-defence, and he adds : “ It is unquestionable that it was chiefly instrumental in forming the homogeneous and exclusively republican character for which the people of New England have in all times been distinguished, and, above all, that it fixed irrevocably in the country that noble security for religious liberty, the independent system of church government.” And again : “ Had our early ancestors adopted the course we, at this day, are apt to deem so easy and obvious, and placed their government on the basis of liberty for all sorts of consciences, it would have been, in that age, a certain introduction of anarchy. It cannot be questioned that all the fond hopes they had cherished from emigration would have been lost. The agents of Charles and James would have planted here the standard of transatlantic monarchy and hierarchy. Divided and broken, without practical energy, subject to court influences and court favorites, New England at this day would have been a colony of the parent state.”¹

The royal commissioners were unable to accomplish anything during their stay in New England. The magistrates, the

¹ Boston Centennial Address, 1830, pp. 28, 29. Bancroft says : “ The Puritans established a government in America such as the laws of national justice warranted, and such as the statutes and common law of England did not warrant ; and that was done by men who

still acknowledged the duty of a limited allegiance to the parent state. The Episcopalians had declared themselves the enemies of the party, and waged against it a war of extermination ; Puritanism excluded them from its asylum.” — *History of the United States*, vol. i. p. 463.

ministers, and the people generally were against them, and in 1667 they returned to England, baffled and disappointed. In July, 1685, the charter of Massachusetts was vacated. On the 14th of May, 1686, Edward Randolph, whose zeal for king and church kept him busy for several years, now on one side of the Atlantic and now on the other, arrived in Boston harbor in the *Rose* frigate, bringing an exemplification of the judgment against the charter, and a commission for Joseph Dudley, who was to act as president *ad interim* until the arrival of a royal governor. This time Randolph was accompanied by a chaplain, the Rev. Robert Ratcliffe, with his surplice and service-book, duly empowered to set up the forms and ceremonies of the Anglican communion in the town. On the following Sunday Randolph attended at the South meeting-house, sitting in the pew of Mr. Luscombe.¹ "Mr. Willard prayed not for the governor or government, as formerly, but spake so as implied it to be changed or changing." On Wednesday, the 26th of May, Mr. Ratcliffe waited on the council, and in his behalf Randolph proposed that he should have one of the three meeting-houses to preach in. This was denied; but the council authorized him to occupy the east room in the town-house, in which the deputies had held their sessions, until a fitter place could be provided, and he preached there on the following Sunday. An Episcopal society was organized a few days later, with the expectation, as we have said, that the Congregational churches would be taxed for its maintenance. Randolph's own words were: "It was never intended that the charge should be supported by myself and some few others of our communion." In England, the dissenters were taxed for the benefit of the Established Church; in New England, the churches of the established polity were to be taxed for the benefit of the dissenters. On the 21st of August Randolph called on Samuel Sewall, in company with Mr. Benjamin Bullivant, who had been a member of Mr. Willard's congregation, and was to be warden of the new church, and broached the idea of a contribution by the South

¹ Perhaps Major Humphrey Luscomb. For his death, see Sewall's *Diary*, vol. i. p. 217.

When Randolph arrived in Boston in 1681, we read of his being at the South Church. Sewall says:—

"Dec. 17. Foye arrives, in whom Mr. Randolph and his new wife and family.

"Dec. 25. They sit in Mr. Joyliff's Pew; and Mrs. Randolph is observed to make a curtesy at Mr. Willard's naming *Jesus*, even in Prayer time. Since dwells in Hez. Usher's House, where Ministers used to meet."

Christmas-day in the year 1681 fell on a Sunday.

Church towards the building they desired to erect. The former, at least, "seemed to goe away displeased," says Sewall, "because I spake not up to it;" the latter could hardly have expected any other result from the interview. Neither he nor the president, Joseph Dudley, would have been so unwise as to act upon any such suggestion as that "the bank of money in the hands of the corporation for evangelizing the Indians" should be "applied to build a church and free school, that youth might no longer be poisoned with the seditious principles of the country."

Writing of the abrogation of the charter, Palfrey says: "Massachusetts, as a body politic, was now no more. The elaborate fabric, that had been fifty-four years in building, was levelled with the dust." In the midst of the depression that followed, the venerable John Eliot wrote the following short letter to the Hon. Robert Boyle:—

ROXBURY August 29 1686 }
in the third month of our overthrow }

Right honourable unweariable nursing father

I have nothing new to write but lamentations, and I am loth to grieve your loving and noble soul.

Our Indian work yet liveth, praised be God; the bible is come forth, many hundreds bound up, and dispersed to the Indians, whose thankfulness I intimate and testify to your honour. The Practice of Piety is also finished, and beginneth to be bound up. And my humble request to your honour is, that we may again reimpose the primer and catechism; for though the last impression be not quite spent, yet quickly they will; and I am old, ready to be gone, and desire to leave as many books as I can. I know not what to add in this distressing day of our overthrow; so I commit your honour to the Lord, and rest

Your honour's to serve you

In Jesus Christ

JOHN ELIOT.¹

¹ [Mr. Eliot brought out the second edition of the Indian Bible in 1685. He had been assisted in its preparation by the Rev. John Cotton, of Plymouth. It was dedicated to Robert Boyle, in an address signed by William Stoughton, Joseph Dudley, Peter Bulkley, and Thomas Hinckley. As in the first edition, the Psalms in Indian metre, translated by Eliot from the Bay Psalm Book, and a short Indian catechism followed the New Testament. Bishop Bayley's *Practice of Piety* had a remarkable popularity for more than a century and a half, and

was translated into several languages. The Prince Library contains a copy in English, as well as a copy of the Indian translation.

Samuel Sewall wrote to an uncle in England, February 15, 1685-6: "The best News that I can think to speak of from America, is, that Mr. John Eliot, through the good hand of God upon him, hath procured a second Edition of the Bible in the Indian language; so that many Hundreds of them may read the Scriptures. Lord sanctify them by thy Truth, thy word is Truth. As to the Design of

The arrival of the new governor, Sir Edmund Andros, was awaited with much anxiety. On Sunday, the 19th of December, the guns of the frigate *Kingfisher*, with Sir Edmund on board, were heard below. The president, Major Dudley, was at the South Church in the forenoon. Mr. Willard preached from Heb. xi. 12: "Therefore sprang there even of one, and him as good as dead, so many as the stars of the sky in multitude, and as the sand which is by the sea-shore innumerable." Mr. Willard said "he was fully persuaded and confident God would not forget the faith of those who came first to New England, but would remember their posterity with kindness." Sir Edmund landed on Monday, and proceeded to the town-house, at the head of King Street. Here his commission was read, and he took the oaths, and the councillors were sworn. Hardly were these ceremonies concluded, when, prompted no doubt by Randolph, he had a conversation with the ministers about accommodations for the services of his church, and proposed that one of the meeting-houses should be made to subserve the purposes of two congregations,—its own and the new Episcopal society. Palfrey says, "If the demand had been for the use of the building for a mass, or for a carriage-house for Juggernaut, it could scarcely have been to the generality of the people more offensive." On the following evening, the ministers met at the house of Mr. Allen, of the First Church, with four from each of the three congregations, "to consider what answer to give the Governour." The decision was that they could not with a good conscience consent that their meeting-houses should be made use of for "Common-Prayer worship." On Wednesday evening, Mr. Mather and Mr. Willard waited upon the governor at his lodgings at Madam Taylor's,¹ and "thorowly discoursed his Excellency about the Meeting-Houses in great plainness, showing they could not consent." They appear to have made some impression upon him, for, as the result of the interview, it was reported, "He seems to say will not impose." The next Saturday was Christmas Day, and although he had not attended the time-honored Thursday lecture, at which the

Converting them, we in N. E. may sorrowfully sing the 127. Psalm. Except the Lord build the House, they Labour in vain that build. I am persuaded twould be a most acceptable sacrifice to God, importunately to beseech Him to put his Hand to that work, and not in a great

measure as it were to stand and look on."]

¹ Rebecca, widow of William Taylor, was a member of Mr. Willard's congregation. See *ante*, p. 166. Her house was on the corner of what are now Hanover and Elm streets.

magistrates and leading men of the colony made it a point to be present regularly, he went to the town-house to service morning and afternoon. The Conversion of St. Paul was duly commemorated on the 25th of January, and on Monday, the 31st, service was held "at the Townhouse forenoon and afternoon, bell rung for it, respecting the beheading Charles the First." ¹

All this time, while occupying the deputies' chamber for their worship, the governor and his friends were looking with long-eyes at the comfortable Congregational meeting-houses, and, as Easter approached, it was determined by them to take forcible possession of the most eligible one of the three. On Wednesday, the 23d of March, Randolph was sent for the keys of the South meeting-house, that prayers might be said there on Good Friday. A committee consisting of Deacons Eliot and Frary, Nathaniel Oliver, Ephraim Savage, Benjamin Davis, and Samuel Sewall immediately went to the governor, to remonstrate with him in person. They explained to him that the meeting-house and the land on which it stood belonged to themselves and those whom they represented; that the property had been paid for by private liberality, that it had been set apart for their own religious uses, and that they could not consent to its being appropriated as now proposed. They presented an extract from Mrs. Norton's deed and from the original subscription list, and we may be sure they pleaded ably and earnestly in defence of their rights. But their remonstrances and arguments were all in vain. The outrage had been decided upon, and there was no power in the colony to prevent its consummation. William Needham, the sexton, though he had resolved to the contrary, "was prevailed upon," on Good Friday, at the governor's command, to ring the bell and open the doors; and the walls of the Puritan meeting-house for the first time echoed to the responses and anthems of the Anglican ritual. Further resistance was in vain; and from now until the deposition of Governor Andros, the South Church and congregation could

¹ The 30th of January was the day observed by the English Church to commemorate "King Charles the Martyr," "our own, our royal Saint," as Keble calls him; but as this fell on Sunday in 1687, Sir Edmund and his party postponed the observance to Monday. In 1688 Sewall writes, "Near noon Mr.

Bullivant gives a Warrant to the Constables, and causeth the Shops to be shut."

On the 6th of February, the shops were again closed by a warrant from a justice. This was the third anniversary of the accession of James II. to the throne.

assemble in their own meeting-house when, and only when, the royal governor and his followers had no use for it. Increase Mather tells the story in a few words that burn with righteous indignation : —

So sweet and kind were they, that to *Avoid Offence*, they (have as they say) *At their own charge built and Erected a Convenient Church*. A great piece of *Supererogation*. But *when* was this done? why, 'twas after they had the free use of the *Town House* which would more than have contained them all : but this would not serve their turn : they then demanded the Keys of the *South Meeting-house*, which when some Gentlemen (who had a Right in the House) did not surrender, Governour Andross told them *he would presently seize on that House and all the Meeting Houses in the Country, and hinder them from Contributing the Value of Two pence towards the maintenance of any Non-Conformist Ministers*. He also bade them *Consider what Effects the Stifness of the Protestants in France had, who would not Yield in what they might have done* (note that well) *and now there is not the name of a Protestant in France*. But this not prevailing, they thrust themselves into that Meeting-house, and there continued untill by Interrupting the people of the South Congregation, often in their *Times*, sometimes in the very *parts* of their Worship the whole Town cried shame upon them. And then 'twas (*bonis avibus*) they thought of Building.¹

Samuel Sewall's diary gives us a graphic account of these trying days : —

Sabbath March 27. Governour and his retinue met in our Meeting house at Eleven ; broke off past two because of the Sacrament and Mr. Clark's long Sermon ; now we were appointed to come $\frac{1}{2}$ hour past one, so twas a sad Sight to see how full the Street was with people gazing and moving to and fro because had not entrance into the House.

Monday April 4. In the Even Mr. Willard, Eliot, Frary and Self have great debate about our meeting for the Lords Supper.

Sabbath April 10. Mr. Moodey helps Mr. Willard in the Forenoon. Text, Job 23. 10. [But he knoweth the way that I take : when he hath tried me, I shall come forth as gold.] Shewed that Afflictions were for Tryal, and where the Tryal met with sincerity, the issue would be glorious.

Tuesday May 10. Mr. Bullivant having been acquainted that May 15th was our Sacrament-day, he writt to Mr. Willard, that he had acquainted those principally concern'd, and 'twas judg'd very improper and inconvenient for the Governour and his to be at any other House, it being Whit-Sunday and they must have the Communion, and that

¹ [A Vindication of New England, *Andros Tracts*, vol. ii. p. 44.]

'twas expected should leave off by twelve and not return again till they rung the Bell, that might have time to dispose of the Elements. So remembring how long they were at Easter, we were afraid 'twould breed much confusion in the Afternoon, and so, on Wednesday, concluded not to have our Sacrament for saw 'twas in vain to urge their promise. And on the 8th of May were bid [by the bell] past One a pretty deal.

Sabbath May 15. Goes out just $\frac{1}{2}$ hour after one; so have our Afternoon Exercise in due season. But see they have the advantage to lengthen or shorten their Exercises so as may make for their purpose.

Wednesday June 1. A privat Fast of the South-Church was kept at our house, Mr. Willard pray'd and preach'd in the morn. Mr. Cotton Mather pray'd first in the afternoon, Mr. Moodey preach'd and pray'd. Mr. Willard dismiss'd with a Blessing. Mr. Willard's Text, Deut. 32. 36. "For the Lord shall judge his people and repent himself for his servants, when he seeth that their power is gone, and there is none shut up or left." Mr. Moodey's Text. Ps. 46. 10 "Be still and know that I am God: I will be exalted among the heathen, I will be exalted in the earth." Occasion of the Fast was the putting by the Sacrament, the last Turn, and the difficult circumstances our Church in above others, regarding the Church of England's meeting in it.

Sabbath June 12. Lords Supper at the South-Church. But Church of England men go not to any other House: yet little hindrance to us save as to ringing the first Bell, and straitning the Deacons in removal of the Table.

Sabbath October 16. Had the Sacrament to-day at the North Church; Mr. Ratcliff also had the Sacrament, and sent to Mr. Willard yesterday to leave off sooner. To which Mr. Willard not consenting Governour sent for him in the night.

Wednesday, November 16. In the Even [the Governour] sends for the Ministers and so Schools them that the Thanksgiving is put by which was to have been the 17th.¹ (Sewall.)

The death of the governor's wife at the beginning of the new year, only three months after her arrival in New England, made a deep impression upon the little community, and, for the moment, must have softened the asperities on both sides. Prayers

¹ ["When the ministers of Boston agreed with their congregations upon keeping a day of thanksgiving to heaven for the shelter which their brethren [in England], as well as themselves, found by the Declaration [of Indulgence], Sir Edmund Andros, with many menaces, forbade their proceedings, and particularly threatened that he would set guards of soldiers on their church doors, if they attempted what they pretended to." — *Parentator*, p. 102.]

The governor and council fixed on December 1 as a Thanksgiving Day.]

were offered for her recovery at the morning service, January 22, but at or near the beginning of the afternoon exercises she died. She was buried on Friday evening, February 10, and we may be sure that no one objected to the use of the South meeting-house for the funeral services and ceremonies, although they were new and surprising to those who had always lived in the colony.

Friday February 10 1687-8 Between 4. and 5. I went to the Funeral of the Lady Andros, having been invited by the Clark of the South Company. Between 7. and 8. (Lychns [links or torches] illuminating the cloudy air) The Corps was carried into the Herse drawn by Six Horses. The Souldiers making a Guard from the Governour's House down the Prison Lane [Court Street] to the South-Meeting-house, there taken out and carried in at the western dore, and set in the Alley before the pulpit, with Six Mourning Women by it. House made light with Candles and Torches. Was a great noise and clamor to keep people out of the House, that might not rush in too soon. I went home, where about nine aclock I heard the Bells toll again for the Funeral. It seems Mr. Ratcliffs Text was, Cry, all flesh is Grass. The Ministers turn'd in to Mr. Willard's. The Meeting House full, among whom Mr. Dudley, Stoughton, Gedney, Bradstreet &c. Twas warm thawing wether, and the wayes extream dirty. No volley at placeing the Body in the Tomb. On Satterday Feb. 11 The mourning cloth of the Pulpit is taken off, and given to Mr. Willard. (Sewall.)

This solemn night service in the plain New England meeting-house, which had neither aisle nor organ, must have contrasted strangely with similar services in the more stately sanctuaries in the mother country, to those who had witnessed them there. Thirty years later, Joseph Addison was buried in Westminster Abbey, Atterbury, Bishop of Rochester, officiating, and the scene has been described for us by one of the mourners, in lines of rare grace and beauty : —

How silent did his old companions tread,
By midnight lamps, the mansions of the dead,
Through breathing statues, then unheeded things,
Through rows of warriors, and through walks of kings !
What awe did the slow, solemn knell inspire ;
The pealing organ, and the pausing choir ;
The duties by the lawn-robed prelate paid,
And the last words that dust to dust conveyed !

Sir Edmund Andros and his friends now determined to build a house of worship for their own use.

March 25. 1688. Mr. Increase Mather preaches at the South Meet-

ing from Ezek. 47. 11. But the mirie places &c. [Mr. Mather sailed for England a few days later.]

March 28, 1688. Captain Davis spake to me for Land to set a Church on. I told him could not, would not, put Mr. [John] Cotton's Land to such an use, and besides, 'twas Entail'd. After, Mr. Randolph saw me, and had me to his House to see the Landscips of Oxford Colledges and Halls. Left me with Mr. Ratchiff, who spake to me for Land at Cotton-Hill for a Church which were going to build : I told him I could not, first because I would not set up that which the People of New England came over to avoid : 2d the Land was Entail'd. In after discourse I mentioned chiefly the Cross in Baptism, and Holy Dayes.

Saturday April 14. Mr. [John]¹ West comes to Mr. Willard from the Governour to speak to him to begin at 8 in the morn, and says this shall be last time ; they will build a house. Soe begin about $\frac{1}{2}$ hour past 8. yet the people come pretty roundly together. 'T was Easter-day, and the Lord's Supper with us too.

April 18. This day an Order is made that next Sabbath-day sen- night be a Thanksgiving for the Queen's being with Child.

April 22. Mr. Willard having received no Order mentions not the Thanksgiving : though it seems one was sent to him at noon to mention it, but left no Order with him.

April 29. Mr. Willard received an Order about the Thanksgiving on Satterday night ; yet read it not this day, but after the *Notes* said such an Occasion was by the Governour recommended to be given Thanks for. Mr. Allen [at the First Church] sings the 6 first verses of the 21 Ps. and the first part of the 72d, which gives offence to some of his Church. Mr. Willard prays more particularly and largely for the King, but else alters not his course a jot.

Sabbath May 20. Mr. Willard preach'd in the morn from Heb. 12. 4. Have not yet resisted unto bloud &c. In the Afternoon rain'd exceeding hard, so that I doubt many staid to hear the Service [the Episcopal service which followed] who had not been wont.

Thursday, May 24. Bell is rung for a Meeting of the Church of England Men, being in their language Ascencion day.

Sabbath, June 10. Sacrament with us, finish so that I got home just about a quarter past 12 by the Dial. Governour angry that had done so late, and caused their Bell to be rung about a quarter past one ; 'twas rather more before the Bell had done : So 'twas about a quarter past Three before our Afternoon Bell Rung about $1\frac{1}{2}$ hour later than usual.

Friday June 22. This day Mrs. Joyliff and Mrs. Grecian goe to his

¹ [John West was brought from New York by Randolph, from whom he farmed the fees on deeds, mortgages, and wills. For the character of this official, see Palfrey's *History*, vol. iii. p. 523.]

Excellency, and expostulat with Him about his Design of meeting first on Sabbath-days in our Meetinghouse.

Saturday June 23. Capt. Frary and I goe to his Excellency at the Secretaries Office, and there desired that He would not alter his time of Meeting, and that Mr. Willard consented to no such thing, neither did he count that 'twas in his power so to doe. Mr. West said he went not to ask Mr. Willard Leave. His Excellency asked who the House belong'd to ; we told Him the Title to the House was on Record. His Excellency turned to Mr. Graham and said, Mr. Attorney, we will have that look'd into. Governour said if Mr. Willard not the Parson, so great an Assembly must be considered. We said He was Master of the Assembly, but had no power to dispose of the House, neither had others, for the Deed expressed the Use 'twas to be put to. Governour complain'd of our long staying Sabbath-day sennight ; said 't was the Lord's Supper, and [he] had promised to go to some other House on such dayes ; Mr. Randolph said he knew of no such promise, and the Governour seemed angry, and said He would not so break his word for all the Massachusetts Colony, and therefore, to avoid mistakes, must give in writing what we had to say ; we answered, Mr. Randolph brought not any writing to those he spake to. Governour said we rent off from the old Church against the Government, and the Land the House stood on was bought clandestinely, and that one should say he would defend the work with his Company of Soldiers. Mention'd folks backwardness to give, and the unreasonableness ; because if any stinking filthy thing were in the House we would give something to have it carried out, but would not give to build them an house : Said came from England to avoid such and such things, therefore could not give to set them up here : and the Bishops would have thought strange to have been ask'd to contribute towards setting up the New-England Churches. Governour said God willing they would begin at Eight in the Morning, and have done by Nine : we said 'twould hardly be so in the winter. Mr. Graham said if they had their Service by Candle-Light what was that to any : And that the Service appointed by the Church for morning could not be held after Noon.

Sabbath June 24. We read and sing in course the 57th Psal. Altaschith. They [the Church of England congregation] have done before nine in the morn, and about a quarter after one in the afternoon ; so we have very convenient time

July 1. Governour takes his old time again after our coming out, and Sir William Phips's Chaplain preaches. We were a little hurried and disappointed in the morning, the Bell ringing about quarter before nine.

Thursday July 12. George Keith [a Quaker] doth this day send a Challenge to the 4 Ministers of Boston, in an open letter by Edward

Shippen, to dispute with them about the false Doctrine they delivered.

Thursday August 16. [News arrived in the evening of the birth of a prince.¹] So from 11. to 1. or 2. is Drumming, Bonfire, Huzas, small and great Guns, Ringing of Bells, at which many startled for fear of fire or an Alarm; because the thing was so sudden, People knew not the occasion. Brother Needham was called out of's Bed to deliver the keys which at first he refus'd, they not telling him the occasion.

Tuesday, October 16. This day the Ground-Sills of the Church [the first King's Chapel, built of wood] are laid; the stone foundation being finished.² [It was "raised" on the day following.]

Saturday October 27. His Excellency goes off to Charlestown and so to Dunstable.

Sabbath October 28. Lord's Supper at the South Church. Mr. Willard preached from Heb. 9. 24. Mr. [Seaborn] Cotton of Hampton preached in the afternoon, His Text, Quench not the Spirit. Note. It seems the Governour took Mr. Ratcliff with him, so met not at all distinct in our House this day. Several of them with us in the afternoon. (Sewall.)³

A former minister of King's Chapel, in writing of these proceedings, has said:—

In looking back on this event, we are obliged to consider it, though not itself of great political importance, as one of the most arbitrary acts ever perpetrated in this country while it remained under the English government. No excuse is to be rendered for it. It was such a deliberate outrage on the common rights of property, to say nothing

¹ ["There, on the morning of Sunday, the 10th of June, a day long kept sacred by the too faithful adherents of a bad cause, was born the most unfortunate of princes, destined to seventy-seven years of exile and wandering, of vain projects, of honours more galling than insults, and of hopes such as make the heart sick." — Macaulay.]

² [On Wednesday, October 17, 1688, Mr. Nehemiah Walter was ordained at Roxbury as colleague with the Rev. John Eliot. Mr. Willard took part in the services, and Governor Bradstreet and Samuel Sewall were present, probably as messengers from the South Church.]

³ [Samuel Sewall sailed for England in the America, Captain Clarke, November

22, 1688, partly on private business, and partly to be with Mr. Mather and other friends who sought to uphold the interests of the colony, now without a charter or a settled government, and to secure, if possible, a restoration of its privileges. On his arrival in the English Channel, he heard of the flight of James II. and the landing of the Prince of Orange. On the 12th of February, 1689, he saw the Princess Mary, who had just landed from Holland, pass on her way from Greenwich to Whitehall. He returned to New England in the same vessel, the America, Mr. Thomas Brattle being one of his fellow-passengers, and landed at Newbury, November 29, 1689.]

of conscience and liberty, that we may only wonder that Andros and his abettors suffered no personal violence from the people.¹

To this judgment we may add the words of the late much-lamented minister :—

It is a chapter of outrageous wrongs which Andros wrote here, and there is cause for lasting regret that the origin of so good a thing as religious freedom under the stern old Puritan régime should have been sullied by his despotic acts. But it is satisfactory to remember that ninety years later King's Chapel willingly expiated this injustice by opening its doors wide to the Old South congregation, when dispossessed of their own church by the later revolution.²

In the midst of the uncertainties of this trying time, the members of the Third Church naturally felt anxious about their valuable property. All the trustees to whom Mrs. Norton made her conveyances were dead, with the exception of Edward Rawson, Joshua Scottow, and Jacob Eliot, and as no one could foresee what demands would be made upon the church, or what might be the fate of the meeting-house, under Sir Edmund Andros's administration, it was thought best for the surviving trustees to execute a "declarative deed," continuing the trust in the hands of younger men, and stating with explicitness the purpose of Mrs. Norton, and, by implication, that of the other founders of the church. The instrument was drawn up by Mr. Rawson, and, incidentally, gives us information on certain points which we should not otherwise possess :—

To all Christian People to whom these presents shall any way in time comming come or may concerne Greeting ; Whereas the late worthily honoured Mrs. Mary Norton relict and sole Executrix to the last will and Testament of the late Reverend Mr. John Norton bearing date the fowerteenth day of January 1661 as in the originall Recorded in the booke of Records for wills in the County of Suffolk in New England refference thereto being had more amply doth and may appeare Gave his late dwelling house yard Garden orchard thereon and thereunto adjoining being in the whole about an acre of land be it more or lesse as now ffenced in being scittuate in the street in Boston leading to Roxbury And whereas the said Mary Norton relict and Executrix aforesaid on divers weighty and preponderate considerations besides that great and good affection which the said Reverend John Norton her husband with her selfe did beare unto his and her loving ffrinds Thomas Savage Edward Rawson William Davis Heze-

¹ [Greenwood's *History of King's Chapel*, p. 39.]

² [Foote's *Annals of King's Chapel*, vol. i. p. 79.]

kiah Usher Senr John Hull Peter Olliver Joshua Scottow Edward Rainsford Richard Treusdall and Jacob Elliot all of said Boston and more especially for their [loving ?] expences, or disbursements, for her in repaying her dwelling house: and afterwards taking downe six chimneys and building new in their place etc; erecting a new end and Addition to the said dwelling house paying and discharging severall debts and legacies which shee had resolved by her last will and testament should be paid in all to the value of five hundred pounds at least, as in the deacons bookes of Accounts do Apppeare; all which payments hath been made and donne by them and their order as to accounts and receipts taken for the same And whereas the above mentioned persons Trustees long since built and erected on part of the above granted premisses a large spacious and faire meeting house with three large Porches every way compleately fitted and covered with sheete lead, the house and said Porches, which stood them and their Associates neere if not above two thousand pounds more; and whereas the said Mary Norton in the yeare one thousand six hundred sixty and nine had past and given to them the said Thomas Savage Edward Rawson William Davis Hezekiah Usher Senr [John Hull's name omitted] Peter Olliver Joshua Scottow Edward Rainsford Richard Truesdale and Jacob Elliot, and to their heires and successors for ever the above named Trustees in behalfe of the third Church of Christ in Boston the first above mentioned lands etc for their Constant Assembling of themselves their heires successors and Posterities as the said third Church of Christ in Boston for the holy publicke and solemne Dispensations and Administrations of the holy word of God and his holy sacrament from time to time; and at all times heerafter comming attending to the word of God in such manner and no otherwise as was used by the said Thomas Savage Edward Rawson William Davis and the first above mentioned Trustees in the life time of the said Mrs. Mary Norton the Reverend Mr. Thomas Thatcher being then their Pastor and the Reverend Mr. Samuel Willard their Teacher and is, and have been for so many yeares used by the said Church of Christ and so many of their surviving Associates and successors, surviving, and added to them [And ?] whereas the first above mentioned Trustees God hath been pleased to take to himselfe all except the parties to this declarative deed Now Know all men by these presents That wee Edward Rawson Joshua Scottow and Jacob Elliot of said Boston and onely survivors and successors in the above mentioned deed of Grants Gifts and betrustments being not a little sensible of the Infirmities of age dayly growing and increasing upon us, out of our bounden duety to Almighty God — That that trust, and those holy ends and purposes in the eye and hearte of the first Donor, may not be frustrated, but preserved, observed, performed and intirely kept for the said holy ends and purposes and that there may

never be any Incroachment, Infringement or any kinde of Disappointment creepe in, come to or befall the same in parte or in whole, wee the said Edward Rawson Joshua Scottow and Jacob Elliot doe for ourselves heires and successors next, and immediately after our departures out of this life, hereby declare and as much as in our power Authority and trust as the only survivors lie and be : Absolutely Give Grant assigne sett over and confirme unto our knowne and well beloved friends, Mr. Samuel Seawall, Mr. William Rawson Mr. Benjamin Davis Mr. Nathaniel Olliver and Mr. Theophilus ffrary children and ffriends to the first above mentioned Grantees and to their heires and successors forever confiding hoping and no way doubting but that through the Grace of Christ when wee the said Edward Rawson Joshua Scottow and Jacob Elliot shall be alike gathered to our Brethren and ffriends gon before us unto their rest ; That then the said Samuel Seawall William Rawson Benjamin Davis Nathaniel Olliver and Theophilus ffrary and such of them as shall be then living will by themselves their heires and successors for ever manifest their alike care and faithfulness and arise up in our steads and places to see to the due performing of that first above mentioned trust using their utmost endeavour and care with the help and Assistance of the said third Church of Christ in Boston to defend keepe and save ffree from all manner of Incroachments Infringements or any other Impositions or Incumbrances of what nature and kinde soever on the same or any parte thereof for ever according to the lawes of God and man that have always accounted and estimated such Gifts and Grants to be sacred and no way to be altered or disposed of, for which ends wee the said Edward Rawson Joshua Scottow and Jacob Elliot have and as survivors and trustees as aforesaid have and hereby doe fully freely and absolutely to all Intents and purposes whatsoever in the law Invest them the said Samuel Seawall William Rawson Benjamin Davis Nathaniel Olliver and Theophilus ffrary their heires and successors forever with all our full power Authority title Interest claime and demand that wee ourselves or any of the above mentioned [ffriends?] in trust were invested in, or betrusted with for those holy ends and uses as the said trust by the providence of God is Involved upon us [have?] had might or ought to have had in or for the methodizing Regulating well best and most advantagious ordering and disposing of the same for the time to come no way nor in the least contrary to the expresse mind will Intent and purpose exprest in and by the deed of the said first above mentioned donor In wittness whereof wee the said Edward Rawson Joshua Scottow and Jacob Elliot as trustees and survivors in the above mentioned first [recited?] deed have hereunto put our hands and seales this twenty seventh day of June one thousand six hundred eighty and seven in the third yeare of the reigne of

our Sovereigne James the [now?] second King of England Scotland
ffrance and Ireland Defendor of the ffaith etc 1687

EDWARD (Seal) RAWSON

JOSH : (Seal) SCOTTOW

JACOB (Seal) ELIOT

Signed Sealed and Delivered by the within
mentioned Edward Rawson Joshua Scottow
and Jacob Elliot Trustees and survivors many
years since in full possession of the within
mentioned premisses the twenty seventh day of
June sixteen hundred Eighty and seven in the
presence of us

EDW : WYLLYS

JOSEPH WEBB

THOMAS BANISTER

Mr. Edward Rawson, Capt. Joshua Scotto, and Capt. Jacob Eliott,
Trustees as within named personally appeared this twenty seventh
day of June, 1687, and jointly and each for himselfe acknowledged
the within written to be their Act and Deed

Before me

THOS HINCKLEY

one of his maj^{ties} Council for this his
Territory and Dominion of New England.

Meanwhile the church continued to prosper under the minis-
trations of Mr. Willard. There were many accessions to its
membership year by year, and its influence was felt far and
near. Its records, however, for this period are meagre. The
following brief notes, as they stand, were transcribed by Mr.
Willard from some earlier book of record ; they follow the entry
(October 11, 1687) given by us on p. 258.

At a church meeting, April 17. 81.

Voted a Dismission for Mr. Peter Thacher to the church at Milton.¹
April 24.

Voted a Dismission for James Bracket to the church at Braintree.

¹ [Mr. Thacher joined the Third
Church, May 2, 1673, soon after leaving
college. We take the following entries
from his diary :—

“20 May 1681 this day the ordination
beer was brewed.

“28 May 1681 this day the Ordination
beafe came into my house.

“30 May I studied in preparation for
the Ordination. this day the gates
were hung and they made an Arbour
to Entertaine the Messengers of the
churches.

“1 June 1681 this day I was Ordained

(tho most unworthy) Pastour of the
Church in Milton my Text 2 Tim. 4. 5
Mr. Mather called the votes, Old Mr.
Eliot, Mr. Mather Mr. Torry Mr. Wil-
lard laid On hands Mr. Torry gave the
Charge, Mr. Willard gave the right hand
of fellowship. wee sung the 24. ps. then
I gave the blessing. they dined at my
house in the Arbour, then returned home
this evening.

“2 June 1681 this day the Church and
most of the Towne dined with me, the
rest were alsoe invited. After diner we
sang 122 ps.”]

At a church meeting, May 19, 82.

Voted a dismission for Hannah the wife of William Sumner to the North Church.¹

March 6. 83.

Benjamin Warren admonished for divers morall evils, unrepented of.²

March 23. 83.

Voted a dismission for goodwife Search to the North Church.³

Octobr 7. 83.

Hannah B. — was admonished for excessive drinking and railing.

Octobr 19. 84.

Rebekah Marshall reconciled to the church.⁴ [Her son Benjamin was baptized October 26.]

Novr. 8. 1685.

Mr. Theop Frary was ordained Deacon. [See *ante*, p. 254.]

July 17. 88.

Voted a dismission for Sara Thomas to the church at Marshfield.⁵

Mr. Isaac Walker, a member of the church, an active business man, and one of the proprietors of Lancaster, died on the 19th of October.

Monday, Oct. 22. Mr. Isaac Walker is buried : Bearers, Mr. James Taylor, Mr. Francis Burroughs, Capt. Tho. Savage, Mr. Simeon Stoddard, Mr. George Elleston, Mr. Saml. Checkly ; Deacon Eliot and I led the young widow, and had Scarfs and Gloves. The Lord fit me, that my Grave may be a Sweetening place for my Sin-polluted Body. Can't see that anything has been done towards raising the Church since Wednesday : Friday and Thorsday so much rain. Rained as went to the Grave.⁶ (Sewall.)

There was a painful scene at the grave of Edward Lilley, who died during the winter of 1688'-89, which shows the intensity of the feeling in the Puritan community against the introduction of the rites of the English Church here. Lilley had

¹ [Hannah Sumner was received into the Second Church July 15, 1683. Her name does not appear on the Third Church registers.]

² [Benjamin Warren's name does not appear on the list of members.]

³ [Anna Search was disciplined at the First Church, April 4, 1675, for having put herself into fellowship with the Third Church.]

"S. Search" was admitted to the Second Church April 15, 1683.]

⁴ [Rebekah, daughter of Ambrose and Mary (Bumstead) Dawes, and grand-

daughter of William and Susanna Dawes, owned the covenant in 1680, and became a communicant in 1688 or 1689, more than four years after the reconciliation recorded above. She married first Benjamin Marshall, and secondly — Morton, of Plymouth, and she took dismission to the church in that town in 1695.]

⁵ [The name of Sarah Thomas does not appear on the list of members.]

⁶ [Mr. Walker's young widow was Hannah, daughter of Deacon Frary. She afterward married Andrew Belcher, as his second wife.]

been more or less in sympathy with the Episcopal party, and his name appears among the subscribers for building the new house of worship, but he had left the ordering of his funeral to his executors. The Rev. Mr. Ratcliffe claimed the right to read the service over him, which Mr. Frary, in behalf of the family, protested against, and with so much vehemency that he was bound over to keep the peace.¹ Increase Mather, in his *Vindication of New England*, says of this occurrence: —

Moreover, as they inform His Majesty that some Boyes have Assaulted their Church, so some Men they say have hindred and Obstructed their Parson in Discharging of his Duty and Office. For at the Funeral of one Mr. Lilly (who never signified to any of his Friends his Desire to have the Service Book used at his Burial) their Officer would needs (for their Edification) impose it upon them; the Relations 'tis true, beforehand Unanimously informed him that it would be very Offensive to them to be so Imposed upon therein; yet such was his Zeal, that he came with Gown and Book, to settle a Laudable custom in that Barbarous Country. One Mr. Frayray (a Relation of the Deceased in the name of the rest) only with fitt words desired him to for-bare, but he was bound over to the Court, where they intended to have Ruined him, had not the Unlucky Revolution subverted their designs.²

Governor Andros's treatment of the churches was only one feature of an administration which, if it had been perpetuated, would have deprived the colonists of all their dearest rights, both civil and religious. His declaration that the people had no property in their lands without patents from himself was

¹ Mr. Frary's youngest daughter, Mehitabel, married Samuel Lilley.

² [*Andros Tracts*, vol. ii. p. 65. Of course Mr. Mather is to be understood as speaking ironically, when he refers to settling "a laudable custom in that barbarous country," and to "the unlucky revolution," which was "unlucky" only for the Anglican party against which he spoke.

Mr. Moodey, writing to Mr. Mather (then in London), January 8, 1688-9, said: "I hinted to Capt. Sewall [also in London at that time] the story about Deacon Fraery covented and bound over with sureties for forbidding Ratliff to read Common-prayer at the grave of old Lilley. The relations desired Capt. Frary to speake, and had requested the

parson to forbear beforehand, when at the House. But he went on, and being hindered complained to Justice Lidget, Foxcroft and Bullivant, who so treated Mr. Fraery. Now when the deceased did not desire it, and left the buriall to the Executors and they forbade it, methinks it should not bee imposed; and what a case are wee all in! King, the Attorney, saith it will cost him 100 mark, and that hee is bound to do his duty (I mean Ratliff is) and the King's Proclamation will not relieve him. Captain Frary is bound to the good Behaviour, and wilbe so for a 12 month. (A fearful reproach and snare). What does the proclamation for liberty of Conscience doe, if such impositions are allowed!" *Mather Papers*, pp. 370, 371.]

regarded as a virtual confiscation of the wealth which had been accumulating during half a century. He took the ground that as the charter had been forfeited all the titles under the charter were forfeited, and he demanded exorbitant prices for new patents. We have nothing to do, however, in this history, with his arbitrary conduct apart from the South Church, nor with the retribution which speedily overtook him, except as we may trace a connection between this and his usurpation in religious affairs.

Popular indignation reached its height on the 18th and 19th of April, 1689, when Sir Edmund Andros and several of the officers of the Crown were arrested and lodged in jail, the fort and the frigate in the harbor were forced to surrender, and a provisional government was formed.

Prominent members of the South Church were among those who had planned this revolution and who carried it through, and were on the Committee of Public Safety; of the latter we may name Simon Bradstreet, Peter Sergeant, John Joyliffe, Wait Winthrop, Nathaniel Oliver, John Eyre, and Andrew Belcher.¹ Randolph, writing to the Lords of the Committee "from the common gaol," May 29, 1689, says: "Five ministers of Boston, namely Moody, Allen, young Mather, Willard and Milburn, an Anabaptist minister, were in the Council-Chamber on the 18th of April, when the governor and myself were brought out



Simon Bradstreet

of the fort before them, writing orders, and were authors of some of their printed papers." The elder Mather was in England, whither he had gone to seek redress for the wrongs under which the colony was suffering; his son is believed to have been the author of "the declaration of the gentlemen, merchants and in-

¹ [The Committee was called the "Council for the Safety of the People, and Conservation of the Peace."]

habitants of Boston and the country adjacent," which concisely stated the oppressions of the Andros administration, and appealed to the people to sustain those who had taken the responsibility of striking in defence of the liberties of the land. The flight of James, and the accession of William and Mary to the throne in England, the news of which reached Boston on the 26th of May, made the success of the revolution sure; ministers and people united in giving thanks to Him "who putteth down one and setteth up another," and "again Englishmen were free and self-governed in the settlements of New England." "It is very obvious," says Quincy, "that the fate of New England was suspended on the fate of the Prince of Orange. Had he failed, our ancestors would have had to expiate the guilt of treason in exile, or confiscation, or on the scaffold." ¹

The venerable Simon Bradstreet, the only survivor of the first generation of Puritan leaders, who had been governor of the colony from 1679 to 1686, was called to succeed Sir Edmund Andros, and he held office until the 14th of May, 1692, when Sir William Phips arrived in Boston, with his commission as first royal governor under the second charter.

Increase Mather, in his *Vindication of New England*, relates "that there was a crew of Pirats under the command of one Pounds, which lay robbing Vessels on the Coast; these were pursued by a small Vessel of Brisk Bostoneers, who in Their Majesties Name and under Their Colours, maintained a Bloody Fight with the Rogues and took them: One of them was Executed." The vessel that performed this feat was the armed sloop *Mary*, under Captain Samuel Pease and Lieutenant Benjamin Gallop.² The skirmish took place in Vineyard Sound on the 4th of October, when the captain was mortally wounded, although he lived until the 12th. He and his lieutenant were members of Mr. Willard's congregation, and Mrs. Pease was a communicant.³ A general contribution for the bereaved family and the wounded men was taken on the first Sunday in the following January, and we have before us the receipt for the amount collected at Mr. Willard's:—

Recd this 6th January 1689-90 of Mr. Jacob Eliott and Capt Frary

¹ Josiah Quincy, Mayor of Boston, *Oration*, July 4, 1826.

² For Benjamin Gallop's affidavit, see *N. E. Hist. and Gen. Register*, vol. ii. p. 393.

³ Four daughters of Samuel and Mary Pease were baptized at the South Church between December, 1682, and January, 1686. The mother became a member November 26, 1682.

twenty one pounds four shillings and six money gatherd by a publike Collection made att Mr. Willards Congregation for wid Pease and her Children and the care of Two wounded men.

Recd p

ADAM WINTHROP.

The period between 1690 and 1700 has been well called, for New England, "the woeful decade." Its first year witnessed the massacres of Schenectady and Salmon Falls, and these were followed a few months later by the disastrous expedition of the united colonies, under Sir William Phips, against Quebec. Massachusetts had sent an expedition to Acadia which captured Port Royal (Annapolis); and at a congress held in New York, in May, 1690, it was determined to prevent, if possible, further raids by the French and Indians, by carrying the war vigorously into Canada. At this congress New York was represented by Jacob Leisler and Peter De Lanoy; Massachusetts by William Stoughton, Samuel Sewall, and John Walley; and Connecticut by Nathan Gold and William Pitkin. The plan agreed upon was that the forces of New York and Connecticut, with the aid of the Iroquois Indians, should make an attack on Montreal, while a fleet from Massachusetts should make at the same time an assault upon Quebec. The Massachusetts troops were placed under the command of John Walley as lieutenant-general. Ephraim Savage, son of the commander in Philip's War, was second in command of the militia. But the land forces never reached their destination, and the fleet was repulsed before Quebec with great loss.¹

On the night of Tuesday, the 16th of September, there was a serious fire in what is now Milk Street, and the South meeting-house was in much danger. Sewall says: "About eleven at night a Fire breaks out at the House of Jno Allen, Worsted Comber, in which his Apprentice Sam. Worster was burned, with the House of Lieut. Reynolds, Mr. Bligh, Langden and a great part of Savil Simson's. The wind being Sou-west, the South-Meeting-House was preserv'd with very much difficulty, being

¹ November 7, 1690. "Between 9. and 10. at night, Governour sends to me and enforms of the defeat at Canada; and that Urrumbee, Hawkins and other chief Indians sued for peace. News of Canada came from Salem. Shute comes into Boston that night or next morning, hath thrown over aboard more than Sixty persons since his going hence, most Indians of Plimouth. Town much fill'd

with the discourse, and some cast blame on Major Walley; were nine weeks getting thither and landed not before the 7th or 8th of October." (Sewall.)

The expedition was most rash and ill-advised. There is no evidence that Major Walley failed to do anything that a man could have done under the circumstances, and it was only for the moment that he suffered in his popularity.

in a flame in diverse places of it. Capt. Cyprian Southack,¹ and Lieut. David Mason did very worthily, hazarding themselves with many others on the Lead for a great while."

Mr. Peter Sergeant, a prominent merchant and citizen, and an active member of the South Church, built a handsome house for himself, which was afterward the residence of a long succession of royal governors, and is known in history as the Province House.² It was of brick, three stories high, and it stood in

¹ Captain Southack was a Boston pilot, and commanded a vessel in the expedition against Quebec. A year or two later, the meeting-house was threatened again: "Sabbath, Jan. 29, 1692-3. A very sunshiny, hot, thawing day. Note. Just as we came out of the meetinghouse at Noon, Savil Simson's Chimney fell on fire, and blaz'd out much, which made many people stand gazing at it a pretty while, being so near the Meetinghouse." (Sewall.)

² July 25 1699 "My Lord Bellomont deliver'd me my Commission for Judge of the Superiour Court. And the Chief Justice, Mr. Stoughton, Mr. Cooke and myself were sworn in Mr. Sergeants best chamber before the Governour and Council."

November 4 "This day the Governour Treats the Council and sundry other Gentlemen in Mr. Sergeants best chamber. Guns fired upon account of the King's Birth-day. (Sewall.)

A few days later, Judge Sewall entertained Lord and Lady Bellomont in the new hall which he had recently added to his house. Mr. and Mrs. Willard could not be present because it was "catechizing day," but the South Church was represented by Mr. and Mrs. Sergeant, Major Walley, Mr. Bromfield, Mr. Stoddard, and Mr. John Campbell, afterward postmaster and first editor of the *Boston News-Letter*.

Mr. Sergeant received at the rate of £100 *per annum* for the use of his house fourteen and a half months, and Judge Sewall £15 for the use of a coach-house and stable in the vicinity. See a paper on the Province House, by Mellen Chamberlain, in the *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings*, Second Series, vol. ii. pp. 122-131.

Hawthorne, in *Twice-Told Tales*, has

described a visit to the old house in its later and more humble days:—

"Entering the arched passage, which penetrated through the middle of a brick row of shops, a few steps transported me from the busy heart of modern Boston into a small and secluded court-yard. One side of this space was occupied by the square front of the Province House, three stories high, and surmounted by a cupola, on the top of which a gilded Indian was discernible, with his bow bent and his arrow on the string, as if aiming at the weathercock on the spire of the Old South. The figure has kept this attitude for seventy years or more, ever since good Deacon Drown, a cunning carver of wood, first stationed him on his long sentinel's watch over the city.

"The Province House is constructed of brick, which seems recently to have been overlaid with a coat of light-colored paint. A flight of red freestone steps, fenced in by a balustrade of curiously wrought iron, ascends from the courtyard to the spacious porch, over which is a balcony, with an iron balustrade of similar pattern and workmanship to that beneath. These letters and figures—16 P. S. 79—are wrought into the ironwork of the balcony, and probably express the date of the edifice, with the initials of its founder's name. A wide door with double leaves admitted me into the hall or entry, on the right of which is the entrance to the bar-room.

"It was in this apartment, I presume, that the ancient governors held their levees, with vice-regal pomp, surrounded by the military men, the councillors, the judges, and other officers of the crown, while all the loyalty of the province thronged to do them honor. But the

spacious grounds, surrounded by magnificent trees. When the Earl of Bellomont came to Boston in 1699, Mr. Sergeant entertained him at his handsome residence, and was "prevailed with" to vacate it for the use of the governor during his stay in the town of a little more than a year. When Mr. Sergeant married Lady Phips, widow of Sir William, in the autumn of 1701, he took up his abode at her mansion house at the north end of the town, and let his own house to Major Hobby, afterward Sir Charles Hobby. He died in 1713, and in 1716 the house was sold to the Province, and was occupied by Samuel Shute, the first governor from beyond the sea after Lord Bellomont. We learn from Judge Sewall that the valuable papers belonging to the church had hitherto been in the keeping of Mr. Secretary Rawson, but it was proposed in 1690 to place them in Mr. Sergeant's house, "being of brick and conveniently situated."

Friday November 21. 1690. Mr. Saml. Willard, Mr. Edw. Rawson, Capt. Joshua Scottow, Deacon Jacob Eliot, Deacon Theophilus Frary and Samuel Sewall met together, at said Sewall's house in Boston. Mr. Edward Rawson in regard of his Age, and dwelling out of Town desired that Mrs. Judith Winthrop's Deed of the Meeting-house Land in Boston, her Receipt, Mr. Leveret's Release, Mrs. Norton's Deed of Gift 1669, Mrs. Norton's Deed of Gift 1677, An Instrument of Mr. Edw. Rawson, Capt. Joshua Scottow and Capt. Jacob Eliot to Saml. Sewall and others, being Six Writings in all, should be put in a Chest to be provided for that purpose, on which a Copper plate to be fastened with this Engraving, *South Church*, and Mr. Peter Sergeant to be entreated to keep the said Chest in his house, being of Brick and conveniently situated; and that, if can conveniently do, also put the Church plate in said Chest; and said Edward Rawson committed the above-mentioned writings to said Eliot to be disposed of as above with as great Speed as conveniently may be, according to this Agreement.

Signed by:—

EDWARD RAWSON

SAM SEWALL

J. SCOTTOW

JACOB ELIOT

THEO. FRARY.

room, in its present condition, cannot boast even of faded magnificence. . . . The most venerable and ornamental object is a chimney-piece set round with Dutch tiles of blue-figured china, representing scenes from Scripture. . . .

"The great staircase . . . winds through the midst of the house by flights of broad steps, each flight terminating in a square

landing-place, whence the ascent is continued towards the cupola. A carved balustrade, freshly painted in the lower stories, but growing dingier as we ascend, borders the staircase with its quaintly twisted and intertwined pillars, from top to bottom. . . . The cupola is an octagon, with several windows, and a door opening upon the roof."

Sabbath, Nov. 8. 1691 Is a Contribution for the Frontier Towns ; Capt. Eliot, though abroad on the Day of the Thanksgiving, is now ill again ; . . . I set the Tune ; York, Windsor, 119th Ps., on the two last Staves of the 34th Psalm.

Nov. 10. 1691 Council of Churches meet at Lin. From Boston, Mr. Willard, Sewall, Frary ; [James] Allen, Hutchinson, Bridgham ; [Cotton] Mather, Foster, Keech ; Malden [Michael] Wigglesworth, Sprague, Green ; Salem, [Nicholas] Noyes, Hathorn, Corwin, Gardener, Lindon. Had much adoe to prevail with the Church to own us as a Council, but did do it at last ; heard what was to be said, drew up our Advice by Mr. Cotton Mather ; wherein all parties blamed ; They accepted of it and thank'd us heartily for our visiting them. Bell was rung both times before going into Meeting-house. Mr. Wigglesworth Moderator.¹ (Sewall.)

The year 1692 is memorable for the sudden and violent outburst in Massachusetts of what we now call "the witchcraft delusion." It is not for us to attempt to account for that strange combination of superstition and panic which ruled the hour, and which has engaged the attention of so many writers, nor need we dwell at length upon the painful occurrences to which it led. The history of the delusion has to do no more with New England than with the mother country or the continent of Europe ; no more with the Puritan churches than with the Anglican or any other communion. A distinguished scholar,² speaking of the fathers in this connection, says : "About their treatment of witches there has been a great deal of ignorant babble. Puritanism had nothing whatever to do with it. They acted under a delusion which, with an exception here and there, darkened the understanding of all Christendom. . . . It is more philosophical to say that the age believes this and that, than that the particular men who live in it do so. . . . The proceedings at the Salem trials are sometimes spoken of as if they were exceptionally cruel. But in fact, if compared with others of the same kind, they were exceptionally humane." Another writer³ says :

¹ [An entry by Mr. Higginson in the records of the Salem church refers to this council at Lynn, although there is a discrepancy in the date :—

"In December there was a council at Lyn, in relation to some differences between some brethren and Mr. Shepard, their Pastor. Mr. Noys and three other brethren were, by a vote of the church, desired to go thither and join with other Elders and messengers of the Churches

of Boston and Malden, to help to make peace : which, through the blessing of God on their endeavours, was attained to the general satisfaction of all." Judge White's *New Eng. Congregationalism*, p. 95.]

² James Russell Lowell, *Among My Books*. Articles on Witchcraft, and on New England Two Centuries Ago.

³ William F. Poole, *Mem. Hist. of Boston*, vol. ii. p. 131.

"The storm of terror and death, called the witchcraft delusion, which swept over Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, left its traces on the early life of the New England colonies. While it raged in Europe, thirty thousand victims perished in the British Islands, seventy-five thousand in France, one hundred thousand in Germany, and corresponding numbers in Italy, Spain, Switzerland, and Sweden. Witchcraft in New England was of a sporadic and spasmodic type compared with its epidemic and protracted virulence in the Old World; and yet the thirty-two executions in the New England colonies, for supposed confederation with devils, have filled a larger space in history and in public attention than the thirty thousand similar executions which occurred in the mother country. English writers at this day, when they need striking proofs of the superstitions of former times, take their illustrations from the records of New England witchcraft. A full and impartial account of English and Scottish diabolism has never commended itself, as a subject of historical investigation, to a modern English writer."

The Salem tragedy touched the Third or South Church at several points. Three of its members, Wait Winthrop, Samuel Sewall, and Peter Sergeant, were judges of the Special Court appointed to try the witchcraft cases in Eastern Massachusetts.¹ One of its founders and most respected members, John Alden, was accused, imprisoned, and tried, and had a narrow escape of his life. Its minister, Mr. Willard,² was one of the most determined and influential in opposition to the judicial proceedings; a member of the congregation, Thomas Brattle, wrote a very careful and able review of these proceedings; and Robert Calef,³ who

¹ Another of the judges, Jonathan Corwin, married Elizabeth, daughter of Jacob Sheaffe, and widow of Robert Gibbs. Mr. Brattle, in his Account, says that Mrs. Thacher was suspected of witchcraft, and he calls Mr. Corwin to account for favoritism, in shielding his mother-in-law, and in conniving at the escape from the province of Hezekiah Usher (second of the name) who had been ordered to prison by a *mittimus* under Mr. Lynde, and had been allowed to live for more than a fortnight in a private house. Mr. Brattle says that of the judges, Mr. Hathorne and Mr. Corwin were the most active, and that the chief justice, Mr. Stoughton, was very zealous.

² During Mr. Willard's pastorate at Groton, in 1671, one of his parishioners was strangely affected, "railed at the godly minister of the town, and at the same time uttered many blasphemous expressions, and then charged all her afflictions upon a good woman in the neighborhood." There was no panic at that time, and Mr. Willard carefully examined the case with a view to ascertain whether the possession were real or counterfeit. He was led by his investigation to the opinion that there was something preternatural in the experiences of the woman. See *The Mather Papers*, pp. 555-571.

³ Robert Calef, or Calf, owned the covenant at the South Church in 1703,

became a member a few years later, is thought by some to have been the author of *More Wonders of the Invisible World*, a book which severely criticised all who had been prominent in abetting or encouraging the popular excitement.

In June, 1692, Sir William Phips, the newly-arrived royal governor, appointed special Commissioners of Oyer and Terminer to try the witchcraft cases which had been for some time accumulating, with jurisdiction in the counties of Suffolk, Essex, and Middlesex; they were William Stoughton, deputy-governor, John Richards, Nathaniel Saltonstall, Wait Still Winthrop, Bartholomew Gedney, Samuel Sewall, John Hathorne, Jonathan Corwin, and Peter Sergeant, or any five of them. Previously to this, there had been legal proceedings against reputed witches before the local magistrates in Salem. Sewall records his going thither on the 11th of April:—

Went to Salem, where, in the Meeting-house, the persons accused of Witchcraft were examined; was a very great Assembly; 'twas awfull to see how the afflicted persons were agitated. Mr. Noyes pray'd at the beginning, and Mr. Higginson concluded.

On the 28th of May, Captain John Alden, who had recently returned from a voyage to Quebec,¹ whither he had sailed for the redemption of some prisoners of war held by the French since the preceding October, was summoned by the magistrates of Salem, "upon the accusation of a company of poor distracted or possessed creatures or witches." The names of his accusers were: Mary Lewis, Abigail Williams, Elizabeth Booth, Mary Walcott, Elizabeth Hubbard, Ann Putnam, Mary Warren. He was sent by Mr. Stoughton, and on the 31st of May he appeared at Salem Village before Mr. Gedney, Mr. Hathorne, and Mr. Corwin. Fortunately we have an account of the examination in his own emphatic language, as communicated to Mr. Calef:—

Those wenches being present, who played their juggling tricks, falling down, crying out, and staring in people's faces; the magistrates demanded of them several times, who it was of all the people in the room that hurt them? one of these accusers pointed several times at one Captain [John] Hill, there present, but spake nothing; the same accuser had a man standing at her back to hold her up; he and had children baptized there, the last, "Robert, of Robert and Margaret Calf," March 3, 1716-17. John Alden, son of Captain John Alden, was one of the witnesses to his will, which was probated before Judge Sewall, February 18, 1722-3.

¹ Captain Alden had commanded vessels several years before this for John Hull, and lately had been employed in the public service; he commanded a vessel in the expedition against Port Royal in 1690.

stooped down to her ear, then she cried out Aldin, Aldin afflicted her ; one of the magistrates asked her if she had ever seen Aldin, She answered no, he asked how she knew it was Aldin? She said, the man told her so.

Then all were ordered to go down into the street, where a ring was made ; and the same accuser cried out, there stands Aldin, a bold fellow with his hat on before the judges, he sells powder and shot to the Indians and French. . . . Then was Aldin committed to the marshal's custody, and his sword taken from him ; for they said he afflicted them with his sword. After some hours Aldin was sent for to the meeting house in the village before the magistrates ; who required Aldin to stand upon a chair to the open view of all the people.

The accusers cried out that Aldin did pinch them, then, when he stood upon the chair, in the sight of all the people, a good way distant from them, one of the magistrates bid the marshal to hold open Aldin's hands, that he might not pinch those creatures. Aldin asked them why they should think that he should come to that village to afflict those persons that he never knew or saw before? Mr. Gidney bid Aldin confess, and give glory to God : Aldin said he hoped he should give glory to God, and hoped he should never gratify the devil ; but appealed to all that ever knew him, if they ever suspected him to be such a person, and challenged any one, that could bring in any thing upon their knowledge, that might give suspicion of his being such an one. Mr. Gidney said he had known Aldin many years, and had been at sea with him, and always looked upon him to be an honest man, but now he did see cause to alter his judgment ; Aldin answered, he was sorry for that, but he hoped God would clear up his innocency, that he would recall that judgment again, and added that he hoped that he should with Job maintain his innocency till he died. They bid Aldin look upon the accusers, which he did, and then they fell down. Aldin asked Mr. Gidney, what reason there could be given, why Aldin's looking upon him did not strike *him* down as well? but no reason was given that I heard. But the accusers were brought to Aldin to touch them, and this touch they said made them well. Aldin began to speak of the Providence of God, in suffering these creatures to accuse innocent persons ; Mr. Noyes asked Aldin why he would offer to speak of the Providence of God, God by his Providence, (said Mr. Noyes) governs the world, and keeps it in peace ; and so went on with discourse, and stopped Aldin's mouth, as to that. Aldin told Mr. Gidney, that he could assure him that there was a lying spirit in them, for I can assure you that there is not a word of truth in all these say of me. But Aldin was again committed to the marshal.

Captain Alden was taken to Boston by a constable, and lodged in jail there : it was in vain that he and his friends offered bail,

and he remained in confinement for fifteen weeks. When the terror was at its height, he was prevailed upon to make his escape, and with the aid of his good minister and others he accomplished this. He went to Duxbury, where, however, he did not long remain, but returned to Boston, and gave himself up to the authorities. Bonds were now accepted for him, and a few months later, when the delusion had passed away, he and others who had been similarly accused were legally discharged. While he lay in Boston jail, a fast was held at his house, at which Judge Sewall was present, and of which he gives us the following particulars :—

July 20. Fast at the house of Capt. Alden, upon his account. Mr. Willard pray'd. I read a Sermon out of Dr. Preston, 1st and 2d Uses of God's Alsuiciency. Capt. Scottow prayd, Mr. Allen came in and pray'd, Mr. Cotton Mather, then Capt. Hill. Sung the first part 103, Ps., concluded about 5. aclock.¹

All this, however it may appear to us now, was a terrible reality then to the magistrates and ministers of the province as well as to the people. There were few who doubted that the visitation came directly from the kingdom of darkness, and that some, at least, of the accused persons were in league with Satan, or under his immediate and personal control. But there were many who thoroughly disapproved of the wholesale and promiscuous manner in which accusations were made, and of the way in which the judicial proceedings were conducted. Two theories prevailed among those who held to the reality of diabolical agency. One was that Satan could operate by means of spectres, fits, and spasms, only through those who were in willing league with him, that is, actual witches. This was the generally received opinion in England, in the courts and among the lawyers. Testimony as to spectral and other preternatural appearances was admitted there against persons accused of witchcraft, and the colonial judges naturally adopted the same course. Hutchinson says: "The evidence here was of the same sort which had been judged sufficient to hang people there; . . . we had their best authority to justify us." The other of the two theories, which was held for the most part by

¹ [On the 22d of December, Judge Sewall called at the parsonage, and he says: "Mrs. Willard talks to me very sharply about Capt. Alden's not being at the Lord's Supper last Sabbath-day."

What, if anything, the judge had done to prevent his attendance, we do not know. He may have thought that a man under accusation before a court ought not to approach the Lord's table.]

the clergy of New England, was that Satan could and did cause the spectres of innocent people to appear as readily as those of persons in league with him, and that what was known as spectral testimony should be rejected by the courts.

It should be remembered to the credit of the Boston ministers, at this trying time, that as a body they exercised a decidedly restraining influence upon the excited multitude and on the officers of the law. Whatever they may have thought about the possibility of demoniacal possession, they did not part company for the occasion with their reason and common sense. At the request of the governor, Cotton Mather drew up a Return, June 15, 1692, in behalf of several ministers, in which it was said: "The afflicted state of our poor neighbours that are now suffering by molestations from the invisible world, we apprehend so deplorable that we think their condition calls for the utmost help of all persons in their several capacities. . . . We judge that in the prosecution of these and all such witchcrafts, there is need of a very critical and exquisite caution, lest by too much credulity for things received only upon the Devil's authority, there be a door opened for a long train of miserable consequences, and Satan get an advantage over us." It was urged, "that all proceedings thereabout be managed with an exceeding tenderness towards those that may be complained of, especially if they have been persons formerly of an unblemished reputation."

How nobly Mr. Willard carried himself in these dark hours we learn from his funeral sermon, preached by his colleague and successor, the Rev. Ebenezer Pemberton:—

It ought never to be forgotten with what prudence, courage and zeal, he appeared for the good of this people, in that dark and mysterious season, when we were assaulted from the invisible world. And how singularly instrumental he was in discovering the cheats and delusions of Satan, which did threaten to stain our land with blood, and to deluge it with all manner of woes.

The testimony of a member of his congregation is even more emphatic. Thomas Brattle, in his review of the proceedings in Essex County, addressed to a clergyman who had asked him for an account of them, said:—

Although the chief judge, and some of the other judges, be very zealous for these proceedings, yet this you may take for a truth, that there are several about the Bay, men for understanding, judgment and

piety, inferior to few, if any, in New England, that do utterly condemn the said proceedings, and do freely deliver their judgment in the case to be this, viz. that these methods will utterly ruin and undo poor New England. I shall nominate some of them to you, viz. the Hon. Simon Bradstreet Esqr our late governor, the Hon. Thomas Danforth Esqr our late deputy governor, the Rev. Mr. Increase Mather, and the Rev. Mr. Samuel Willard. . . . I cannot but highly applaud, and think it our duty to be very thankful for, the endeavours of several elders, whose lips, I think, should preserve knowledge, and whose counsel should, I think, have been more regarded, in a case of this nature, than as yet it has been: in particular, I cannot but think very honourably of the endeavours of a Reverend person in Boston, whose good affection to his country in general, and spiritual relation to three of the judges in particular, has made him very solicitous and industrious in this matter; and I am fully persuaded that, had his motions and proposals been hearkened to, and followed, when these troubles were in their birth, in an ordinary way, they would never have grown unto that height which now they have. He has, as yet, met with little but unkindness, abuse, and reproach from many men; but, I trust that in after times, his wisdom and service will find a more universal acknowledgment; and if not, his reward is with the Lord.¹

It has been well said, that when we take all the circumstances into the account, "we shall be less astonished that the delusion in Salem Village rose so high, than that it subsided so soon." As the reaction began to set in, juries refused to convict. The spirit in which many of the accused and condemned met their fate made a deep impression on the community. The Rev. George Burroughs, who in happier days had been a guest at Sewall's table, "by his speech, prayer, protestation of his innocence, did much move unthinking [we should say thinking] persons, which occasions their speaking hardly concerning his being executed."

Hutchinson says of the judges that they did not change as soon as the juries. The opinion which they had "of their own superior understanding and judgment probably made them more backward in owning or discovering their errors." One of them, however, when he came to be convinced of the terrible mistake he had made, did everything in his power to manifest his sorrow and contrition. Tradition says that Judge Sewall observed a day of private prayer annually, as long as he lived, in humble and penitential remembrance of his part in the witchcraft trials. This may not be literally true, but as to the fact of

¹ [*Mass. Hist. Collections*, vol. v. pp. 74-77.]

the judge's penitence there can be no question ; and the tradition, as put into verse by the poet Whittier, is destined to live as long as the trials are remembered : —

Touching and sad, a tale is told,
 Like a penitent hymn of the Psalmist old,
 Of the fast which the good man lifelong kept
 With a haunting sorrow that never slept,
 As the circling year brought round the time
 Of an error that left the sting of crime,
 When he sat on the bench of the witchcraft courts,
 With the laws of Moses and Hale's Reports,
 And spake, in the name of both, the word
 That gave the witch's neck to the cord,
 And piled the oaken planks that pressed
 The feeble life from the warlock's breast !
 All the day long, from dawn to dawn,
 His door was bolted, his curtain drawn ;
 No foot on his silent threshold trod,
 No eye looked on him save that of God,
 As he baffled the ghosts of the dead with charms
 Of penitent tears, and prayers, and psalms,
 And, with precious proofs from the sacred word
 Of the boundless pity and love of the Lord,
 His faith confirmed and his trust renewed
 That the sin of his ignorance, sorely rued,
 Might be washed away in the mingled flood
 Of his human sorrow and Christ's dear blood !

Judge Sewall was not content with making a private confession in his closet before Him who seeth in secret. He openly acknowledged his sin, and asked the pardon of his fellowmen, in the great congregation. A public fast had been appointed by the Governor and Council for the 14th of January, 1696-7. The proclamation, drawn up by the ministers of Boston, mentioned various calamities and judgments under which the province was suffering, and then said : " Doubtless there are some particular Sins, which God is angry with our Israel for, that have not been duely seen and resented by us, about which God expects to be sought ; if ever He turn again our Captivity." The earnest supplications of God's people were desired : " That all Iniquity may be put away which hath proved God's holy Jealousie against this Land ; that He would shew us what we know not, and help us, wherein we have done amiss, to doe so no more : And, especially, that whatever Mistakes, on either hand, have been fallen into, either by the body of this People, or any Orders of them, referring to the late Tragedie raised amongst us by Satan and his Instruments, through the awfull judgment of God ; He would humble us therefore, and pardon

all the Errors of his Servants and People that desire to Love his Name, and be attoned to His Land."

Judge Sewall at this time was mourning the loss of two of his children who had died within a few months, and his conscience was in a very tender state. Between the proclamation of the



Samuel Sewall.

fast and its observance, his son Samuel was reciting to him in Latin a part of the twelfth chapter of Matthew's Gospel, and he records: "The 7th verse did awfully bring to mind the Salem Tragedie." The English version of this passage is: "If ye had known what this meaneth, I will have mercy and not sacrifice, ye would not have condemned the guiltless." On the afternoon of the Fast Day the judge handed to Mr. Willard as, in gown and bands, he was passing

up one of the "alleys" to the pulpit, the following "bill" to be read by him:—

Samuel Sewall, sensible of the reiterated strokes of God upon himself and family; and being sensible, that as to the Guilt contracted upon the opening of the late Commission of Oyer and Terminer at Salem (to which the order for this Day relates) he is, upon many accounts, more concerned than any that he knows of, Desires to take the Blame and shame of it, Asking pardon of men, And especially desiring prayers that God, who has an Unlimited Authority, would pardon that sin and all other his sins; personal and Relative: And according to his infinite Benignity, and Sovereignty, Not Visit the sin of him, or of any other, upon himself or any of his, nor upon the Land: But that He would powerfully defend him against all Temptations to Sin, for the future; and vouchsafe him the efficacious, saving Conduct of his Word and Spirit.

The good judge stood, as this solemn confession was read by his minister in his behalf, and bowed at its close. In all his distinguished career he was never so great as at that moment. All present, we think, must have been moved as they saw this man,

prominent in their membership, this honorable councillor and judge, publicly acknowledging his sin and humbly imploring pardon, human and divine.

The moral heroism of Judge Sewall's penitential act becomes the more conspicuous as we remember that he had eight associates on the Special Commission, all religious men, no one of whom thought it his duty to follow his example, or to announce publicly in any way that he regretted his part in the fatal assize. It is said that the chief justice, Stoughton, on being told what one of his brethren had done, remarked that for himself, when he sat in judgment, he had the fear of God before his eyes, and gave his opinion according to the best of his understanding ; and although afterward it might appear that he had been in error, he saw no necessity for a public acknowledgment. It should be added that Stoughton's conduct in relation to the witchcraft trials detracted nothing from the popularity which he always enjoyed.

The only entries upon the church records between July, 1688, and the autumn of 1693, are the following :—

Feb. 5 '92. Elisabeth Monk restored from church censure.¹

June 4 '93 Jacob Eliot, Margaret Pond and Margaret Cox reconciled to the church.

We have no means of learning what had taken place which made it necessary for Deacon Jacob Eliot to become reconciled to the church, but are glad that the occasion of strife, whatever it was, was now taken out of the way, for he lived less than three months from this time. He came home sick from Muddy River (Brookline) on Saturday, the 12th of August, died early in the morning of the following Wednesday, and was buried in the Granary Burying-ground on Thursday. Judge Sewall refers to his death in a very beautiful and touching manner :—

'Tis a sudden and very sore Blow to the South Church, a Loss hardly repaired. On the Sabbath, Mr. Willard being in before me, I did not

¹ [Elizabeth, widow of John Woodmansey, married, secondly, George Monk ; he kept a tavern, and occupied at one time the mansion house of Major Walley, in what is now Milk Street. Sewall says: May 8, 1688: "Discourse with Mrs. Woodmancy as to her pretended Marriage, which Mr. Willard, Eliot, Frary and Self find to be nothing at all." She claimed that there had

been a private marriage on the 2d of June of the year before. Sewall further says (February 5, 1692-3) that she was restored, "having made a satisfactory confession." Her name nowhere appears on the church register, and but for her having been under discipline the fact of her membership would not now be known. The same is true of three or four others.]

mind D[eacon] Eliot's absence, and wondered I heard not his voice beginning the Psalm, and Capt. Frary waited when I should begin it. We shall hardly get another such a sweet Singer as we have lost. He was one of the most Serviceable Men in Boston, condescending to his friends. One of the best and most respectfull Friends I had in the world. Lord awaken us. Scarce a Man was so universally known as He. Dyed in the 61. year of 's Age. Was one of the first that was born in Boston.

Sabbath August 20. Mr. Willard propounds a Church Meeting on Friday next 3 P. M. that may elect a Deacon or two, Capt. Frary not being able to officiat at the Lord's Table, which we are invited to this day sennight. (Sewall.)

Judge Sewall spent the week following in the Narragansett country, so that we do not know what took place at the meeting on the 25th of August, further than that no choice was then made. The church records give us the action reached two or three months later : —

October 15. 93. Mr. Samuel Checkly and Mr. Nath. Williams were elected for Deacons.

November 24. 93. Upon the refusal of Mr. Samuel Checkly, Mr. James Hill was elected for a Deacon.¹

December 7. 93. The church voted to give 200£ out of their treasury to the children of Samuel Willard.²

The last entry stands without explanation, but we have before us a subscription-paper, bearing the same date, from which it appears that in addition to the appropriation of £200 from the treasury of the church, personal contributions were made by the members, amounting to £336, the whole being in recognition of Mr. Willard's faithful labors in the pastorate.

¹ [Mr. Checkley was chosen again and accepted the office, probably after the death of Deacon Frary, as the church records refer to him as one of the deacons October 17, 1703. Judge Sewall, in his *Diary*, mentions him as a deacon under the following dates: August 21, 1710, July 5, 1714, and December 6, 1724. The *News-Letter*, in announcing his death, which took place December 27, 1738, speaks of him as a deacon in the South Church, and gives the date of his election as in the text, October 15, 1693.]

² [Mr. Willard had a large number of children, — six by his first wife, and fourteen during his ministry in the South Church. When this testimonial was

raised, his eldest daughter, Abigail, was to be married soon, and his son Josiah was to enter college the following year. He graduated in 1698. Another son, Richard, was admitted to Harvard College June 29, 1697, and on the same day went to the river to bathe, and was drowned. A few days later, Mr. Willard preached a sermon at a meeting at the house of Mr. Francis Burroughs, from the text, "But the wise took oil in their vessels with their lamps;" and the lesson he drew from it was, that they who would always be in readiness for Christ's uncertain coming must see that they have grace in their hearts, and that they always keep it in exercise.]

BOSTON, Dec^r 7th 1693

Wee the Subscribers haveing had Large Experience of the Faithfull and Painfull Labours of the Reverend Mr. Samuel Willard in the work of the Ministry among Us, and being sensible of the Obligation we lye under both to God and him, for so great a blessing, and being desirous to express our Acknowledgment thereof in makeing some further provision for the Support of his Familie and numerous Issue, Doe herefore freely contribute and give the several summes of Money hereunder mentioned against our Respective Names to be paid to and intrusted in the hands of One or more of the Contributors, as shall be agreed by the Major part of the Subscribers, to be accounted according to the several summs given by them to be Improved, Employ'd and distributed to and for the uses herein mentioned and no other, That is to say: the Value of [] in money or plate, to be forthwith presented to Mrs. Eunice Willard Wife of the said Mr. Samuel Willard, in testimony of Our respects to her, to be her own forever. And all the remainder of the said Money to be bestowed shared and divided to and among All the Children of the said Mr. Willard, part and part alike, at such time and times respectively, as any of them shall be marryed, or otherwise disposed of, for settlement to be at their own finding; with a proportionable part of the Improvement and Increase made of said money unto that time. But all the profits and Increase of so much as is the proportion of the Children by Mrs. Eunice Willard from and after the death of the said Mr. Willard to be Employed and disposed of from time to time for and towards the maintainance and education of such his children as shall be then under age and a charge to his Estate. Except after the Death of said Mr. Samuel Willard, by the sovereign disposing of God Mrs. Willard and her Children should be brought to such straits as to need part, or all of the principal belonging to them for their maintenance and education, then it shall be free for the persons now chosen by the Church, to relieve them out of the principal also as to them shall be Judged most convenient.¹

¹ [The signatures are as follows: —

Samuel Sewall, £20. Peter Sergeant, 20. Edward Bromfield, 12. John Eyre, 12. Simeon Stoddard, 20. Francis Burroughs, 15. Nath. Oliver, 12. Andrew Belcher, 10. John Borland, 10. Wm. Clarke, 7. Thos. Cooper, 6. Saml. Checkley, 10. John Campbell, 6. Theop. Frary, 5. Danl. Allen, 6. Thos. Clarke, 6. John Boulton, 8. John Joyliffe, 5. Danl. Miner, 5. Nathl. Williams, 6. Jno. Pool, 6. Benj. Alford, 5. Thos. B——, 6. Benj. Walker, 9. Jno. Conney, 5. Saml. Phillips, 3. Jacob Maleyn 3. Robt. Gibbs, 3. Jas. Pemberton, 2.10/. Jo-

seph Belknap, 2.10/. Benj. Pemberton, 3. Saml. Wentworth, 3. Benj. Gallop, 3. Duncan Campbell, 3. Elizur Holyoke, 2. John Wing, (not paid, 3.) Joseph Briscoe, 3. Jno. Bennet, 3. Mary Ardell, 6. Eliezer Moody, 6. James Smith, 4. David Jeffries, 7. John Maxwell, 5. Thomas Savage, 6. Thos. Prince, 2.10/. Geo. Ellistone, 2. Simon Daniel, 3. James Barton, 3. Robt. Gutterage, 3. Jos. Downeing, 2. Jos. Rogers, 1.10/. Jos. Elliott, 2. Geo. Kallender, 3. Gustavus Hamilton, 6. By an unknown hand 8. In all, £336. Church Stock, £200. Total, £536.]

Sabbath, March 17. Is a very sore Storm of Snow. When Afternoon Exercise is over, Mr. Willard stays the Church and Major Walley, Capt. Williams and Checkly are chose to accompany our Pastor to Salem-Village on the 3d of April next ; that Church calling a Council, to see if can put an end to their contentions. (Sewall.)

The council at Salem Village deserves more than a passing reference. The prosecution and execution of the unhappy persons in that place charged with witchcraft had been relentlessly pressed by the minister, the Rev. Samuel Parris, and when the reaction came the relatives and friends of those who had suffered through him were determined that he should leave the church. The men of influence were generally on his side, so that he was able for a time to withstand the opposition against him ; but as the light came to be thrown upon his course of action, and as a result of the high-handed and overbearing way in which he undertook to deal with those who were calling him to account, the tide began to turn and to set strongly against him. He resisted the demand for a mutual council as long as he could, and when obliged to yield this point he insisted that certain churches of whose influence he was afraid, particularly the First and Third of Boston, and the church in Ipswich, should not be embraced in the call. As he and the dissatisfied brethren could not agree upon the churches to be invited, he and his church decided to call an *ex parte* council, and it is this to which reference is made in Judge Sewall's diary as above quoted. But his plan of finding refuge in an *ex parte* council was, as Mr. Upham says, utterly frustrated. He himself records that the "reverend elders in the Bay accounted it advisable" that the First and Third Churches in Boston should be added to the council. "They wrote to him to that effect, and he had to comply. This brought James Allen and Samuel Willard into the council, and determined the character of the Result, which, coming from a tribunal called by him to adjudicate the case, and hearing only such evidence as he laid before it, so far as it bore against him, was decisive and fatal."

The council met at Salem Village on the 3d of April ; the ministers present, besides Mr. Allen and Mr. Willard, were the Rev. Increase Mather and the Rev. Cotton Mather, of the North Church, Boston, the Rev. Samuel Phillips, and the Rev. Edward Payson, of Rowley, and the Rev. Samuel Torrey, of Weymouth. Dr. Increase Mather was moderator. In the Result Mr. Parris was effusively praised, as is sometimes the case even in these

days when an unsuccessful or unpopular minister is to be bowed out of his parish. The first and last paragraphs of the paper, however, in which the council gave its opinion, with all their circumlocution, and with all the qualifications of the intervening sentences, left no doubt in the minds of the parties interested as to what the judgment of the representatives of the churches really was. They were in these words :—

I, We judge that, albeit in the late and the dark time of the confusions, wherein Satan had obtained a more than ordinary liberty to be sifting of this plantation, there were sundry unwarrantable and uncomfortable steps taken by Mr. Samuel Parris, the pastor of the church in Salem Village, then under the hurrying distractions of amazing afflictions ; yet the said Mr. Parris, by the good hand of God brought unto a better sense of things, hath so fully expressed it, that a Christian charity may and should receive satisfaction therewith.

VI. If the distempers in Salem Village should be (which God forbid !) so incurable, that Mr. Parris, after all, find that he cannot, with any comfort and service, continue in his present station, his removal from thence will not expose him unto any hard character with us, nor, we hope, with the rest of the people of God among whom we live.¹

Mr. Parris did not vacate his pulpit without a further struggle, but there were some resolute men in his parish to whom at length he had to yield. Of one of them Mr. Upham says : “His dauntless son did not follow the wolf through the deep and dark recesses of his den with a more determined resolution than that with which Joseph Putnam pursued Samuel Parris through the windings of the law, until he ferreted him out, and rid the village of him forever.” In the summer of 1697, the inferior Court of Common Pleas, before which Mr. Parris carried the case, ordered that the matter in controversy between him and the inhabitants of Salem Village should be referred to arbitrators for decision. The arbitrators were Wait Winthrop, Elisha Cooke, and Samuel Sewall, and they decided that a certain sum for arrearages of salary and for his right and interest in the ministerial house and land should be paid to Mr. Parris, and that he should be forthwith dismissed. The parish raised the required sum with great alacrity, we are told, and he soon after left the place.²

¹ [This Result is printed in full, with the signatures of the council, including those of Mr. Willard and Messrs. Checkley, Walley, and Williams, of the Third

Church, in Upham's *Salem Witchcraft*, vol. ii. pp. 551-553.]

² The Rev. Deodat Lawson preached for a time at Salem Village, and a ser-

We have the following entries upon the church records, and then they are silent for nearly four years :—

At a church meeting March 20. 1693-4,

Voted that Captain Sewal and Mr. Theophilus Frary, be empowered to agree with the relations, or executors of Mr. Jno. Sanforth,¹ about a certain house and land, bequeathed by said Sanforth to the South church ; and to give or make to him or them a sufficient conveyance of any title which this Church hath of claim to said house and land by vertue of such will.

SAML WILLARD.

At a church meeting June 10. 1694,

Voted that the one half of the long seats in the meeting house at the west end, before the pews of Mr. Bromfield and Mr. Savage, be altered for the making of two pews. and accordingly disposed of by the overseers of the seats.

SAML WILLARD.

Reports of incursions by the hostile Indians reached the town from time to time. On the 27th of July, 1694, Groton was again attacked, twenty-one persons were killed, and thirteen were carried into captivity. On the 23d of August the Third Church kept "a solemn day of humiliation," and Mr. Willard preached a sermon, which was printed ; his subject was "Reformation the great Duty of an afflicted People, setting forth the Sin and Danger there is in Neglecting of it, under the continued and repeated Judgments of God." Judge Sewall and Major Penn Townsend had gone to Albany on public business.

mon of his (March 24. 1692) entitled Christ's Fidelity the only Shield against Satan's Malignity, was printed. He afterward settled at Scituate, as the third minister of the Second Church there. He became a member of the Third Church, Boston, in 1680, and continued in the membership until he moved to Scituate. Savage says that if he had joined the Second instead of the Third Church when he came to Boston, there would be more about him in the *Magnalia*.

¹ [John Sanford, schoolmaster, was undoubtedly a member of the church, although his name does not appear on the register. He died February 10, 1676-7, and provided in his will that at the death of his wife his house, with the land on which it stood, should go to the South Church.

February 15, 1677. "In the thorsday even Mr. Smith of Hingham speaks to me to solicit that his son, and my former Bedfellow, Henry Smith, might obtain Mr. Sanfords House and authority therein to teach School." "Friday morn Feb. 16. I go to Mrs. Sanford and (by her hint) to Mr. Frary, one of the overseers, who gave me some encouragement, and said that within a day or two, I should have an Answer. Wrote a letter to Mr. Smith that Frary had given an encouraging answer, and that I thought no Delay was to be made least the Scholars should be lodged elsewhere. Feb. 18. The seats full of Scholars brought in by a Stranger who took Mr. Sanfords place: this I knew not of before." (Sewall.) Mrs. Sanford and Timothy Wheeler were the executors.]

On the 8th of September, 1696, Mr. Benjamin Wadsworth was ordained and installed as colleague pastor of the First Church. He was the third with whom Mr. Allen was associated in his long pastorate, and there was to be a fourth, the Rev. Thomas Bridge. Mr. Allen had two assistants also, Mr. Moody and Mr. Bailey. Mr. Wadsworth "was inducted by the neighbouring ministers, with a formality hitherto unpractised in the land." The churches invited were the North and South of Boston, and those in Charlestown, Dorchester, and Roxbury.

Sept 8. Mr. Benjⁿ Wadsworth is ordain'd pastor of the First Church. Mr. Allin gave the charge, Mr. I. Mather gave the Right Hand of Fellowship: Spake notably of some young men who had apostatized from New England principles, contrary to the Light of their education: was glad that he [Mr. Wadsworth] was of another spirit. Mr. Willard was one who joined in laying on of hands. (Sewall.)

A few days later, religious services were held by the authorities in the town-house, with special reference to an expedition which had just been sent to the New Hampshire coast against the French. Mr. Willard preached the sermon, and what he said in reference to the witchcraft trials doubtless led to the order for the public fast in the following January, to which we have already referred.

September 16. Keep a day of Prayer in the East end of the Town-House, Governor, Council and Assembly. Mr. Morton begun with Prayer, Mr. Allin pray'd, Mr. Willard preached — If God be with us who can be against us? — Spake smartly at last about the Salem Witchcrafts, and that no order had been suffer'd to come forth by Authority to ask Gods pardon. Mr. Torrey pray'd, Mr. Moody; both excellently: All pray'd hard for the persons gon forth in the expedition.

October 3. Mr. Joseph Baxter lodges here, being to preach for Mr. Willard on the Sabbath: Deacon Frary came to me on Friday; told me Mr. Willard put him upon getting help on the fifth day at even, because disappointed of Mr. [John] Sparhawk. He sent that even to Braintree; but for fear of failing rode thither himself on Sixth-day morn and secured Him: After the meeting at Brother Wheelers, came and told me of it, and earnestly proposed to me that He might lodge at my house; which I thought I could not avoid except I would shut my doors against one of Christ's servants; which I also inclin'd to, only was afraid lest som should take offence. And my Library was convenient for Him.¹ (Sewall.)

¹ [Joseph Baxter, Harvard College, was ordained there as soon as he came 1693, was called to Medfield in 1695, and of age, in 1697.]

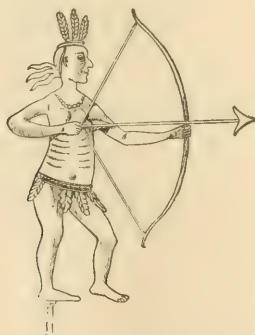
The South Church was invited at this time to the formation of a church at Lexington, then called Cambridge North-Farms. The pastor-designate, the Rev. Benjamin Estabrook, was Mr. Willard's son-in-law.

October 21. A church is gathered at Cambridge North-farms : No Relations made, but a Covenant sign'd and voted by ten brethren dismiss'd from the churches of Cambridge, Watertown, Woburn, Concord for this work. Being declar'd to be a church, they chose Mr. Benj. Estabrooks their Pastor, who had made a good Sermon from Jer. 3. 15. Mr. Estabrooks, the father, managed this, having pray'd excellently : Mr. Willard gave the charge ; Mr. Fox the Right Hand of Fellowship. Sung part of the 4 Ps. From the 9th verse to the end, O God, our Thoughts. Mr. Stone and Fisk thanked me for my Assistance. Cambridge was sent to though had no Teaching officer ; they sent Elder Clark, Hasting Remington.

Nov. 25. Mr. Wm. Brattle was Ordained at Cambridge. He and Mr. Mather, the President, preached. Twas first order'd that Mr. Brattle should not preach, but many being troubled at it, twas afterward altered. Mr. Brattle also procured the Church to order that Elder Clark [the ruling elder] should not lay his hand on's head when he was ordain'd ; and he refrain'd accordingly. So that Deacon Gill coming home, said he liked all very well except the Bill of Exclusion.¹ (Sewall.)

¹ [Mr. Brattle owned the covenant at the Third Church in 1680, the year of his graduation, became a communicant in 1684, and took dismission to Cambridge.

A new meeting-house was built in 1706, and Mr. Brattle's first sermon in it (October 13) was from the text : "Holiness becometh thy house, O Lord, forever."]



CHAPTER VI.

1696-1707.

A PROGRESSIVE MOVEMENT.—THE PRESIDENCY OF HARVARD COLLEGE.

MR. WILLARD had been minister of the church twenty years; the duties of the pastorate were various and exacting, and the time seemed to have come for the settlement of a colleague. The matter had been under consideration several months, and Mr. Willard had proposed the name of a young man, a recent graduate of Harvard College and a son of James Pemberton, one of the founders of the church. Some of the congregation would have liked to give a call to the Rev. John Bailey, who, having resigned his charge at Watertown, was preaching with Mr. Allen and Mr. Wadsworth at the First Church. He had preached as an assistant to Mr. Willard a few years before, and was much beloved by the people. It was well, however, that the choice of the South Church did not fall upon him at this time, for he died on the 12th of December, 1697. He breathed his last on a Sunday afternoon on which he was to have occupied Mr. Willard's pulpit. He had begun a sermon from the text, Ps. xxxi. 5: "Into thy hand I commit my spirit," but did not live to complete it. Cotton Mather took the words for the subject of his funeral discourse, preached a few days later to a "great assembly, though a very cold day."

The Rev. Simon Bradstreet had also been thought of as a colleague for Mr. Willard. He was a grandson of the governor of the same name, and a graduate of Harvard College in the class of 1693. He was called to Charlestown, as the successor of Mr. Morton, and was ordained there October 26, 1698.¹

¹ "He was a man of great learning, strong mind, and lively imagination; but in the latter part of his life became so hypochondriacal that he was afraid to preach in the pulpit, from an impression that he should die there. In consequence of this he delivered his sermons in the deacons' seat; they were generally

extempore, and pervaded with the melancholy which attached so morbidly to his own mind. His style of preaching was rather practical than doctrinal—for the most part upon the state of man and the vanity of the world; and this, together with his fondness for Tillotson's sermons, exposed him to the charge of Arminian-

Mr. Willard's mind seems to have been set upon Mr. Pemberton, and he was unable, perhaps, to do justice to the qualifications of any one else. As it was a colleague and not a successor who was to be settled, he was entitled to consideration in the matter, and some earnestness on his part may well be excused. Judge Sewall's diary gives us the private history of what was said and done at this juncture :¹

February 5. 1696-7 This evening Mr. Willard, [Edward] Bromfield, [John] Eyre, [Peter] Sergeant, [Theophilus] Frary, [James] Hill, [Nathaniel] Williams, [Nathaniel] Oliver, [Samuel] Checkly, [Benjamin] Davis, [John] Wally, [Simeon] Stoddard, met at my house. Mr. Willard pray'd. Then discoursed what was best to be done relating to the desires of some for a meeting ; whether twere best to call one, or no. Mr. Willard shewed his resentments of the disorderly carriage in striving to bring in Mr. Bradstreet, after only thrice preaching, and that in that way, he should not be settled with us till he Mr. W. was in his Grave. That he had a Negative, and was not only a Moderator. Shew'd his dislike of the Person and his Preaching, inferiour to the ministerial Gifts of others. Before the Meeting broke up, I said his Preaching was very agreeable to me, I thought not of him, had no hand in bringing him to preach, had prejudices against him, was ready to start at first when any spake of fixing on him ; yet as often as he preached, he came nearer and nearer to me. Spake this chiefly because all that Mr. Willard had said of Mr. Bradstreet, had been exceedingly undervaluing : and because Mr. Willard said no body had been with him to speak to him about Mr. Bradstreet but Mr. Stoddard. Mr. Oliver said if Mr. Willard were so averse, had rather let it rest. Sometimes said were now ready for a new Meeting-house. Some, Let us call Mr. Bailey. At last agreed to mention the matter to the church after the Afternoon Exercise.

Sunday February 7. Mr. Willard recapitulats how long he had been our Pastor ; near 20. years ; and near 18. years alone, had to his

ism. He seldom, if ever, appeared with a coat, but always wore a plaid gown, and was commonly seen with a pipe in his mouth. But it was principally for his classical attainments that Mr. Bradstreet was distinguished ; and in illustration of this, an anecdote is told of him, that when introduced to Governor Burnet, who was himself a fine scholar, it was said of him by Lieutenant-Governor Tailer, who introduced him, ' Here is a man who can whistle Greek.' — Budington's *History of the First Church, Charleston*, pp. 113, 114.

Mr. Bradstreet died December 31, 1741, aged 72.

¹ Writing to Governor Partridge, at Portsmouth, January 7, 1696-7, Sewall said : —

"Tis God who has sent you to the Province of Newhampshire, and there He has given you a Day : how long or how short, He only knows : Our concern is to work the works of Him that sent us while the day lasts. Mr. Willard has on many Lords Days been exhorting his Congregation from those words Jno 9. 4., which brought them now to my mind."

measure served God faithfully, was desirous of Help, lay not in him, yet had none; if what he propounded more than a year ago had been attended, might have made for the glory of God. Ask'd if now were ready to pitch on any; if were, then must have a Fast. None speaks; at last Capt. Ephr. Savage desired might meet in som dwelling house, many were there present which were not of us. Mr. Willard assented, and on Mr. Sergeant's motion, appointed to meet at his house 15. Inst. at 2. p m. When at our house, some said Charlestown being before us, to call a Fast after they had call'd Mr. Bradstreet would be evil spoken of: the person of their desires being gon. Some said that Fasting now at Charlestown and here was but a Trick; not just so: but tending that way. Mr. Willard said Charlestown would be before us, do what we could; and if they call'd him 'twas not fit for us to meddle till he had given his Answer: som look'd at this as Artifice in the Ministers to prevent the South Church. For when Mr. Willard propounded Mr. Pemberton by name, 1695, No Fast preceded. If Mr. Willard had not so propounded, believe the thing had been issued at that time: but many look'd on it as an Imposition and tending to infringe their Liberty of choice. I had been with Mr. Willard the day before, and told him some scruples that I was not just ready to act till had enquired further.

February 9. I visit Mr. Willard: spake with him after he began, about our conference last sixth day, told him the reason of my speaking as I did; because had heard he should say, I forc'd the Church Meeting: whereas I intended not so; but as we had engaged silence, I told him my heart; as I said I always did when he confer'd with me and enquired of me in such cases. He said was sorry he propounded Mr. Pemberton as he did. Seem'd to resent my saying; That the Negative was a high point, and better not to talk of it then (which at the conference) term'd it a check, I think parted good friends. Much vilified Mr. Bradstreet; hardly allowed him any thing but a Memory, and the Greek Tongue, with a Little poesy. I said what shall Charlestown doe? Answer was, Let them do as they please. (Sewall.)

Here the journal fails us for a time, and we know of no further action until a year and a half later.¹

Sixth-day, October 14. 1698. Church Meeting at the South church. Put in votes for election of a minister Mr. Ebenezer Pemberton had Thirty seven votes, and Mr. Jabez Fitch, Twenty three. I think

¹ Not to break the course of the narrative, we quote here from Sewall's *Diary* as follows:—

Sept. 17. 1697. "I view Mr. Baxters House and the Orchard Capt Frary hath given to the Ministry, which lies

very convenient; A living Brook running by it; and throw Mr. Baxters."

This was in Medfield, and had been the homestead of Capt. Frary's father. Mr. Baxter had been ordained five months before. — *Hist. of Medfield*, pp. 105-108.

Mr. Oliver and Davis did not vote. In the Nomination September, 30, Mr. Fitch had Thirty six, and Mr. Pemberton Twenty one. (Sewall.)

During the fortnight which succeeded the nomination, a good deal of work had been done among the brethren, as we judge, in the interest of Mr. Pemberton. Mr. Fitch, who had won the hearts of so many, was son of the Rev. James Fitch, of Norwich, Connecticut, a graduate at Cambridge in the class of 1694, and on the resignation of Mr. Hubbard, at Ipswich, he accepted an invitation to settle there.¹ Mr. Pemberton received at length a hearty call from the Third Church, but not until another year and more had passed.² There was no imperative need for immediate action, and it was better to wait than to force an issue while the church was so divided in its preferences.

A party of progress was at this time coming into prominence in the churches of Eastern Massachusetts, of which we shall speak presently. It is worthy of notice that the three young men who had been especially thought of in connection with the colleagueship at the Third Church, Mr. Pemberton, Mr. Bradstreet, and Mr. Fitch, were all identified with it.

We have already had evidence that the church maintained the purity of its membership and the orderly administration of its affairs by the exercise of a vigorous discipline, and by the enforcement of the ecclesiastical penalties authorized by the Cambridge Platform. The first record which details the various steps taken in dealing with a refractory member relates to Roger Judd,³ who had withdrawn in an irregular way from the

¹ He was ordained at Ipswich, as colleague with the Rev. John Rogers, October 24, 1703, but as he did not receive a sufficient support, he moved to Portsmouth, N. H., and was installed there in 1724. He died November 22, 1746, in his seventy-fifth year. Felt says of him: "His mind was strong and richly stored with learning. His heart was swayed by benevolent affections, and eminently sanctified by the Spirit of grace. His life was long, not only as to years, but also as to usefulness."

² The church in Charlestown had been very desirous to settle Mr. Pemberton as colleague pastor with Mr. Morton. It gave him a call in November, 1694, but he was then very young, only twenty-two, and he preferred to remain in residence

at Cambridge. In a record left by Mr. Morton, it is said: "On this day, Feb. 11. 1697, we had a public fast; Mr. Willard and myself preaching and other ministers assisting in prayer." At this service, a committee representing both the church and the inhabitants was chosen, and Mr. Pemberton would probably have received a second call, if it had not been understood that he would decline it, if given. "Major part of the Boston ministers advised to the choice of Mr. Pemberton;" but Mr. Willard, no doubt, was still hoping to bring him to the South Church. Mr. Bradstreet was ordained as the eighth minister of the Charlestown church, October 26, 1698.

³ Roger Judd seems to have been employed in some dependent position by

communion of the church, had treated it and its minister with marked disrespect, and had connected himself with the congregation worshipping in King's Chapel. Judge Sewall says in his journal, June 8, 1688: "in the Even, Capt. Hill and I discourse with Roger Judd and Mrs. Willey." King's Chapel was completed at or near that time, and if the conversation, as we suppose, had reference to the irregularity for which Judd came under discipline more than ten years afterward, the church was certainly very patient in dealing with him. Of Mrs. Willey we know nothing; her name does not appear on the register of the church, and there is no other reference to her in the journal. Mr. Willard's statement of Roger Judd's case is as follows:—

At a meeting of the Church Jan. 22 1698[–9]

Roger Jud was called for, and not appearing, his case was represented, as followeth.

On Octob^r 15 1698. Having bin informed that our Brother Roger Jud was resolved to desert this Church, on some disgust taken, I requested Deacon Frary and Deacon Williams, to signify to him, how disorderly it would be for him so to do: and, the sacrament being to be administred the next day, and some brethren having bin dissatisfied at somthing of his carriage at a meeting of the Church, sometime before, I desired them to tell him from me, that there was no scandall alledged against him, so as that the Church would renounce communion with him; to which, they report that he answered, that if the Church did not renounce Communion with him, he renounced it with them, and would come at them no more; or words to that purpose. He accordingly withdrew from the Communion, and ceased from assembling with us in the publick worship of God for a considerable time: and I had reports that hee pretended Reasons that carried matter of Scandall in them. I thereupon thought it a duty to enquire into it, and accordingly desired that he might be warned to meet me at Capt. Sewals on Decr 13. Capt. Sewal was desired to notify it to him, and reports that he refused it, but said that he would tarry at home till the time appointed, that if I had anything to say to him, I might come to his house and have opportunity: but as to my authority to enquire as an officer, he acknowledged it not nor would comply with it. I went at the time appointed, and Deacon Frary met us there, whom I desired to call him, and to acquaint that if I had any personall offense against him, it was my duty to come to him, but I had none, but it was a publick scandall, in which the Church was concerned, and it belonged to mine office, that I should enquire into it, for which reason I called for him. The Answer returned by Mr.

Judge Sewall, who frequently mentions 1690, and became the sexton of King's his name. He was made a freeman in Chapel in 1701.

Frary's report was, that his house was his castle ; if I had anything to say, I might come ; but it must be alone ; and if I brought any with me, he would not speak to me, but as for coming to me, as an officer, he should not, for he neither acknowledged me to be so to him, nor the Church of which I was, to have anything to do with him. On this I sent for Brother J. Wheeler, and desired him to go with Deacon Frary, and deliver the same message to him ; who went and returned with the same answer. Whereupon I thought it necessary to refer it to the cognizance of the Church, and accordingly desired Capt. Savage and Capt. Checkly, on Jan. 17. to warn him to appear before you this day, except he would the next day, Jan. 18. come to Captain Sewals, on a private enquiry : who were no better treated, as they say, but all was refused by him.

Roger Jud, not appearing to make any reply to these allegations, and the brethren mentioned giving their Testimony to the severall Allegations forementioned ; I gave my sense of the case in the following words.

The matter of Offense, is not his going off from this Church ; for wee acknowledge there is a lawfulness to do so, provided it bee orderly ; but the manner of it. I know none of any persuasion, but who reckon that there is a Discipline appointed by Christ in his Churches : and a person who is orderly become a member of one Church, is lyable to be proceeded with in way of Discipline in that Church till he orderly removes his immediate relation to another. I know no Church that will admit a member of another Church which they hold Communion withall, who renounceth Communion with the Church he was of, and asks it of those, till they have enquired into the matter. I never did determine the nature of the offense which this Brother was called to Answer for, but only intended to enquire into it, that the Scandall might be removed, according to the order of the Gospel. I determine that whether the Scandall foregoing were just, or only taken, yet the man that by Contumacy utterly refuseth to comply with the Gospel orders, and instead of that renounceth all the authority to which he before submitted himself solemnly, of his own accord and desire, is under the qualification Matt 18. that hee will not hear the Church, and accordingly to bee looked on as an Heathen and publican, and when patience and lenity hath bin used with him ; if he persists and grows more resolute in it, he deserves to be put from the Communion of such a Church : and if no act pass of this nature, hee may at pleasure come and communicate at the Lords Table with us, which cannot but be an offense to all that rightly understand the case.

The summe of the offense is, that having declared his renouncing Communion with this Church and accordingly deserted it, he refused to give an account of it, when orderly Called to it, and declared that

he neither owned himself subject to the minister nor the Church, which amounts to contumacy.

It was hereupon voted and consented to, that for this offense, our Brother Roger Jud be put from the Communion of this Church, and made incapable of fellowship in all the Ordinances of the Gospel with them, till God shall give him repentance

Which sentence was accordingly declared, by me,

SAML WILLARD Teacher.

This admirable statement might well be commended to those in our own day, who, having changed their principles or their preferences, turn their back upon covenant obligations solemnly undertaken in past years, and join themselves to a new denomination before they have received regular dismissal from the old one. Judd's excuse to Judge Sewall was that he had come into the church (in 1684) by the importunity of Deacon Eliot and others, and that now "twas his conscience to go to the Church of England." If his conscience had been as quick in the recognition of the rights of his Christian brethren as in the apprehension and assertion of his own, he would have conformed to the rules to which he had subjected himself, and the transfer of his membership to another denomination could have been accomplished without friction and without reproach.

Sabbath-day Jan'y 22, Brother Roger Judd is cast out of the Church for his contumacy in refusing to hear the Church, and his contemptuous behaviour against the same, and Mr. Willard the Pastor. Refus'd to be there. (Sewall.)

Three other instances of discipline are recorded immediately after the statement of Roger Judd's case:—

At a church meeting June 12 1698, Rebekah B. was admonished and suspended for an habitual excess in drinking.

At a church meeting Jan. 21. 1699

Deliverance Pollard, now Wright, was restored.

At a church meeting Febr. 16. 1700

Sara W. was admonished and suspended for fornication.

A blank page intervenes in the record book, and then the following entries appear:—

At a Church meeting, Jan 24 1699.

Then was the Honoured John Walley esquire, and Capt. Saml Checkly, chosen to joyn in the Oversight of the Seats in the meeting house, with the Honoured Wait Still Winthrop, Samuel Sewall and Peter Sergeant esq'srs.

At a Church meeting, Febr. 13 1699.

Then it was proposed :

That there be liberty to make three pews in the room of the two long seats, and to take in part of the Alley.

That there be liberty to make pews at the end mens and womens seats, taking away only one of the seats, with some small addition from the Alleys. The womens seats not to be medled with, unless those that are now seated be satisfactorily provided for.

Voted, that it be left to the discretion of the Overseers of the Seats to act as they judge convenient in regard of the forecited proposalls.

On the first Monday in June, 1699, Mr. Willard preached the sermon before the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company, and John Walley was for the second time chosen captain.¹ Lord Bellomont dined with the company at George Monk's, and afterward delivered the commissions. He had recently arrived in Boston, having spent a year in New York, which, with Massachusetts and New Hampshire, constituted his government.

We have said that a party of progress was coming into prominence at this time in eastern Massachusetts. It consisted for the most part of the younger men, both ministers and laymen ; and its purpose was to secure certain changes, not in doctrinal statement, but in the administration of church affairs. The proposed changes, as we look back upon them, seem slight and unimportant ; they related chiefly to the method of admitting members to the church, and to the reading of the Scriptures, without comment, in the public services of the Lord's Day. The real significance of the movement, however, was an earnest desire for more liberty in the study and interpretation of the Word of God, and for a broader and richer religious life. The men who resisted it were led by the Mathers, father and son, and the personality and leadership of those able and energetic and ambitious men were, perhaps, quite as much the issue in the controversies that followed as the changes which were aimed at in the government and worship of the churches. The movement began in Harvard College, of which Dr. Increase Mather was then the president. John Leverett and Ebenezer Pemberton were tutors ; Thomas Brattle was treasurer, and his brother, the Rev. William Brattle, was minister of the Cambridge church. President Mather furnished an Epistle Dedicatory addressed " to the church in Cambridge, and to the students in

¹ John Walley had been captain in time in 1707. He was also a councillor 1679, and he was chosen for the third and judge.

the college there," for a Life of Jonathan Mitchell written by his son, and he availed himself of the opportunity to extol particularly and pointedly Mr. Mitchell's opinions with regard to the forms to be used in the admission of members to the church. He said: "To admit persons to partake of the Lord's Supper without any examination of the work of grace in the heart, would be a real apostasy and degeneracy from the churches of New England." The "examination" insisted upon was a public one, — some "practical confession, or some relation of the work of conversion."¹ He reminded his readers of the many countries and places, which, after possessing a faithful ministry, had become, through "young profane mockers, and scornful neuters, overgrown with thorns and nettles, so that the glory of the Lord had gradually departed." "Mercy forbid," said he, "that such things should be verified in Cambridge." As Mr. Mitchell had once been a tutor in the college, the president went out of his way to commend his example to "the tutors," and praying that they might have wisdom to follow it, he solemnly warned them not to "become degenerate plants, or prove themselves apostate."

¹ As an example of a written "relation," we print the following, which was presented by a granddaughter of Major Walley, when she was admitted to the Third Church in 1744. She was then twenty years of age, and she died four years later.

"I desire to be humbly thankfull, that God has favoured me beyond such Multitudes of my Fellow Creatures, by ordering my Birth in a Land, where the joyfull Sound of the Gospel is heard, where I have been early baptized and religiously educated; but I would be deeply humbled, that I have forgotten my Covenant-Obligations, that I have been so often deaf to the Calls of God in his Word and Providence, and that I have so often resisted the Strivings of his Holy Spirit. I hope God has discover'd to me my Sinfull Miserable Condition by Nature and by Practice, and Convinced me that Eternal Punishment is my just Desert; But blessed be his holy Name, that he has found out a Way for the Recovery of Lost Sinners, even by sending his Son Jesus Christ to save them. I hope God has enabled me by Faith to fly to this only Saviour and to

trust in his perfect Righteousness alone for Justification and Salvation, and I hope I am willing that Christ should teach and Rule me, as well as save me [And I hope that Looking to Jesus, I mourn for my Sins, and am willing to turn from them to God by Jesus Christ.]

"I have had Desires for some Time to come to the Lord's Table, but have been kept back by Fears of Coming unworthily; but the ill State of health in which I have lately been, I hope has been a Means of quickening me in this Matter; and Many places of Scripture have encouraged me, particularly that Passage in 14. Luk. 21. Bring in hither the poor and the Maimed and the halt and the blind. I hope it is from some Degree of Love to Christ, that I now desire to obey his dying Command, Do this in Remembrance of me; and in so doing I desire to depend on him alone both for Strength and Righteousness.

"I humbly offer myself to your Communion, asking your prayers for me, that I may bring forth much of that Fruit, whereby God may be glorified, and so adorn this my Profession.

"BETHIAH WALLEY."

"The time, manner, and language of this publication could not but have been deeply offensive to the Brattles, Leverett, and Pemberton. Under the mask of advice, it was a reproof given to them before the students of the college and the world, with an evident design, in connection with their known opinions, to load them with the reproach of degeneracy and apostasy." An address "thus personal and magisterial" naturally strengthened the purpose of the tutors to identify themselves with those "who were preparing to vindicate their right to construe the Scriptures for themselves, and no longer to subscribe to the infallibility of the authors of the Cambridge Platform."¹ Thomas Brattle, a man of large wealth, took the lead in organizing a new church in Boston, land was purchased in what was afterward called Brattle Square, and the building of a meeting-house was begun. Of this meeting-house it has been said: "It was a simple house, but its erection marked an advance in freedom of opinion, and especially in the practical expression of opinion." A call was extended to Benjamin Colman, a graduate of the college in the class of 1692, and a member of the Second Church in Boston, — the church of the Mathers, — who had been preaching for some time in England, under the authority of the London Presbytery. He accepted the call, and before embarking for home, at the suggestion of his friends here, he obtained ordination from that presbytery. "This invitation," he wrote, "was accepted by me, and the more acceptable it was, by reason of the kind and encouraging letters which accompanied it from my excellent friends, the Hon. John Leverett, the Rev. William Brattle, Ebenezer Pemberton, Simon Bradstreet, and others."²

Mr. Colman arrived in Boston on the 1st of November, 1699, and immediately began to preach in the new house of worship. On the 17th, a declaration of principles, or "manifesto," was published by those who were about to organize the new church, in reply to some severe attacks which had been made upon them.

¹ Quincy's *Hist. of Harv. Univ.*, vol. i. pp. 129, 130.

² Mr. Pemberton wrote to Mr. Colman, his contemporary for three years in college: —

"With this you will receive a kind invitation to return to your own country, which you cannot but have a great tenderness for, and your affection I trust will constrain you to comply, and hope it will not be to your disadvantage.

The gentlemen who solicit your return are mostly known to you, — men of repute and figure, from whom you may expect generous treatment; and among them I doubt not but you may be peculiarly serviceable to the Lord Jesus Christ, which is the height of your ambition. I believe your return will be pleasing to all friends of religion. I am sure it will be inexpressibly so to your unfeigned friend and servant."

They proposed no deviation in the form of worship from the existing practice, except in respect to the reading of the Scriptures from the pulpit without comment, which hitherto had not been allowed in the churches of the established order in New England. They declared that they approved of and subscribed to "the Confession of Faith put forth by the Assembly of Divines at Westminster," and that they designed only "the true and pure worship of God, according to the rules plainly appearing to them in his word." They said, further, that it was their "sincere desire and intention to hold communion with the churches here as true churches." They protested against "all suspicion and jealousy to the contrary, as most injurious" to themselves; and they added: "Although in some circumstances, we may vary from many of them, yet jointly profess to maintain such order and rules of discipline as may preserve, so far as in us lies, evangelical purity, and holiness in our communion." The two propositions which were most at variance with the practice of the time were: —

We judge it fitting and expedient that whoever would be admitted to partake with us in the Holy Sacrament be accountable to the pastor, to whom it belongs to inquire into their knowledge and spiritual state, and to require the renewal of their baptismal covenant. But we assume not to ourselves, to impose upon any a public relation of their experiences.

Finally, we cannot confine the right of choosing a minister to the communicants alone; but we think that every baptized adult person, who contributes to the maintenance, should have a vote in electing.

Judge Sewall's diary throws much light upon what now took place: —

Dec 9. Mr. Colman visits me: I expostulat with him about the 3d Article in the Manifesto, that had shew'd no more respect to N. E. Churches. I told him Christ was a Bride-Groom, and He lov'd to have his Bride commended. Philomela would have found out some words: at which he smil'd.¹ He satisfied me as to Baptisme and said the word [Adopted] was left out. I told him he was the more in danger, and had need to be more upon his Guard; lest any hard sharp words he had met with should tempt him to do what he intended not. Warn'd him of the Cross in Baptisme &c. Said he was of our mind. Because I told him meerly saying *Conform*, did not express such an Approbation of the N. E. way as I desired: Many in England conform'd to things they professedly disliked.

¹ [Philomela was the pseudonyme of a popular poet of her day, and a near Elizabeth Singer, afterward Mrs. Rowe, personal friend of Mr. Colman.]

Then follow these admirable words, which breathe the very spirit of John Robinson, in his memorable farewell address at Leyden :—

At his going away, I told him, If God should please by them to hold forth any Light that had not been seen or entertain'd before ; I should be so far from envying it, that I should rejoice in it : which he was much affected with.

While the First and Second Churches were hostile to the new church, the attitude of the Third was decidedly friendly to it. Mr. Willard's long-cherished desire that Mr. Pemberton should become his colleague shows, at the least, that he saw nothing dangerous in the new movement, and both he and his prominent members did all in their power to allay the excitement. Thomas Brattle, the father, had been one of the founders of the Third Church, and nearly all his children had become members of it. Thomas Brattle, the son, owned the covenant in the spring of 1680, when so many of the young people of the congregation made a similar profession of their religious faith, but neither his name, nor that of his brother Edward, appears on the roll of full membership. We have seen that when Benjamin Davis and Nathaniel Oliver were admitted in 1685, they objected to the relation of experience which was required of them, and the rules were so modified that they were received in the presence of the church only. They went to the new church, and Richard Draper, who joined a year later, went also. Mr. Davis and Mr. Draper were its first deacons. In later years, Judge Sewall was drawn closely to it by family ties, the Rev. William Cooper, its second minister, and Grove Hirst, one of its most influential members, being his sons-in-law.

The church was organized on the 12th of December, 1699, fourteen persons declaring "their consent and agreement to walk together in all the ordinances of our Lord Jesus Christ." No council was called to sanction its organization, or to assist in the installation of its minister, but at the meeting at which the church was formed, a vote was passed, "that Mr. Colman present the desires of the society to the ministers of the town, to keep a day with us ;" that is to say, they desired friendly recognition and the fellowship of the churches. By wise prevision, the question of ordination had already been settled according to Presbyterian usage, and to this the Mathers do not appear to have taken very positive exception. Increase Mather

and James Allen sent a reply, December 28, addressed to "Mr. Colman," saying that the desire of the church would be gratified, if it would give proper satisfaction for its disorderly proceedings.

Jan. 24 1699-1700. The Lt Govr [William Stoughton] calls me with him to Mr. Willards, where out of two papers Mr. Wm Brattle drew up a third for an Accommodation to bring on an Agreement between the New-Church and our Ministers; Mr. Colman got his Brethren to subscribe it.

Jan 25. Mr. I. Mather, Mr. C. Mather, Mr. Willard, Mr. Wadsworth and S. S. wait on the Lt. Govr at Mr. Coopers: to confer about the writing drawn up the evening before. Was some heat; but grew calmer, and after Lecture agreed to be present at the Fast which is to be observed January 31.

Jan 31. Fast at the New Church. Mr. Colman reads the Writing agreed on. Mr. Allin Prays, Mr. Colman preaches, prays, blesses. p.m. Mr. Willard prays, Mr. I Mather preaches, Mr. Cotton Mather prays. Sing the 67 psalm without reading. Mr. Brattle sets Oxford Tune. Mr. Mather gives the Blessing. His Text was, Follow peace with all men and Holiness: Doct. must follow peace so far as it consists with Holiness Heb. 12. 14.

Mr. Colman's Text was Rom. 15. 29. Mr. Fisk, Hobart, Belchar and many Ministers and Scholars there. Mr. Torrey absent by reason of sickness and the bad wether yesterday. Of the Council, Lt Govr. Mr. Russell, Mr. Cooke, Col. Hathorne, Sewall, Addington, Sergeant (Foreseat) Col. Foster, Lynde, Saffin, Eliakim Hutchinson, Walley, Townsend, Byfield. Mr. Willard pray'd God to pardon all the frailties and follies of Ministers and people; and that they might give that Respect to the other churches that was due to them though were not just of their Constitution, and Mr. Cotton Mather in's prayer to the same purpose. Mr. Willard and C. Mather pray'd excellently and pathetically for Mr. Colman and his Flock.¹ (Sewall.)

¹ [From Cotton Mather's journal we obtain an account of these occurrences from another point of view:—

"1699 7th 10th m. I see another day of temptation begun upon the town and land. A company of headstrong men in the town, the chief of whom are full of malignity to the holy ways of our churches, have built in the town another meeting house. To delude many better meaning men in their own company, and the churches in the neighbourhood, they passed a vote in the foundation of the proceedings, that they would not vary from the practice of these churches,

except in 'one little particular. But a young man born and bred here, and hence gone for England, is now returned hither at their invitation, equipped with an ordination to qualify him for all that is intended on his returning and arriving here; these fallacious people desert their vote, and, without the advice or knowledge of the ministers in the vicinity, they have published, under the title of a *manifesto*, certain articles that utterly subvert our churches, and invite an ill party, through all the country, to throw all into confusion on the first opportunities."

The time was now come for the Third Church to act harmoniously in calling a colleague pastor. The records say :—

At a Church meeting : Feb. 21 1699-1700

Whereas there have formerly bin attempts used, and severall votes past, in and by this Church, in order to the procuring of another minister to take office among us ; which have failed of their desired success through want of a comfortable unanimity in our proceedings ; we do therfore joyntly agree to lay aside all former pretensions, that we may be no longer hindred in a free Choice ; asking of God forgiveness of what hath bin displeasing to him, and his Gracious conduct, in our essays for a peacable and mercifull settlement.

Voted and agreed by the Church.

At the same time, was Mr. Ebenezer Pemberton elected, and with a free concurrence of the church, chosen to be their minister, in order to his settlement in office amon them ; and the Honoured Capt. Sewall, Major Walley, Mr. Frary, Mr. Hill, Mr. Williams and Captain Checkly were chosen and desired to present the desires of this church to Mr. Pemberton :

Attests

SAML WILLARD

Teacher.

There was some change in the committee. Mr. Williams's wife was then lying at the point of death,¹ which would account for his not going to Cambridge, and Mr. Sergeant seems to have gone in place of Mr. Walley.

Tuesday March 5 1699-1700: Mr. Sergeant, Capt. Frary, Capt. Hill, Capt Checkly and my self goe to Cambridge over the Ferry, and

"1699 5th d. 11th m. (Saturday) I see Satan beginning a terrible shake in the churches of New England, and the *innovators* that had set up a new church in Boston, (a new one indeed !) have made a day of temptation among us. The men are ignorant, arrogant, obstinate, and full of malice and slander, and they fill the land with *lies*, in the misrepresentations whereof I am a very singular sufferer. Wherefore I set apart this day for prayer in my study, to cry mightily unto God."

"1699 21st d. 11th mo. . . . I drew up a proposal, and, with another minister, carried it unto them, who at first rejected it, but afterwards so far embraced it, as to promise that they will the next week publicly recognize their covenant with God and one another, and therewithal declare their adherence to the Heads of

Agreement of the United Brethren in England ["the United Ministers formerly called Presbyterian and Congregational,"] and request the communion of our churches in that foundation.

"A wonderful joy filled the hearts of our good people far and near, that we had obtained thus much from them. Our strife seemed now at an end ; there was much relenting in some of their spirits, when they saw our condescension, our charity, our compassion. We overlooked all past offences."

¹ Mrs. Mary Williams died March 7. She was a daughter of Peter Oliver, and she first married Jonathan Shrimpton. Mr. Williams, a year or two later, married Sarah, youngest daughter of the Rev. John Wheelwright, of Salisbury, and widow of Richard Crispe ; she died March 3, 1726-7.

acquaint Mr. Pemberton with the Church's Call, and their desire of his Acceptance. He makes a very sensible Answer as to the Weight of the Work, his own inability ; hôp'd God would hear his earnest Prayer, and help him to make a right Answer. (Sewall.)

Mr. Pemberton, as we have said, was a child of the South Church. He was baptized by its first minister, Mr. Thacher, February 11, 1672, and was educated at Harvard College, graduating with Timothy Edwards and Christopher Toppan in the class of 1691. After completing the regular course of study, he continued to reside at Cambridge as a fellow of the house or tutor. He was a man of eminent talents and great acquirements, and became one of the most accomplished preachers the country had produced. He was a master of logic and an orator. The college had never had a more able tutor, nor one who took a deeper interest in the moral as well as intellectual training of its youths. His piety was of a decided character, producing habitually, as we are told, strong conviction of the reality of things invisible and eternal, and "a zeal which flamed" in his Master's cause. Probably he did not wish to leave Cambridge until the close of the college year, as he was not ordained and installed until the 28th of August. He had been a member of the church since the summer of 1692.

Wednesday Aug. 28. 1700. Mr. E. Pemberton is ordained : He preached ; then Mr. Willard Preached : Mr. Willard gave the charge : He, Mr. I. Mather, and Mr. Allen laying on Hands. Mr. I. Mather gave the Right Hand of Fellowship. Mr. Wigglesworth [of Malden] and Mr. Torrey [of Weymouth] were in the Pulpit, Mr. Hubbard of Ipswich and many Ministers below. A very great Assembly. All was so managed, as I hope does bode well, that the Blessing of God will accompany Him and us. (Sewall.)

The installation council, as we are familiar with it, was not known in New England then, nor for more than a century later. It is an abnormal outgrowth, an excrescence upon the congregational polity, and we may be sure the fathers would never have tolerated it. We can imagine the astonishment and indignation of Theophilus Frary, Samuel Sewall, Peter Sergeant, and the other brethren if Mr. Allen, Mr. Mather, and Mr. Wigglesworth had assumed to cross-examine Mr. Pemberton upon the details of his doctrinal belief, and then, with the other ministers invited to the service of recognition, had gone into private session to discuss his relations to the new movement at Cambridge and to vote upon the question whether it was expedient

that the South Church should settle him as one of its ministers. Mr. Willard thought himself entitled to the "negative," when the church came together for the purpose of choosing his colleague; but he would have opened his eyes in amazement if his brother ministers had asserted the claim that the negative belonged, not to him, but to themselves, as representing the neighboring churches. To such ecclesiastical bondage he and his people would have consented to give place by subjection, "no, not for an hour."

Lords-day, June, 16, 1700. Mr. Daniel Oliver has his son Daniel baptised.

June, 17. Mr. John Eyre makes his Will in the morning, and dies in the Afternoon, an hour or 2 before Sunset Born Febr. 19th 1653-4. I visited him on Satterday in the Afternoon: He was sitting up in his little Room, Took me by the hand at first coming in, Desired me to pray for him when took leave.

Fourth-day, June, 19. 1700. Mr. Jno Eyre is entomed in the new burying place. Nine of his children are laid there to handsel the new Tomb: Bearers, Sewall, Addington, Townsend, Byfield, Dummer, Davis: Scarvs and Rings. Lt Gov^r and many of the Council there. Mr. Thomas Brattle led his mourning widowed Sister. (Sewall.)

On the 24th of June, 1700, Samuel Sewall published his anti-slavery tract, *The Selling of Joseph*, for which, and for his public confession after the witchcraft trials, he would deserve to be held in grateful and affectionate remembrance by all the generations, if there were no record of any other noble word or act of his in church or state. He thus speaks of the circumstances which led to the production of this pamphlet: —

Having been long and much dissatisfied with the Trade of fetching Negros from Guinea; at last I had a strong Inclination to Write something about it; but it wore off. At last reading Bayne, Ephes. about servants, who mentions Blackamoors; I began to be uneasy that I had so long neglected doing any thing. When I was thus thinking, in came Brother Belknap to shew me a Petition he intended to present to the General Court for the freeing a Negro and his wife, who were unjustly held in Bondage. And there is a Motion by a Boston Committee to get a Law that all Importers of Negros shall pay 40 s p head, to discourage the bringing of them. And Mr. C. Mather resolves to publish a sheet to exhort Masters to labour their Conversion. Which makes me hope that I was call'd of God to Write this Apology for them; Let his Blessing accompany the same.

Dr. George H. Moore says of this pamphlet : —

The earliest positive public challenge to slavery in Massachusetts of which we have any knowledge was in the year 1700, when a learned, pious, and honored magistrate entered the lists alone, and sounded his solitary blast in the ears of his brother magistrates and the people, who listened in amazement and wonder, not unmingled with sorrow and contempt. His performance is all the more remarkable from the fact that it stands out in the history of the time separate and distinct as “the voice of one crying in the wilderness.”¹

Soon after Mr. Pemberton's ordination, Mr. Willard had a severe illness.

Lords Day Sept^r 29th 1700. Mr. Willard, by reason of sickness keeps house, and Mr. Pemberton preaches forenoon and Afternoon. (Sewall.)

On the 6th of October there was “a meeting of some of the South Church occasioned by Mr. Willard's sickness ;” and two days later a service with reference to it was held by the members of Brattle Street Church, who evidently bore in remembrance the generous and kindly spirit manifested by Mr. Willard and his leading members during the troubles of the preceding winter.

8^r 8th 1700. Is a Fast at the New-Meetinghouse to pray for Mr. Willard's Life. Mr. Colman, Wadsworth pray. Mr. Pemberton preaches : Philip. 1. 24. [“Nevertheless to abide in the flesh is more needful for you.”] Mr. Allen, Cotton Mather Pray. 20th Psalm two staves and $\frac{1}{2}$ sung L. Lt. Govr. Mr. Russell, Cook, Addington, Em Hutchinson, Townsend there. Mr. Fisk, Danforth, Walter, Brattle, out of Town. Pretty considerable congregation, it being so sudden, and first intended in privat. (Sewall.)

It was nearly two months before Mr. Willard was convalescent.

¹ [*Notes on the Hist. of Slavery in Mass.*, pp. 81, 82. Dr. Moore prints the pamphlet in full. It appears also in the *Sewall Papers*, vol. ii. pp. 16-20. It was printed as part of a tract against slaveholding in 1838, in Philadelphia, by Benjamin Lay. Judge Sewall wrote to the Rev. John Higginson, one of “the First Planters in New England,” April 13, 1706 : —

“It is now near Six years agoe since I printed a Sheet in defence of Liberty. The next year after, Mr. Saffin set forth a printed Answer. I forebore troubling the Province with any Reply, untill I

saw a very severe Act passing against Indians and Negros, and then I reprinted that Question, as I found it stated and answered in the Athenian Oracle ; which I knew nothing of before last Autumn was twelve moneths, when I accidentally cast my Eye upon it. Amidst the Frowns and hard Words I have met with for this Undertaking, it is no small refreshment to me, that I have the Learned, Reverend and aged Mr. Higginson for my Abetter. By the interposition of this Brest-Work, I hope to carry on and manage this Enterprise with Safety and Success.”]

Nov^r. 21. 1700. Day of publick Thanksgiving. At 3 *post meridm* Mr. Willard comes abroad and Prays to the great Refreshment of the Congregation. This the first time since his sickness. In the evening I made these verses on it, viz,

As Joseph let his brethren see
Simeon both alive, and free :
So JESUS brings forth Samuel,
To tune our hearts to praise Him well.
Thus He with beams of cheerfull light,
Corrects the darkness of our night.
His Grace assists us in this wise
To seise, and bind the Sacrifice.

(Sewall.)

During the period of Mr. Willard's illness the church lost its senior deacon, Theophilus Frary, who died October 17. He was one of the founders of 1669, and he had been a valuable member and a very useful citizen. His wife, Hannah, who had died some years before, was a daughter of the first Jacob Eliot, and a niece of the Rev. John Eliot, of Roxbury. On the 14th of November, Joseph Eliot, son of the second Jacob Eliot, died suddenly. He was at church on the preceding Sunday, and Judge Sewall met him in the street on the morning of the day he died. His name does not appear as a member, but he was one of the young people who owned the covenant in 1680, being then eighteen years of age. His wife, Silence (Baker) Eliot, became a member in 1697, and survived until 1744.¹ Samuel Checkley, as we suppose, succeeded Mr. Frary in the deaconship.²

Jan 30 1700-1701 Mr. Willard preaches from Eccles. 9. 2. — he that sweareth, and he that feareth an Oath. Spake very closely against the many ways of Swearing amiss. Great Storm. (Sewall.)

This was at the Thursday Lecture. The sermon was printed with the title, The Fear of an Oath, or Some Cautions to be used about Swearing. Mr. Willard had previously preached and printed sermons on Laying the Hand on the Bible in Swearing, and on The Danger of Taking God's Name in Vain.

Monday, June. 2-1701. Mr. Pemberton preaches the Artillery Sermon, from Luke. 3-14. Dine at Monk's. Because of the Rain and Mist, this day, the election is made upon the Town-house, Sewall. Capt. ; Tho. Hutchinson Lieut. ; Tho. Savage junr, Ensign ; Tho.

¹ Their son, Jacob Eliot, baptized just after his father's death, December 1, 1700, Harv. Coll. 1720, was ordained first minister of the Third Church Leb-

anon, Conn., Nov. 26, 1729, and died April 12, 1766.

² See p. 294. Mr. Checkley was elected first, October 15, 1693.

Fitch 1 Sergt. : Oliver Noyes 2 : Hab. Savage 3 : Charles Chauncey 4. Call'd down the Council out of the Chamber, set their chairs below ; Col. Pynchon gave the Staves and Ensign. (Sewall.)

The town house, replaced in 1712 by the building now known as the Old State House, was open and uninclosed on the ground floor, and this was used as a merchant's walk or exchange. Lord Bellomont died in New York three months before this anniversary of the artillery company, and the lieutenant-governor, William Stoughton, lay at the point of death. All the officers of the artillery company elected in 1701, except Thomas Hutchinson (father of Governor Hutchinson), as well as the preacher of the annual sermon, came from the South Church and congregation. The following members of the church had been captains of the company before Judge Sewall : Thomas Savage, William Davis, Peter Oliver, John Hull, John Walley, Theophilus Frary, Ephraim Savage, Samuel Checkley. Among those who were elected later were : Thomas Fitch, Habijah Savage, Edward Winslow, Nathaniel Cunningham, Daniel Henchman, Thomas Dawes, Josiah Waters, John Winslow.

June, 12. Mr. Willard marries Mr. Pemberton and Mrs. Mary Clark. All Mr. Willard's family there, as I am informed, and many others. Come to our Meeting the next Sabbath. (Sewall.)

For some unexplained reason, Judge Sewall and his family were not present at this wedding. Mary Clark was a daughter of Captain John Clark, who had died in Barbary, probably a prisoner, says Savage ;¹ her mother, Mary, daughter of Joshua Atwater, and granddaughter of the Rev. Adam Blakeman, had married in 1694, as her second husband, John Coney, the goldsmith, a member of the Second Church, and one of her daughters, Abigail Coney, became the wife of the second Edward Bromfield.²

In the autumn of the same year Mr. Willard was elected to the presidency, not in name but in fact, of Harvard College.³

¹ After the death of Mr. Pemberton in 1717, his widow married, first, John Campbell, founder of the *Boston News-Letter*, and secondly, Mr. Henry Lloyd, of Long Island. Judge Sewall speaks of her mother, Mrs. Clark, as "a person of great prudence and piety, and good education ;" and Cotton Mather says of her grandmother, Mrs. Atwater, afterward wife of the Rev. John Higginson, that she was a woman of eminent piety.

² Their daughter Abigail became the wife of the first William Phillips, deacon in the Old South Church from 1764 to 1793. See *Hist. and Gen. Register*, vol. xxxix. p. 111. Other daughters of John Coney married the Rev. Thomas Foxcroft and Samuel Gerrish.

³ He was probably called the president. Sewall so speaks of him at the examination of his son Joseph for admission to the college, June 28, 1703.

Dr. Increase Mather had been president since 1685, continuing his relations as senior pastor to the Second Church, Boston, but he had become so unpopular that it was determined, if possible, to compel his resignation. He was an able, zealous, and fearless man, but he was overbearing and intolerant, and an intense partisan. He had been very prominent in public affairs, and he had rendered distinguished service to the province; but as such men will do in high positions, he had made many and bitter enemies. His course in England as confidential agent of the colony, while the wisest and best under the circumstances, as subsequent events proved, was greatly misunderstood and misrepresented; it "was to him an abundant source of calumny and animosity," and ended in the loss of his political influence, and his severance from all subsequent employment. And yet, says President Quincy, "whatever opinions we may be compelled to entertain concerning his measures and motives on other occasions, his conduct in this great crisis of his country entitles him to unqualified approbation. It is scarcely possible for a public agent to be placed in circumstances more trying or critical; nor could any one have exhibited more sagacity and devotedness to the true interests of his constituents."¹

As related to the presidency, also, we have it on the same high authority that he "was well qualified for the office, and had conducted himself in it faithfully and laboriously;" but we have just seen how he sought to crush out the spirit of free inquiry at Cambridge, and to prevent the formation of another church in Boston. Nor was he content to let the new church and its young minister alone, even after they had been recognized as within the fellowship of the churches. It could not be shown that they were not following the Master in the work they were beginning to do; but, worse than that, as the partisan leader would be disposed to think, they were not following "us."²

¹ "By his wisdom and firmness in acceding to the new charter, and thus assuming a responsibility of the weightiest kind, in opposition to his colleagues in the agency, he saved his country, apparently, from a rebellion or a revolution, or from having a constitution imposed by the will of the transatlantic sovereign, possibly at the point of the bayonet."—Quincy's *Hist. of Harv. Univ.*, vol. i. p. 123.

For a very discriminating estimate

of the character of Increase Mather, as well as of his son, Cotton Mather, see the *History of the Second Church*, by the Rev. Chandler Robbins, D. D.

² "Master, we saw one casting out devils in thy name, and he followeth not us, and we forbade him, because he followeth not us."—Mark ix. 38.

The disciples had this as a plea for their exclusiveness, that in their case "us" included the Divine Master himself.

President Mather published a pamphlet on *The Order of the Gospel*, which called forth a reply soon after, *The Gospel Order Revived*, by Sundry Ministers of the Gospel in New England. This was the work of Mr. Colman, assisted by Mr. Bradstreet, of Charlestown, and, perhaps, Mr. John Woodbridge. In 1701 a rejoinder was issued anonymously, supposed to have come from the pen of Cotton Mather, with a preface to which the initials of his father were suffixed. Of this last publication Quincy says: "In the whole scope of theological and political controversy there is scarcely an example extant of more select, concentrated, and unmixed personal abuse than is exhibited in this pamphlet and its preface." And Palfrey says: "The vocabulary so long consecrated to assaults upon reformers, of 'gross immorality,' 'impudence,' 'deep apostasy,' 'open impiety,' 'profaneness,' and, finally, 'tendency to atheism,' is most liberally used." Mr. Colman was called "a little thing," "a raw and unstudied youth, but also of a very unsanctified temper and spirit." That he had once been a member of the president's own church, "in good and regular standing," did not mitigate the severity of his condemnation now. Of Thomas Brattle it was said, "A moral heathen would not have done as he has done."

The time was come, at length, for the enemies which the president had been making in his political career and in his theological controversies to deprive him of a part of the power which he had wielded as with a mailed hand. He was strong in the confidence of the church of which he had been a minister for nearly forty years, but his seat at Cambridge was less secure. He had been administering the affairs of the college, as has been said, faithfully and well, but he had continued to live in Boston. On the 2d of December, 1693, the General Court voted that "the president of Harvard College, for the time being, shall reside there, as hath been accustomed in time past." No notice being taken of this action, the House of Representatives passed a more emphatic vote to the same effect, June 5, 1695, but this also proved in vain. On the 10th of July, 1700,¹ the General Court expressed its determination that the

¹ July 10. 1700. "Waited on Mr. Mather this day, at three in the afternoon. I told him the Honor of Athanasius, *Maluit sedem quam Fidei Syllabam mutare*: Worthies of N. E. left their Houses in England, and came hither

where there were none to preserve Religion in its Purity. Put him in mind how often God had renewed his Call to this work which was to be considered. That were nineteen in the Council; and had every vote." (Sewall.)

president should live in Cambridge with so much peremptoriness that he obtained the consent of his church, and went into residence there, but from the nature of the case this arrangement could be only temporary. As his son says: "The leaders in this vote knew very well that the doctor would not remove his habitation from a loving people at Boston, to reside at Cambridge, while the college was, — as it thus was." The General Court also, at this session, gave to Increase Mather as president, to Samuel Willard as vice-president, and to the other persons named in the new charter, the general care and superintendence of the college.

In the month of October following, Dr. Mather returned to Boston, and addressed a letter to Lieutenant-Governor Stoughton, setting forth his reasons for removing from Cambridge, "as not having his health there, and desiring that another president may be thought of." This letter was laid before the General Court in February, 1701, and on the 14th of the next month a resolution was passed to the effect that "as the Constitution requires that the president reside in Cambridge, which is now altered by his removal from thence, and to the intent that a present necessary oversight be taken of the college, . . . in case of Mr. Mather's refusal, absence, sickness or death, Mr. Samuel Willard is nominated to be vice-president, and with the others before named, invested with like powers and authority in all respects." Dr. Mather does not seem to have really intended to lay down the presidency, for he informed the court, after explaining his return to Boston, that if it "thought fit to desire he should continue his care of the college as formerly, he would do so." But the court had other views, and negotiations were at once opened with Mr. Willard and with his church, looking to his accession to the vacant office, and to his removal to Cambridge. There were at least two applications to the church to this end,¹ but it does not appear that it was directly proposed by any one that Mr. Willard should give up the pastorate. Mr. Willard was willing to take the presidency, but he was not willing to remove from Boston, and — what this involved — to leave the South Church. After repeated conferences, he at length "declared his readiness to do the best service he could for the college, and that he would visit once or twice every week, and

¹ Elisha Cooke and Penn Townsend were appointed a special committee by the Council, "to attend the meeting of Mr. Willard's church, and desire their consent that he might go and reside at Cambridge, to take care of the College."

continue there a night or two, and perform the services there which had been done by former presidents." This was on the 5th of September; on the next day, after a vain attempt by the friends of Dr. Mather to retain him in office, a resolution was passed "that the Rev. Samuel Willard, nominated vice-president of the college, be desired to take the oversight of the college and the students there, according to the late establishment made by the court, and to manage the affairs thereof, as he has proposed in his answer to this court, viz. to reside there for one or two days and nights in a week and to perform prayers and expositions in the Hall, and to bring forward the exercise of analysing." His salary was fixed at fifty pounds, with ten pounds in addition "for his more than ordinary expenses in his attending the same services."¹

¹ Judge Sewall, as a member both of the Council and of Mr. Willard's church, found it difficult to maintain friendly relations with the Mathers, during these uncomfortable times; but he seems to have been able to keep his temper admirably, under a good deal of provocation. He writes:—

"Octr. 18, or thereabouts, Mr. Foster and Cooke had a hot discourse about Mr. Mather; Capt. Foster moving for a Quarter's Salary. I spake that he might have it."

"Octr. 20. Mr. Cotton Mather came to Mr. Wilkins's shop, and there talked very sharply against me as if I had used his father worse than a Neger; spake so loud that people in the street might hear him. Then went and told Sam, That one pleaded much for Negros, and he had used his father worse than a Negro, and told him that was his Father. . . . Octr. 9. I sent Mr. Increase Mather a Hanch of very good Venison; I hope in that I did not treat him as a Negro."

October 21, Sewall wrote to Cotton Mather:—

"By what I am told you should say of me yesterday at Mr. Wilkins's and my Son's [Samuel Gerrish's] Shop, I perceive you are much offended with me; which is matter of Surprise and Grief unto me; the cause whereof I would willingly remove. I have desired Major Walley, and Capt. Samuel Checkley, your and my friends, to be at Mr. Wil-

kins's tomorrow half an hour past Nine in the morning; And do desire you to meet me and them there, at that time, And bring with you one or two Christian friends, if you please; that so we may try to give an Instance of the Truth of that old Proverb; *Amantium Iræ Amoris Redintegratio est.*"

The proposed interview took place, and is thus described:—

"Octr. 22. 1701. I, with Major Walley and Capt. Saml. Checkly, speak with Mr. Cotton Mather at Mr. Wilkins's. I expostulated with him from 1 Tim. 5. 1. Rebuke not an elder. He said he had consider'd that: I told him of his book of the Law of Kindness for the Tongue, whether this were correspondent with that. Whether correspondent with Christ's Rule: He said, having spoken to me before there was no need to speak to me again; and so justified his reviling me behind my back. Charg'd the Council with Lying, Hypocrisy, Tricks, and I know not what all. I ask'd him if it were done with that Meekness as it should; answer'd, yes. Charg'd the Council in general, and then shew'd my share, which was my speech in Council; viz. If Mr. Mather should goe to Cambridge again to reside there with a Resolution not to read the Scriptures, and expound in the Hall: I fear the example of it will do more hurt than his going thither will do good. This speech I owned. Said Mr. Corwin at Reading,

It is not strange that Dr. Mather and his friends felt aggrieved at this arrangement. What had been refused to the one had in fact been conceded to the other. Mr. Willard, with the title of vice-president, was really to be president, and he was to live in Boston. The General Court had maintained a technical consistency throughout in its action, but no one could be deceived as to its real purpose. As Quincy says, after pertinaciously insisting for years upon the question of residence in the case of Mather, the court could not rescind the rule in favor of Mr. Willard; but, he adds, "Willard being as unwilling as Mather to accept the office on condition of residence, and as they could not agree on a third person, they resorted to the subterfuge of continuing Willard in the office he then held of vice-president, and vesting him with the powers and duties of president."¹ The plea in justification of the "subterfuge" was, of course, that the best interests of the college, and of the churches as related to it, required an immediate change in the presidency, and that Mr. Willard was the best man at the time for the succession. There had been too much wrangling of late, and Mr. Willard was a man of peace; he was as much

upbraided him, saying, This is the man you dedicat your books to! I ask'd him If I should suppose he had done something amiss in his Church as an Officer; whether it would be well for me to exclaim against him in the street for it. (Mr. Wilkin would fain have had him gon into the inner room, but he would not.) I told him I conceiv'd he had done much unbecoming a Minister of the Gospel, and being call'd by Maxwell to the Council, Major Wally and I went thither, leaving Capt. Checkly there. 2 Tim. 2. 24. 25. ["The servant of the Lord must not strive; but be gentle unto all," etc.] Went to the Council, Sign'd Mr. Mather's order for £25."

"Octr. 23. Mr. Increase Mather said at Mr. Wilkins's, If I am a Servant of Jesus Christ, some great Judgment will fall on Capt. Sewall, or his family."

"Octr. 25. I got Mr. Moody to copy out my Speech, and gave it to Mr. Wilkins that all might see what was the ground of Mr. Mather's anger. Writ out another and gave it to Joshua Gee. I perceive Mr. Wilkins carried his to Mr. Mathers; They seem to grow calm.

(On Friday received Mr. Fitch's Letter and Blessing.)"

On the 30th of October Cotton Mather wrote a letter, the character of which we can imagine, to Judge Sewall, who delayed answering it until the 31st of December, and then, not willing that the declining sun of the last day of the year should go down upon his wrath, if he had been cherishing anything of the kind, he sent the following pacific answer:—

"I once intended an Answer to yours of the 30th of October last, principally as to some matters of fact therein recited. But since you were pleas'd to sit with me last Tuesday was fortnight, and to honour my Pue, with publishing there the very acceptable News of Liberty again granted to our dear brethren of the Palatinat, I do now Remise, Release, and forever quitclaim, as to any personal Controversy we were lately managing at Mr. Wilkins's. It has been in my thought ever since, and the consideration of this being the last day of the year, suffers me to delay it no longer."

¹ See Quincy's *Hist. of Harvard Univ.*, vol. i. pp. 109-116, 146.

attached as any of his contemporaries to the doctrines of his faith, but he cared little for controversy about them.¹ He was recognized also as a wise and safe leader. During the witchcraft excitement, the public had seen how bravely he stemmed the tide of feeling and frenzy; and although it had been angry and indignant with him for the moment, when the reaction came, "his circumspection and boldness in that trying season were remembered and honoured, and he derived thence a weight of popularity which President Mather had lost by his conduct during the excitement. The resulting general impressions concerning the character of each were undoubtedly among the causes of that preference which the exclusion of Mather and the appointment of Willard by the legislature indicate."

There was another consideration, also, which had its influence with the General Court. Mr. Willard was a man of high family connections, and a brother-in-law of Joseph Dudley,² who, in the following year, was made governor in succession to Lord Bellomont. "The appointment of Dudley was anticipated; and the friends of the college could not deem it indifferent to its interest with the new governor, whether he should find the president's chair filled by Mather, an active leader of that political and religious party which had imprisoned him and Andros, with whom his name and character had been an unvaried theme of abuse, or by Willard, a brother-in-law, who enjoyed at once his private confidence and personal respect."

Dr. Mather and Mr. Willard had not been fully agreed on questions of administration at Cambridge. Sewall remarks in his diary, November 20, 1697: "Mr. Willard told me of a falling out between the president and him, about choosing fellows last Monday. Mr. Mather has sent him word, he will never come to his house more till he give him satisfaction." The speedy reinstatement of certain gentlemen as fellows who had been removed under the previous presidency, and the appointment of the Rev. Josiah Willard as tutor, showed that the Mather ascendancy was at an end. The new governor was in full accord with Mr. Willard; but as between him and the ex-president,

¹ Dr. Palfrey says of Mr. Willard's relations to the Cambridge movement of the time: "In matters of church doctrine and discipline, he sympathized with the Mathers; but their arrogance offended and repelled him, and in personal relations he was constantly drawn closer to the party of Leverett, Colman,

and the Brattles."—*Hist. of N. Eng.*, vol. iv. p. 317, *note*.

² Mr. Willard's second wife was Eunice, daughter of Edward Tyng. Her sister Rebecca married Joseph Dudley, and their daughter Rebecca married, September 15, 1702, the eldest son of Judge Sewall.

while there was, for a time, a show of courtesy and respect in their mutual relations, there was little confidence on either side, and at length the sharp controversies over the management of the college led to a breach which "seems never to have been closed by concession or explanation."

It is recorded of Mr. Willard's performance of his college duties that it was "punctual, laborious, and successful." The mere passing back and forth between Boston and Cambridge in those days was a serious matter. To ride or drive involved a long *détour* through Roxbury and Brookline; and the more direct way, by the ferry, was not without its perils.¹ Affairs now moved on at Cambridge not only peacefully but prosperously, while at the South Church, with Mr. Pemberton to share the duties and responsibilities of the pastorate, there was well-sustained life and growth.

The Rev. Eliphalet Adams (Harvard College, 1694) had been settled as permanent assistant at Brattle Street, and Judge Sewall desired to hear him preach, and at the same time to show his continued good will to the new church. He therefore spent a Sabbath with it, and has left us the following account:—

Sabbath, Novr. 30. I went to the Manifesto church to hear Mr. Adams; Mr. Coleman was praying when I went in, so that I thought myself disappointed. But his Prayer was short; When ended, he read distinctly the 137, and 138th Psalms, and the seventh of Joshua, concerning the conviction, sentence and execution of Achon. Then sung the second part of the Sixty ninth Psalm. Mr. Brattle set it to Windsor Tune. Then Mr. Adams pray'd very well, and more largely; And gave us a very good Sermon from Gal. 4. 18. Doct. It is just and commendable &c. Mr. Adams gave the Blessing.

In the Afternoon Mr. Adams made a short Prayer, read the 139th Psalm, and the six and twentieth chapters of the Acts: Then Agrippa

¹ The death of the Rev. John Cotton in 1652 is said to have been caused by exposure to the wet in crossing the ferry from Cambridge, after preaching to the students.

Feb. 22, 1702-3. "Mrs. Willard and several of her children had like to have been cast away coming from Cambridge by Water, wind was so very high; put ashore at last on Muddy River Marsh: Got to the Governors by that time twas dark." (Sewall.)

In 1729 Governor Burnet died in

consequence of an accident received on his way home from Cambridge. As he came towards the ferry, his carriage was overset, and he was thrown into the water. A fever followed, and he died at the end of a week. He had been in Boston only fourteen months.

Another route to Cambridge was by ferry to Charlestown, and thence by the road. Joseph Sewall, the future pastor of the South Church, when in college, used to go between Cambridge and Charlestown on foot.

said — Sung. Mr. Coleman made a very good sermon from Jer. 31. 33. — and will be their God, and they shall be my people. Pray'd, sung — Contribution. Gave the Blessing.

I spent this Sabbath at Mr. Colman's partly out of dislike to Mr. Josiah Willard's cutting off his Hair, and wearing a Wigg: He preach'd for Mr. Pemberton in the morning; He that contemn's the Law of Nature, is not fit to be a publisher of the Law of Grace: Partly to give an Example of my holding Communion with that Church who renounce the Cross in Baptisme, Humane Holidays &c. as other New-english Churches doe. And I had spent a Sabbath at the Old Church, and at Mr. Mathers. And I thought if I should have absented my self in the *forenoon* only, it might have been more gravaminous to Mr. Willards friends than keeping there *all day*. I perceive by several, that Mr. Coleman's people were much gratified by my giving them my Company, Several considerable persons express'd themselves so.

Mr. Josiah Willard had joined the South Church in the March preceding, and for more than fifty years he was one of its most honored and useful members. He soon relinquished the clerical profession, and he afterward held important positions in the State. As time went on, Judge Sewall and he became warm friends.

In the autumn of 1702, the small-pox, the scourge of those days, was prevalent in Boston, and the South Church suffered among the rest:—

Dec. 8. Mr. Robt. Gibbs dies, one of our Select men, a very good man and much Lamented; died suddenly of the Small Pocks. His death, and the death of Jno. Adams, the Master, Isaac Loring, and Peybody, is a great stroke to our church and congregation. The Lord vouchsafe to dwell with us, and Not break up Housekeeping among us! ¹ (Sewall.)

At this period of our history, the records of the church are very imperfect. The only entry made between February, 1700, and May, 1705, is as follows:—

At a church meeting Octob. 17. 1703

Then voted that the Land in Boston, left to this Church by the last will and testament of Richard Taylor shall be sold, and Mr. Simeon Stoddard, together with the Deacons, Captain James Hill, Capt. Nathl

¹ [Robert Gibbs, son of Robert, who came of a good Warwickshire family, was a noted merchant in Boston, and built a handsome house on Fort Hill, which the son inherited. The latter married Mary Shrimpton, who, in 1722, became the third wife of Judge Sewall. She died in 1739.]

Williams, and Capt. Saml Checkly, are fully empowered to make sale of it in behalf of this church :

attested by

SAML WILLARD
Teacher.

The first issue of the first newspaper printed in North America — the Boston News-Letter — appeared April 24, 1704. Its proprietor, John Campbell, and its printer, Bartholomew Green, were members of the South Church, and it was natural that there should be a reference in its columns to one of the ministers of that church : —

The 20th. the Rev. Mr. Pemberton Preach'd an excellent Sermon on Thes. 4. 11. And do your own business, which his Excellency [Joseph Dudley] has ordered to be printed.

The same paper mentions the death of Mr. Nathaniel Oliver, "a principal merchant of this place," on the 15th of April, at the age of fifty-three. Mr. Oliver had been a member of the South Church, but went to the church in Brattle Street when this was founded.

April 15. 1704. Mr. Nathanl Oliver dieth between 3 and 4 in the morning. He was born 20 days before me.

April 18. Went to the Funeral of Mr. Nathanl. Oliver: Bearers, Sewall, Walley; Legg, Dummer; Cooper, —. Govr. was there.

Feb. 11. 1704-5. Mr. Pemberton preaches of the undoubted Interest children have in the Covenant, and baptiseth his son Ebenezer, who was born February 6th. Mrs. Hannah Savage, Mr. Phillip's daughter, is taken into the Church, though next Sabbath be the usual Season.¹ (Sewall.)

The church, having two ministers, needed two parsonages for their use. Mr. Willard had occupied the house in which Governor Winthrop and after him Mr. and Mrs. Norton had lived and died. Where Mr. Pemberton had been living since his marriage, we do not know. In the spring of 1705 it was determined to proceed to the erection of a second parsonage.

[Friday] May 4th 1705

At a Church meeting,

Voted — Scil: That it is convenient that an other house be built for the ministry of the South Church in Boston: And for the forwarding of the work, the Church do consent and agree, that one hundred

¹ [Ebenezer, son of the Rev. Ebenezer Pemberton, Harvard College, 1721, After preaching in New York for many years, he was settled in 1754 over the joined the South Church in 1725 several years after the death of his father. New Brick Church, Boston, as its fourth and last minister.]

pound of their stock be set apart for that use if there be need of it, and the intended voluntary subscription will not amount to a sufficient sum without it : And that a suitable portion of the land adjoining to the meeting house be set apart for the situation of the intended building, with convenient accommodations.

At the same meeting,

John Walley Esqr. Andrew Belcher Esqr Simeon Stoddard Esqr Capt. Saml Checkley, and Mr. Thomas Fitch, were desired to undertake the promoting the subscriptions, to receive the money, and manage the work : and they were appointed a committee for these ends ; any three of them to have power to act.

Attest

SAML WILLARD

EBENR PEMBERTON.

The new house was to be of wood, and was to stand in the rear of the meeting-house in Milk Street ; the work upon it seems to have been begun at once. Sewall tells us, on his return from his circuit, on the 1st of October :—

Drove a Pin in the Ministers House which I found Raising ; bolted on the Raisers out of Bishop's Lane before I was aware.

The house, however, was not completed for several years, and the next entry on the books of the church, April 19, 1710, records a vote of thanks to the building committee. In the mean time there were to be many changes in the church and congregation.

Sept 10 1705. In the Afternoon I went to speak to Mr. Allen that the Lord's Supper might be celebrated once in four weeks, as it was in Mr. Cotton's Time and Mr. Wilson's : He was just come out of his house with Elder Bridgham, Elder Copp, Deacon Marion and Deacon Hubbard : I pray'd them to go back again, and open'd my mind to them. All save Mr. Hubbard plainly remember'd how it was in Mr. Wilson's days ; and the Alteration upon the coming in of Mr. Davenport, upon his desire because he had it so at Newhaven : and seem'd inclinable enough to alter it. Then I went to Mr. Cooke, both he and Madam Cooke remember'd the change, and seem'd not displeas'd with my proposal. I discours'd with Mr. Pemberton, and told him it would be a Honor to Christ, and a great Privilege and Honor to Boston, to have the Lord's Supper administred in it every Lord's Day : we having nothing to do with moneths now ; Their respect now ceases with the Mosaical Pedagogy. [Gal. iii. 24] It seems odd, not to have this Sacrament administred but upon the first day of each Moneth ; and the rest of the Sabbaths always stand by. (Sewall.)

Judge Sewall's idea was that all Sabbaths were equally sacred,

and that neither the first in the month, nor any other, should have the preëminence; and that as there were four churches of the established order in Boston, it would be desirable for them to have the Lord's Supper every four weeks, each church taking a different Sabbath, so that there might be an administration in Boston every Lord's Day. Although the last part of Judge Sewall's entry is somewhat ambiguous, we are inclined to think that the Lord's Supper had always been administered at the South Church on the fourth Sabbath.

Ans, of Robert & Mary Willard.
 Mary, of Mrs & Sarah Cotton.
 Benjamin, of Josiah & Abigail Franklin.
 Nicholas, of Daniel & Mary Willard.
 Jacob, of Robert & Mary Willard.

Jan. 6.
 Jan. 13.

1706.

On the 6th of January, 1706, Mr. Willard baptized a child from one of the humbler homes in the parish, and gave it a name which, as the century advanced, was to be written on some of the most memorable pages of the world's history. (We present a fac-simile of the baptismal record.) It is unnecessary to attempt to tell here who Benjamin Franklin was or what he did. Who and what his parents were is not so well known. Josiah Franklin belonged to a respectable family in Northamptonshire; in England he was a dyer, but finding little request for this occupation on his arrival on these shores, he became a soap-boiler and tallow-chandler. His second wife was Abiah, a daughter of Peter Folger, of Nantucket, and at the time of the birth of his youngest son, Benjamin, he was living, as is generally supposed, in a small house near the head of Milk Street, opposite the South meeting-house.¹ His son has left this sketch of him:—

He had an excellent constitution, was of a middle size, but well made and strong, and extremely active in whatever he undertook. He designed with a degree of neatness, and knew a little of music. His voice was sonorous and agreeable; so that when he sung a psalm or hymn, with the accompaniment of his violin, as was his frequent

¹ Drake thinks that Benjamin Franklin was born in a house—the "Blue Bell"—on the corner of Union and Hanover

Streets, where his father lived for many years after he left Milk Street. See *Hist. and Antiq. of Boston*, pp. 492, 493.

practice in an evening, when the labours of the day were finished, it was truly delightful to hear him. He was versed also in mechanics, and could, upon occasion, use the tools of a variety of trades. But his greatest excellence was a sound understanding and solid judgment, in matters of prudence, both in public and private life. In the former indeed he never engaged, because his numerous family, and the mediocrity of his fortune, kept him unremittingly employed in the duties of his profession. But I well remember, that the leading men of the place used frequently to come and ask his advice respecting the affairs of the town, or of the church to which he belonged, and that they paid much deference to his opinion. Individuals were also in the habit of consulting him on their private affairs, and he was often chosen arbiter between contending parties.

Josiah Franklin owned the covenant in 1685, and, with his wife, became a communicant in 1694. It will be seen, as we proceed, that he was highly respected and esteemed by his brethren in the church.

An attempt was made at this time, by "certain" ministers "in and about Boston," to change some of the foundation principles of Congregationalism by a concentration of power in the ministerial associations, and this attempt was defeated by the sturdy opposition of the Rev. John Wise, of Ipswich. A document made its appearance, addressed to the churches and ministers of New England, bearing the unassuming title, *Question and Proposals*. It was anonymous, and purported to have been prepared by an association of ministers, but it was "understood to have been the work of the Mathers, backed by a coterie of clerical admirers." It was dated November 5, 1705.¹ John Wise, says Professor Tyler, "saw its true character,—a plot for an ecclesiastical revolution, and a revolution backward; and having given ample time for the scheme to work its way into general discussion, at last he lifted up his hand, and, at one blow, crushed it." As the churches need to be on their guard con-

¹ John Wise used this date with great effect: "The fifth day of November has been as a guardian angel to the most sacred interest of the empire; it has rescued the whole glory of church and state from the most fatal arrest of hell and Rome. . . . Had I been of the cabal . . . which formed these proposals, so soon as I had seen . . . the date, . . . I should have cried out 'Miserere nostri Deus'—the good Lord have mercy on us. This is the 'gunpowder-treason

day;' and we are every man ruined, being running Fawkes's fate! Why, gentlemen, have you forgot it? It is the day of the gunpowder-treason, and a fatal day to traitors. . . . I have such an awe upon my mind of this very day, that of all the days of the whole year, I will never conspire treason against my natural prince, nor mischief to the churches, on the fifth day of November."

See Tyler's *Hist. of Am. Literature*, vol. ii. pp. 105-110.

tinually, in the defence of their local rights as against the encroachments of a centralizing ecclesiasticism, we shall present the facts of this controversy, and we shall do so in the words of one who is a recognized authority on the Congregational polity. These words were uttered thirty years ago, but they have as much significance and importance for the present generation as for any that has preceded it.

At a meeting of the Boston Association, held November 5th, 1705, sixteen Proposals were drawn up and put forth for the consideration of the "several associated ministers in the several parts of the country." These, though couched in plausible terms, and embodying some useful hints, were nevertheless repugnant, in their general spirit, to the Cambridge Platform and the popular usage; or, as Mr. Wise describes them, "they seem a conjunction of all the church-governments in the world, and the least part is congregational," — "the spectre or ghost of Presbyterianism," — "something considerable of prelacy," — "something which smells very strong of the infallible chair." The Congregationalists of our day, grown familiar with modern innovations, will fail to detect in these proposals all the ugly features here portrayed, unless they follow the author through his illustrations, and learn to look at things *in embryo, et in rerum natura*, to cite one of his classical allusions. The leading ideas contained in them may be reduced to these three: first, to give the ministerial meetings, which were then coming into vogue, an ecclesiastical character by the introduction of business pertinent only to the churches. Second, to combine these associations of ministers, thus ecclesiasticized, and enlarged by a lay delegation, into standing councils, whose decisions in all ordinary cases should be "final and decisive." Third, to allow "no particular pastor or congregation to employ any one in occasional preachings who has not been recommended by a testimonial under the hands of some association."

On this last point, it may be proper here to remark for the information of those not familiar with "the old ways," that hitherto a "license" or "approbation" to preach was only "the express or implied authority granted by a church to preach to *them*."¹ The Congregational churches had acknowledged no human authority, either ministerial, prelatic, or civil, as a pre-requisite to the employment of any one whom they chose to select. They would submit to none; though they thankfully availed themselves of every help, especially that of settled ministers, in finding suitable candidates.

The Cambridge Platform is silent upon this subject; but John Cotton, in his *Way of the Churches*,² indirectly tells us how ministers got licensed by showing "in what manner they were chosen." "When

¹ [*Cong. Dictionary*, p. 214.]

² [Pp. 39, 40.]

any of the churches are destitute of any of these officers, the brethren of the church (according to the apostle's advice, in defect of deacons, and so in defect of all other officers), *they look out from amongst themselves*, such persons as are in some measure qualified according to the direction of the word. If the church can find out none such in their own body, they send to any other church for fit supply, and each church looketh at it as their duty to be mutually helpful one to another, in yielding what supply they may, without too much prejudice to themselves. Such being recommended to them for such a work, they take some time of trial of them, partly by their own observation and communion with them, partly by consultation with the elders of other churches continuing there."

In *theory*, therefore, a Congregational church, destitute of a pastor, looked over their own list of members for a suitable candidate. If they could find one of sufficient promise, they placed him in the pulpit and heard him preach, and applied such other tests as they deemed necessary to a satisfactory judgment of his qualifications. Their own "approbation" was all the testimonial he got or wanted. If they found no suitable person for that office among themselves, they looked into other churches, consulted the ministers of those churches, consulted the laymen, conversed with the candidate recommended, took him into the pulpit, took him to their houses, — used all appropriate means, — and then "licensed" him, if he stood the test, and settled him if he and they could agree.

The General Court undertook to interfere with this right in 1652, by ordering that a license should be obtained from a council or county court; but so determined was the resistance, that the order was revoked the following year. "If a church has the liberty of election and ordination," said the Woburn church in their petition on the subject, "then it has the power of approbation."¹ Nearly fifty years later, namely, in 1699, Increase Mather, with nine other ministers, signed and sent forth their Advice unto the Churches of New England, the drift of which was "to beware of running after new preachers, of whose endowments and principles they have not had a reasonable attestation," — expressing also their own intention thenceforth to admit into their pulpits "no stranger, coming as a preacher without sufficient assurance of his being what he pretends to be," except by first passing him through "a solemn examination of his capacity for the tremendous work of preaching the everlasting Gospel." But this put no restraints on the ancient liberties, or the existing usages, of the churches; nor did it imply that their trial and approbation of a candidate would not be regarded by these ministers as a "sufficient assurance" of his "capacity" to preach. It was simple and seasonable advice, having reference particularly to illiterate pretenders coming

¹ [*Mass. Hist. Collections*, vol. i. p. 42.]

from abroad ; and it was backed up by considerations like the following : " If every piece of ignorance and arrogance be set up for a preacher, the name of the holy God will be profaned by an offering, that is made a ridicule in the repetition." " If God should be provoked, by the unthankfulness of men, to send the plague of an unlearned ministry upon poor New England, soon will the wild beast of the desert lie there, the houses will be full of doleful creatures, and owls will dwell therein." ¹

Thus the matter stood when these sixteen Proposals came out, and called forth in reply that excoriating satire from the pen of John Wise, *The Churches' Quarrel Espoused* ; which had the effect, not only to explode the whole project, but to recall the churches to the first principles of Congregationalism, and to re-seat them on their ancient platform more firmly than ever, for the next sixty years. Even to this day it is common for ministerial bodies to insert in their constitutions, or rules of business, a disavowal of all " ecclesiastical authority," out of respect to an unwrought jealousy among the churches, which had its origin in this affair. The sudden and complete triumph which this small book achieved is the more remarkable, when it is considered that the proposed innovations were supported by an array of names which were deemed a tower of strength to any cause which had their endorsement.²

Dec. 27. Capt. Belcher invited me to his Thanksgiving on account of his Son's preservation.

Friday Dec. 28. 1705. Mr. Pemberton prays excellently, and Mr. Willard Preaches from Ps. 66. 20 very excellently. [" Blessed be God, which hath not turned away my prayer, nor his mercy from me."] Spake to me to set the Tune ; I intended Windsor, and fell into High-Dutch, and then essaying to set another Tune, went into a Key much too high. So I pray'd Mr. White to set it ; which he did well, Litchf. Tune. The Lord humble me and Instruct me, that I should be occasion of any Interruption in the Worship of God. Had a very good Dinner at three Tables. Had the Meeting ; and few else except Relations in Town, and me. The Lord accept his Thank-offering. (Sewall.)

Jonathan Belcher, who was born in 1682, and graduated at Harvard College in 1699, with Jeremiah Dummer, Edmund

¹ [*Magnalia*, book vii. ch. 5. This paper was dated Boston, December 28, 1699, and its full title was " A Faithful Advice from Several Ministers of the Gospel near Boston unto the Churches of New England relating to the dangers that may arise from Imposters pretending to be Ministers." It

was signed by Increase Mather, James Allen, Samuel Willard, Moses Fisk, Nehemiah Hobart, John Danforth, Cotton Mather, Nehemiah Walter, Jonathan Pierpont, and Joseph Belcher.]

² [Dr. Joseph S. Clark's *Hist. Sketch of the Cong. Churches of Mass.*, pp. 115-118.]

Quincy, Nathaniel Eells and others, had just returned from a long absence in Europe. He married, a few days after this thanksgiving service, Mary, daughter of Lieut.-Governor Partridge, of New Hampshire. He soon became a very prominent man in the church and in the province.

Wednesday, March 6 1706 Council of Churches held at Mr. Willard's. They advise that after a Moneth, Mr. Joseph Morse cease to preach at Watertown farms. Adjourn'd to the first of May. Sharp Thunder the night following. Mr. Gookin, Capt. Morse and Deacon Larned dine with us.¹ (Sewall.)

Joseph Mors, or Morse, was a graduate at Cambridge in the class of 1695, with (the Rev.) John Hubbard, Oliver Noyes, Simon Willard, Ezekiel Lewis, and others. After preaching for some time at Watertown Precinct, now Weston, he removed to Dorchester, New Village, now Canton.

At the opening of the autumn term at Cambridge in 1707, Mr. Willard's health gave way, and believing that he should not live long, he resigned his position as acting president.² He continued in feeble health during the next month, but was able to officiate at the Lord's table on the first Sunday in September, and to be present at the weekly lecture on the following Thursday. On Friday, at noon, he cut his finger at the dinner-table, and two hours later he died.

Monday Augt 11. 1707. Mr. Willard goes to Cambridge to Ex-pound, but finds few scholars come together; and moreover was himself taken ill there, which oblig'd him to come from thence before Prayer-Time.

Tuesday, Augt 12. between 6 and 7. I visited Mr. Willard to see how his Journey and Labour at the College had agreed with him; and he surpris'd me with the above-account; told me of a great pain in's head, and sickness at his stomach; and that he believ'd he was near

¹ ["The church in Weston was separated from the original Watertown church November 2, 1709, having had a meeting-house and a minister for the space of ten years previously. The Rev. William Williams was ordained their first pastor when the church was organized." — Clark's *Hist. Sketch of the Cong. Churches of Mass.*, p. 113.]

² The last class graduated under Mr. Willard included Joseph Sewall, Thomas Prince, Ames Cheever, William Shurtleff, and Joshua Moody.

Mr. Prince said, several years later:—
"I shall never forget His admired Expositions Twice a Week in the Hall, His Gracious Deportment, nor the copious, exact, and pathological Prayers He as frequently poured out among Us. I must ever Remember Him with peculiar Esteem and Gratitude, for the Heavenly Gravity, Condescension, and melting Affection wherewith he treated me in my tender Years, when he took me aside at Colledge to incourage and direct me in the Affairs of my Soul."

his end. I mention'd the business of the College. He desired me to do his message by word of Mouth; which I did, Thorsday following, to the Govr. and Council.

Quickly after I left Mr. Willard, he fell very sick, and had three sore Convulsion Fits to our great sorrow and amazement.

Thorsday, Augt 14th. When the Govr. enquired after Mr. Willard, I acquainted the Govr. and council that Mr. Willard was not capable of doing the College work, another year: He Thank'd them for their Acceptance of his service and Reward. Govr and Council order'd Mr. Winthrop and Brown to visit the Revd. Mr. Willard, and Thank him for his good service the six years past. Sent down for Concurrency, and Deputies to name persons to join in the Thanks and Condolence. Deputies concur and nominat the Rever'd Mr. Nehemiah Hobart to officiat in the mean time till Octr. next. This the Govr and Council did not accept, and so nothing was done.¹

Sept. 12. Mehetabel Thurston tells me Mr. Willard was taken very sick. I hop'd it might go off, and went to Dinner; when I came there, Mr. Pemberton was at Prayer, near concluding, a pretty many in the Chamber. After Prayer, many went out, I staid and sat down: and

¹ [On the 28th of October the Fellows of Harvard College made choice of the Rev. John Leverett as president. He had eight votes, Dr. Mather three, Mr. Cotton Mather one, and Mr. Brattle of Cambridge one. Judge Sewall gives a full account of the inauguration, which took place on the 14th of January, 1707-8. Joseph Sewall, who had taken his first degree a few months previously, pronounced a Latin oration; and so did Edward Holyoke, who, thirty years later, was elected president as the successor of the Rev. Benjamin Wadsworth.

From Joseph Sewall's *MS. Diary*:—

"Oct. 8. Dr. Mather called Oakes and my self to the Library. . . . Gave us three books apiece. Advised us to get our selves informed and well principled in good doctrine. In the Method and practice of the New England Churches. That we should pray for a good and learned man [for the presidency of the college]. Mr. Willard (He said) not an academical Schollar.

"Nov. 3. I visited Mr. Pemberton. Some of his instructions such as these. 1. Lay the foundation in Systematicall Divinity. 2. Church History profitable, Jewish Antiquities. 3. Academical Studies now to be fixed in the memory

so that they may be retain'd; yea to be now cultivated. Little time for any other study when come to preach, go leave nothing [to] be studied till then, but get some insight into all that so you may then study them with greater facility. 4. Get a knowledge of the arguments of every Chapter in Scripture, the time of writing, occasion &c. 5. Study not Divinity as Vintners taste Wine; apply it to your Self. Mr. Leverett commended for a President. 6. Naturall Philosophy good.

"Nov. 13. I visit my M[aster] Cheevers. His Discourse. Mr. Leverett not of the Old Principles. Examine the old way and the new; Though the new should be the right yet are they blame worthy that they do not write against the Books put out for the Old, Show that the Scriptures will not bear what they hang upon them and so convince their Brethren that they may not remain in error. To this he said He desired Mr. Wadsworth but in vain."

We are indebted to Mr. Samuel Sewall of Burlington, Mass., for the use of the volume of the Rev. Joseph Sewall's diary (1707-1740) from which these and other extracts have been copied for this history.]

in a few minutes saw my dear Pastor Expire: it was a little after Two, just about two hours from his being taken. It was very surprising: The Doctors were in another room Consulting what to doe. He administred the Lord's Supper, and Baptiz'd a child last Lord's Day: Did it with suitable voice, Affection, Fluency. Did not preach: 7^r 11th went to Lecture and heard Mr. Pierpont. At even seem'd much better than had been lately. Tis thought cutting his finger, might bring on this tumultuous passion that carried him away.¹ There was a dolefull cry in the house. *Feria secunda*, 7^r 15th. Mr. Willard is laid by his Tutor in my Tomb, till a new one can be made.² Bearers, Dr. Mather, Mr. Allen; Mr. Tho. Bridge, Mr. C. Mather; Mr. Wadsworth, Mr. Colman. Fellows and students of the College went before. Mr. Pemberton led Madam Willard. Govr. and his Lady had Rings: Bearers Scarvs and Rings. The Lady Davie, and Lady Hobbie were there. Son [Samuel] Sewall led his sister [Madam] Paul Dudley; he being gon to Plimouth Court. Very Comfortable Day. (Sewall.)

Mr. Pemberton preached the funeral sermon of his departed colleague from Matthew xxiv. 45, 46: "Who then is a faithful and wise servant, whom his Lord hath made ruler over his household, to give them meat in due season? Blessed is that servant, whom his Lord, when he cometh, shall find so doing."

We have already quoted from this sermon, in our fourth chapter, a general delineation of Mr. Willard's character and attainments. Of his pastoral work, Mr. Pemberton said in closing:—

His affection and tenderness to this his dear flock was singular. He might have said with the apostle, that he could have imparted with the gospel his own soul to them.

As a wise and faithful steward over this house of Christ, he gave every man his portion in due season. And might at his departure

¹ [The Rev. Joseph Sewall, in his *Journal*, says: "Sept. 15. The Rev. Mr. Willard, after he had cut his finger, while eating oysters, went up to his study, called his wife, thanked her for her kindness, prayed God to bless them all; then fell into a convulsion, about noon, which in two hours' time (*plus minus*) despatched him to the great grief and sorrow of all good men."]

² [At a meeting of the Selectmen, April 15. 1712,

"Liberty is granted to Major Thomas Fitch and others of the Committee for

the South Church in Boston to make a Toomb in the South burying place nigh the upper corner therof between the fence next the common and Mr. Browns Toomb, for the Ministry of that Church." — *Town Records*.

July 31. 1712. "Williams calls me to the Tomb, I go into it to view the order of things in it. Mr. Willard was taken out yesterday, and laid in the new Tomb built by the South-Congregation." — *Sewall's Diary*.

The tomb is No. 160 in the Granary Burying-ground.]

have called heaven and earth to record, that he had not shun'd to declare the whole counsel of God, and was pure from the blood of all men.

He went before this flock as a good shepherd, gathering the lambs with his arm, carrying them in his bosom, and gently driving those that are with young: And is now gone to the Great Shepherd of the Sheep; whose flock he here watch'd over, led, fed and defended.

He took his Farewell of us at the Table of the Lord; and we shall enjoy no more such fellowship with him, till we come to eat bread and drink new wine with him; in our father's presence.¹

Mr. Willard died in the sixty-eighth year of his age, and the thirtieth of his ministry at the South Church. In a portrait before us, engraved, as we suppose, after his death, we see a noble head, a strong but kindly face, a firm and dignified bearing.² It is an ideal representation of a Puritan leader of the seventeenth century. It bears the legend, *QUANTÆ PIETATIS IMAGO*.³ In the bibliography appended to this history the long list of Mr. Willard's printed works will be found. Among these, his *Complete Body of Divinity*, which was not published until nearly twenty years after his death, stands preëminent. It contains the substance of two hundred and twenty lectures delivered by him, and of twenty-five more which he had prepared. He had come to the consideration of the Lord's Prayer

¹ [Mr. Pemberton said in the course of his sermon:—

"We had scarce dry'd our eyes for the loss of one Samuel, but providence opens anew the fountain of our tears by afflicting us with the death of another. It is well if the conjunction of their funerals be not portentous of further, and greater calamities; I am sure it will be so if it be not laid to heart."

This was a reference to the Rev. Samuel Torrey, who died April 21, 1707. He was the successor at Weymouth of the Rev. Thomas Thacher, and preached there more than forty years. He was a man of broad and generous sympathies, and his spirit was eminently catholic. He was a warm and active friend of the Third Church during all the period of its controversy with the First Church. He was also friendly to Mr. Colman and the Brattle Street Church, when others were bitterly opposing them. He is said to have possessed all those mental, personal, and social qualifications which

place a man at the head of his profession and constitute him a leader in the community. Sewall speaks of him as "a laborious faithful divine, excellent in prayer." He was succeeded in Weymouth by the Rev. Peter Thacher (son of Thomas Thacher, Jr., and his wife Mary, daughter of Thomas Savage), whose grandfather he had succeeded.]

² Mr. Willard was inflexible in the maintenance of his opinions and thoroughly independent in action. With this independence, however, there was, as we judge, no want of proper consideration for the opinions of others. Edward Randolph wrote of him in 1682: "He is a moderate man, and baptiseth those who are refused by the other churches, for which he is hated." John Dunton said of him in 1686, he "can say what he pleases."

³ This recalls the inscription on the tomb of Machiavelli in the Church of Santa Croce, in Florence: *TANTO NOMINI NULLUM PAR EULOGIUM*.

when the course was cut short by his death. Of these lectures an accomplished critic, Professor Tyler, has said :—

Nineteen years before his death, he began to give at his own church, on Tuesday afternoons, once a month, an elaborate lecture on theology. His was a mind formed for theological method. He did not desire to impose upon himself or upon any one a slavish submission to a theological system ; he only wished to get for himself and others the clearness and vigor and practical utility that come from putting one's most careful ideas into orderly combination. He was a theological drill-sergeant. He was also a truly great divine. In the lectures upon systematic theology, which he thus began in 1688, and continued unflinchingly till he died, his object was to move step by step around "the whole circle of religion." The fame of his lucid talks on those great themes soon flew abroad, and drew to him a large permanent audience of the learned and the unlearned ; and after his death, theological students and others kept clamoring for the publication of those talks. In 1726 all such persons were gratified.

"A Complete Body of Divinity" is a vast book in all senses ; by no one to be trifled with. Let us salute it with uncovered heads. The attempted perusal of all these nine hundred and fourteen double-columned pages was, for many a theological scholar of the last century, a liberal education, and a training in every heroic and heavenly virtue. . . .

The thought and expression of this literary mammoth are lucid, firm, close. The author moves over the great spaces of his subject with a calm and commanding tread, as of one well assured both of himself and of the ground he walked on. His object seemed to be, not merely to enlighten the mind, but to elevate the character and the life ; and whenever, in the discussion of a topic, he has finished the merely logical process, he advances at once to the practical bearings of it, and urges upon his hearers the deductions of a moral logic, always doing this earnestly, persuasively, and in a kingly way. The whole effect is nutritious to brain and to moral sense ; and the book might still serve to make men good Christians as well as good theologians, if only there were still left upon the earth the men capable of reading it.¹

The work was published with an introduction by the Rev. Joseph Sewall and the Rev. Thomas Prince, who, evidently, were in full sympathy with their learned predecessor's method of studying theology, not dogmatically or slavishly, but intelligently and independently, subordinating the sign to the sense, the letter to the spirit, and distinguishing between the traditions of men and the revealed truth of God. They said :—

¹ [Tyler's *History of American Literature*, vol. ii. pp. 167-169.]

If by Systematical Divinity be meant a mere slavish Subjection or Confinement to any Schemes thereof what ever, conceiv'd or publish'd by the mere Wit of men, tho founded in their own apprehensions on divine Revelation, without a Liberty reserv'd of varying from them upon further Discoveries ; our Author was of too generous and great a Soul, and had too deep an Insight into the present Imperfection and Fallibility of Humane Nature, than to be capable of such a Slavery. He was indeed a Recommender of Divinity-Systems even to all sorts of Persons, and especially Young Students, in order to Methodize their Enquiries and Conceptions, to keep their minds from wandering and Inconsistency, and help them to see the Connection and Harmony of divine Truths ; but without obliging them to an implicit servile Subjection to any mere humane Compositions. And whatever System he fell into, it arose from a careful Scrutiny into the genuine meaning of the Holy Scriptures, with a deep Penetration into the Nature and Relations of the things they reveal ; and not from any mere previous Veneration of the Systems themselves or their renown'd Compilers or Abettors, tho' worthy of ever so much esteem : making use of their Fame and Worth as Inducements only to peruse their Systems, as the special Fruits of their laborious Searches and Discoveries, and their most mature and accurate Expressions of them ; and making use of their Systems only as the best Assistances to form a perfect notion of their most elaborate Ideas, that he might more clearly see and judge of their Agreement with the Holy Writings, the first Foundation, the sovereign Rule and the dernier Resort of all.

CHAPTER VII.

1707-1717.

CHURCH WORK AND GROWTH.

SHORTLY after Mr. Willard's death, a day of fasting and humiliation was observed by the church, the sister churches participating with it, in accordance with the custom of those days. Death was regarded not as a servant sent by the Redeemer to bring his children home to their rest and reward, so much as an avenging angel commissioned to punish a community, or a church, or a family, by the removal of prominent or beloved members from their sight. Mr. Willard's sermon on the death of Major Savage, in 1681, to which we have already referred, was entitled *The Righteous Man's Death a Presaging of Evil Approaching*; and a reference in it to several recent bereavements was in these words: "Since the time wherein God by [or through] his servants began to treat us with these warnings, his hand hath bin awfully out upon us in taking away eminent, useful, publique and pious men." When the Hon. John Walley died in 1712, Mr. Pemberton said in his funeral sermon: "It becomes the whole land to resent his removal, and this church in particular: for God hereby has made a breach upon us, and taken away one of our main and most ancient pillars. And if we do not resent and improve the hand of God, we shall have reason to fear lest God smite us with breach upon breach, and remove more of those ancient and honourable senators, which are now no small part of our strength and glory."¹

Thursday, Oct. 2, 1707. Fast at the South church. Mr. Wadsworth prays, Mr. Pemberton preaches: Mr. Bridge prays and gives

¹ Mr. Willard's Thursday Lecture, July 17, 1701, on the death of William Stoughton, was entitled *Prognostics of Impending Calamities*.

When the Hon. Thomas Cushing died in 1746, Mr. Prince preached his funeral sermon from Psal. xii. 1, "Help, Lord;

for the godly man ceaseth, etc.;" he said: "Hence we may also see the awful frowns of God upon this town and land in the ceasing and failing of such; what abundant reason we have to be deeply affected therewith, and earnestly cry to the Lord for help."

the Blessing. Capt. Atwood, Bernard, Gooding, Atkins go home with me at Noon. I give each of them one of Mr. W. Williams's Sermons. p. m. Mr. Cotton Mather Prays, Dr. Mather Preaches, prays, gives the Blessing. Was a great Assembly.¹

Octr. 3. had a Meeting of the Church and Congregation : But very thin, Several came not because Mr. Pemberton said [in giving the notice for the meeting,] Gentlemen of the church and Congregation ; affirmed they were not Gentlemen and therefore they were not warned to come. Mr. Pemberton prayed, upon debate appointed this day sennight for the meeting. (Sewall.)

This last passage illustrates the sharply defined social distinctions which were then recognized and accepted. The church evidently had under consideration the question of settling a colleague pastor, or at least of giving Mr. Pemberton assistance in his pulpit work, for he was not a strong man physically. On the 10th of the following February, Judge Sewall kept "a private day of prayer with fasting," as was his habit from time to time, and in the record of the "general heads" of his meditations and prayers we find these words: "Bless the South Church in preserving and spiriting our Pastor ; in directing unto suitable Supply, and making the Church unanimous." Six years passed, however, before a colleague pastor was settled.

On the arrival in Boston harbor of several overdue ships from London, Sewall says, Friday, October 24, 1707: "Thanks were given on this account at Mr. Willard's Meeting, which was kept at his widows House this Afternoon ; began between 1 and 2. Mr. Wadsworth, Colman pray'd, Mr. Pemberton preach'd and pray'd excellently." We suppose this to have been a private meeting held by the ministers of the town, perhaps monthly, and that it would have been Mr. Willard's turn to have it at his house had he lived.

Nov. 23. 1707 Mr. Pemberton preaches more fully and vehemently against being cover'd in Sermon time. p. m. Simeon Stoddard, the Son of A[nthony] Stoddard, is baptised.² David Stoddard and others taken into Church. (Sewall.)

¹ [Mr. Joseph Sewall says : "Private Fast. South Church. A. M. Mr. Wadsworth prayed, Mr. Pemberton preached from Eccles. 7. 14 — In the Day of adversity consider. Mr. Bridge concluded. P. M. Mr. C. Mather pray'd. Dr. Mather preachd from 1 Samuel 25. 1. And Samuel died and all the Israelites

were gathered together and lamented him. He said would not make a Funeral Sermon, yet would speak some things which he knew to be true. He spoke of Mr. Willard's Strictness, Orthodoxy in the matter of Justification."]

² [Simeon, son of Anthony and Martha (Belcher) Stoddard : Harv. Coll., 1726.]

We have been unable to satisfy ourselves in relation to "being cover'd in Sermon time," against which Mr. Pemberton preached on this occasion, and to which Mr. Gookin is supposed to have referred, in a sermon at the South meeting-house several months later. It looks very much as though the men were in the habit of putting on their hats after the devotional exercises were concluded, and during the delivery of the sermon.

Governor Fitz John Winthrop, of Connecticut, was buried from the Council Chamber, December 4.

Mr. C. Mather preached a funeral Sermon for G[overnor] Winthrop. Gen: 5. 11. — And He (Enoch) died. One reason He gave for his taking this text was Enoch being Son to Shem, grandson to Adam: then He instant in the Shephards, [see *ante*, pp. 236–238] after said that the Family of the Winthrops had something peculiar: Three John Winthrops (when this is buried) will lay in the same Tomb. Two by a peculiar providence came to die here. Said twas nothing inconsistent to Speak of a Man's good actions and yet disapprove his evil ones. The funeral was perform'd with great solemnity. (Joseph Sewall.)

The long dispute between the Mathers and the party represented by Thomas Brattle came to a head when the Rev. John Leverett was chosen president of Harvard College, to fill the vacancy created by the resignation and death of Mr. Willard. This choice was a triumph for the liberal party, to which Governor Dudley had attached himself.¹ Dr. Mather, Mr. Cotton Mather, Mr. Bridge, and Mr. Allen absented themselves from the exercises of inauguration, and so did some prominent laymen, Wait Still Winthrop, Elisha Hutchinson, John Foster, and Peter Sergeant. Among those who went to Cambridge on the occasion were Mr. Pemberton, Mr. Wadsworth, one of the ministers of the First Church, and Mr. Colman; and, among the laymen, Penn Townsend, Edward Bromfield, Simeon Stoddard, Eliakim

¹ John Leverett, born in 1662, was a grandson of Governor Leverett. After completing his studies he preached for a time, then practised as a lawyer, and became speaker of the House of Representatives and a judge of the superior court. In appointing him president of the college, the Fellows expressed the hope that he would "lay aside and decline all interfering offices and employments, and devote himself to said work, and be a very able and faithful instru-

ment to promote the holy religion here practiced and established, by instructing and fitting for our pulpits and churches, and other public and useful service, such as shall in this School of the Prophets be committed to his care and charge." Thirty-nine ministers signed an address to Governor Dudley, expressing their "great joy" at the appointment. The altogether inadequate salary of £150 *per annum* was voted, payable from the public treasury.

Hutchinson, and Andrew Belcher. From the names on the two sides we judge that the lines were drawn not altogether by churches. A few days after the inauguration, virulent letters were addressed to the governor by Increase and Cotton Mather, and these naturally widened the breach.¹ On the 31st of January, Judge Sewall met Mr. Pemberton, who, says the former, "talk'd to me very warmly about Mr. Cotton Mather's Letter to the Governor, seem'd to resent it, and expect the Governor should animadvert upon him. Said if he were as the Governor he would humble him though it cost him his head; Speaking with great vehemency just as I parted with him at his Gate." The Thursday Lecture gave opportunity for the expression of the indignation which others felt in common with Mr. Pemberton.

Febr. 5. Mr. Colman preaches the Lecture in Mr. Wadsworth's Turn, from Gal. 5. 25. If we live in the Spirit, let we also Walk in the Spirit. Spake of Envy and Revenge as the Complexion and Condemnation of the Devil; Spake of other walking: it blôted our sermons, blôted our Prayers, blôted our Admonitions and Exhortations. It might justly put us upon asking our selves whether we did live in the Spirit, whether we were ever truly regenerated, or no. 'Tis reckon'd he lash'd Dr. Mather and Mr. Cotton Mather and Mr. Bridge for what they have written, preach'd and pray'd about the present Contest with the Governor. I heard not of it before, but yesterday Col. Townsend told me of Dr. Mather's Prayer Jany. 25, Wherein he made mention of One in Twenty-Eight being faithful; which makes

¹ For these letters, see *Collections of Mass. Hist. Soc.*, 1st series, vol. iii. pp. 126-134.

"The letters of the Mathers, father and son, to Governor Dudley, and Dudley's single reply to both of them,—always excepting some of the documents relating to the troubles with the Quakers—are the most embittered in their personalities and invectives of the whole mass of highly seasoned papers which have been preserved in our cabinets. The Mather letters are dated on the same day, January 20, 1707-8. The father contented himself with what covers, in print, two pages of octavo; the son wrote at three times that length. Perfidy, hypocrisy, bribery, cruelty, and corrupt dealing in divers forms are the burden of the charges against the governor. The reply is to a degree dignified

and moderate, with something of caustic sarcasm in its tone and tenor, especially in its galling reminder to the Mathers that their conceit and assumption of clerical power were well observed by their brethren and by the people generally, and that their glory was for the future to fade. The governor allowed a fortnight to pass before he sent this letter, and thus gave his wrath a space for cooling, while he had the advantage of deliberation. During this interval, the fact that the Mathers had written to Dudley in a somewhat pointed way had become noised abroad by one or another of the parties having divulged it, and those most concerned, especially Cotton Mather, were waiting the result."—The Rev. Dr. Geo. E. Ellis, in the *Memorial History of Boston*, vol. ii. p. 45. (Chapter on the Royal Governors of Mass.)

many look on me with an evil eye : supposing Dr. Mather ment my withdrawing my vote of the first of Novr. (Sewall.)

In the autumn following, the state of Mr. Pemberton's health was the cause of anxiety among his people.

Sept. 9. I speak to Mr. Pemberton that a Day of Prayer may be kept respecting his Health. It was mov'd last night at Mr. Josiah Franklin's at our Meeting, where I read the Eleventh Sermon on the Barren Fig-Tree. 'Tis the first time of Meeting at his House since he join'd [the meeting].

Josiah - Franklin

Decr. 5, 1708. Mr. Nathanael Gookin preaches in the forenoon ; I think every time he mention'd *James*, twas with prefixing *Saint* : about 4 or 5 times that I took notice of. I suppose he did it to confront me, and to assert his own Liberty. Probably he had seen the Letter I writt to Mr. Flint.¹ Spake also of Reverence in Gods Worship ; he may partly intend being Cover'd in Sermon-Time : It had better becom'd a person of some Age and Authority to have intermeddled in things of such a nature. *Quædam Confidentia non est virtus, at audacia.*

Apr. 29. 1709. about 4. *post m.* the Dragon Frigat arrives at Nantasket, in whom come Col. Nicholson, Col. Vetch, Mr. Jonathan Belchar, Mr. Giles Dyer, Mr. Bill, Mr. Walley, Capt. John Alden and others.

Novr. 6th Lord's day ; Mr. Rowland Cotton preach'd in the forenoon ; Mr. Corwin in the Afternoon. Mr. Pemberton had propounded Hannah Butler to renew her Baptismal Covenant ; and now mention'd it, and said she had sin'd scandalously against the 7th Commandment ; read her Confession immediately, and by the silential vote restored her. I think it is inconvenient, when persons have so fallen, not to give the Church some previous notice of it ; that the Brethren may have Opportunity to enquire into the Repentance. An ignorant

¹ [Sewall wrote to Henry Flint August 23, 1708, as follows : —

“Sir, I thank you for your good Sermon yesterday. The subject is excellent, and always seasonable ; and now peculiarly so. Continue to pray, that I may have the Integrity and Uprightness exhorted to ; and that I may grow therein.

“Upon this occasion, you will allow me the freedom of speaking what I have lately been often thinking.

“According to the Simplicity of the Gospel, the saying *Saint* Luke, and

Saint James &c. has been disused in New-England. And to take it up again, is distastefull to me ; because it is a Change for the Worse. I have heard it from several ; but to hear it from the Senior Fellow of Harvard College is more surprising ; lest by his Example he should seem to countenance and Authorize Inconvenient Innovations. Thus I reckon ; but if reckoning without my Host, I reckon wrong ; your Adjusting the Account, will gratify

Sir, your humble Servant

SAMUEL SEWALL.”]

Consent is no Consent. And I understood Mr. Pemberton that he would not go in that way again. Once before he did it, saying he knew not of it when the party was propounded.¹

Thursday, Nov. 24. Thanksgiving Day, Mr. Pemberton preached forenoon and Afternoon, from Psal. 29. 3 latter part of the verse. ["The Lord is upon many waters."] In the afternoon he express'd his dislike of the Guns fired by the Ships and Castle, as not sutable for a Day of Thanksgiving.

[1709-10.] Lord's-day, Jany 8. My old Friend Mr. John Hubbard dyes, in the forenoon, just before the Exercise began. Mr. Pemberton makes a pathetical mention of it in his Prayer, and that we might follow him so far as he followed Christ; mention'd him as a real Christian. Madam Hubbard put up a Note. *Alias* Leverett.² (Sewall.)

After a silence of five years the church records give us the following votes, and then there is an hiatus until 1718:—

At a church meeting April 19. 1710

Voted — that the thanks of this church be given to the Honourable John Walley Esqr. Andrew Belcher Esqr. Simeon Stoddard Esqr. Col. Samuel Checkly, and Capt. Thomas Fitch, who were appointed a committee to build a ministerial house, for their great care and pains in building the same; and that their accounts be allowed, and that the Deacons take care to pay to the said committee one hundred thirty pound, nine shillings and fourpence, which remains due to balance, out of the church stock.

Voted — That in honour to the memory of the Revd. Mr. Saml Willard, our late Pastor, this church do allow some sutable assistance to the support of his relict; and that the Honourable Samuel Sewall Esqr. Peter Sergeant Esqr. Capt Ephraim Savage, Mr. Samuel Phillips, be appointed a committee to joyn with the Deacons, to advise and determine what allowance shall be made out of the church stock, to Mrs. Eunice Willard, from time to time, as her circumstances shall require, and our's can allow; and that this committee stand for two years.³

Voted — That our Pastor E. Pemberton be desired to remove into the new ministerial house when, and as soon as he shall see it convenient so to do.

EBENR. PEMBERTON

Pastor.

¹ [We do not find the name of Hannah Butler on any of the church lists. There are no entries on the list for those who owned the covenant between 1706 and 1717.]

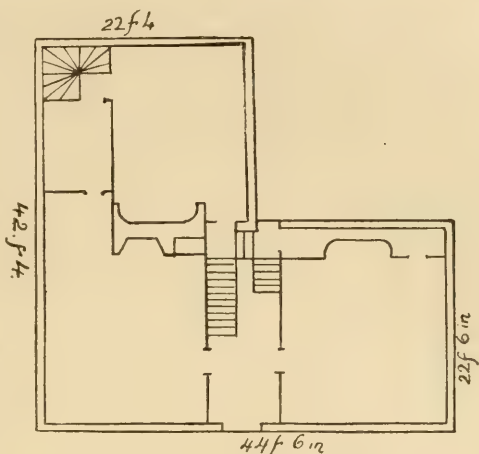
² [Mr. Hubbard was a son of the Rev. William Hubbard, of Ipswich; and his wife was Ann, daughter of Governor

Leverett. They evidently belonged to the South congregation, but we do not find their names on the list of members of the church.]

³ [The church gave Mrs. Willard, for her support, £40 *per annum* for four years, and £10 for entertaining. See *ante*, p. 228, note.]

Why it should have taken five years to complete the new parsonage,¹ we cannot say ; perhaps the money was not forthcoming, or, there may have been the feeling that it was not needed immediately. We present a plan of the ground floor as drawn by Thomas Dawes in 1770.

[1710.] April, 30. Lord's day : In the Evening before the dismissal of the Assembly ; Mr. Pemberton said, The Ministers of the Town had appointed next Thursday to be kept as a Fast for Rain ; to turn the Lecture into a Fast ; and God's beginning to send Rain would not be a discouragement. (Sewall.)



Mr. Pemberton preached the Election Sermon on the 31st of May, from the words "I have said, Ye are gods, but ye shall die like men." His subject was : The Divine Original and Dignity of Government Asserted ; and an Advantageous Prospect of the Rulers Mortality Recommended. There was a dinner afterward at the Green Dragon. On the 5th of July Joseph Sewall took his Master's degree at Cambridge. In August he preached his first sermon in the South meeting-house.

Augt. 15. p. m I pray'd with Joseph in Cous. Dummer's Chamber, respecting his being call'd to preach for Mr. Pemberton the next Lord's Day at the South-Meeting-house. Then I read the 13th of Matthew and Joseph concluded with Prayer. I hope God heard us.

Lord's Day, Augt. 20. Mr. Joseph Sewall preaches for Mr. Pemberton, from Ps. 73. 28. But it is good for me to draw near unto God : stood a little above an hour. Before we went out of the seat, Majr Genl [Wait Winthrop] congratulated me on account of my son ; said he had done *Pie et Docte*. In the Afternoon, Mr. Pemberton traced much of his Discourse in his Prayer.

Augt. 21. The Deacons come and deliver him 20s. Col. Checkley very cheerfully congratulated me on account of my Son's very good Sermon. Capt. Hill congratulated me, coming in first. (Sewall.)

¹ See *ante*, p. 329.

Three years later this young man was ordained and installed as Mr. Pemberton's colleague.¹

Novemr. 19. Mr. Pemberton preaches from Gen. 33. 5. And he said, The children which God hath graciously given thy Servant. Bap-tis'd his Son [born on the 17th] having named him William. (Sewall.)

At this time Judge Sewall had a serious falling out with his minister, which, happily, was not of long duration. It grew chiefly out of the old controversy between the Mathers and the Brattles. The former claimed that they had been libelled in some pamphlets recently published; and Judge Sewall and Mr. Bromfield, whose sympathies had been decidedly on the other side, felt it to be their duty as magistrates to issue warrants to bring the authors into a justice's court, where, although they were defended by Mr. Thomas Brattle, they were fined and bound over to the Sessions. On the same day, Mr. Pemberton, having come to Judge Sewall's house by invitation, to meet the president of the college and Mr. Sergeant at dinner, at once attacked his host with the remark, What, you have been holding a court to-day! An explanation was offered, but this did not satisfy Mr. Pemberton, who proceeded to denounce the Mathers "with extraordinary vehemency," saying, "If the Mathers ordered it, I would shoot him thorow." The judge told him he was in a passion, which he denied, and the rejoinder

¹ The following paper, addressed to the overseers of seats, has been preserved:—

BOSTON, Sept 4th 1710

Wee the Subscribers being under some Inconveniency for Want of accomadations in the South Church for our Wives and being Willing to be at the Cost of making those accomadations that are Nessesary,— Provided your Honours with the other Gentlemen of the Committy, would please to grant us our Request, which is to Have the liberty to add to the ffront of the Womens galleries Soe much In bredth as to make room for one teer of Chairs. In Each Seat, the persons Now owning the Seats to possess the front and Second Ranke of Chairs our Wives to Have the Backe part to them selves — Which adition Will make Room for Eighteen persons more, and be Noe Inconveniency to Noe Body but obldige us Who are freinds to the

Society and your Humble Servants to Command

JOSHUA HINCHY.
JAMES BLISS
STEPHEN GREENLEAF
SAMLL GREENLEAFE
THOS DAWS
JOHN FLACK
THOS SALTER
RICHD HALL
SAMLL SALTER
MR PELL ye painter
HENERY HOWELL
DAVID CRAIGG
ROBT PATTASHALL
JOSIAH FFRANKLIN
THOMAS CHAMBERLIN

To the Gentlemen that are of the Committy for Seating persons In the South Church.

This request was granted April 6, 1711.

was made to him, "So much the worse." He then upbraided the judge very plainly "with partiality," to which charge the answer was made that his carriage was "neither becoming a scholar nor minister." The president said that the governor had been "barbarously treated" by Dr. Cotton Mather, to which the judge replied that that matter had been under consideration before the Council. Judge Sewall in his diary adds: "The Truth is I was surpris'd to see my self insulted with such extraordinary Fierceness, by my Pastor, just when I had been vindicating two worthy Embassadors of Christ (his own usual Phrase) from most villanous libels." After dinner, when they were all on their way to the Council Chamber in the Town Hall, to attend a meeting of the Commissioners of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, Mr. Pemberton renewed the dispute with the judge, and with so much warmth that Mr. Sergeant, who was walking in front with the president, turned back to still them in the street.

On the next Sunday, in the afternoon, Mr. Pemberton ordered the first five verses of the 58th Psalm to be sung. Sewall says: "I think if I had been in his place, and had been kindly and tenderly affectioned, I should not have done it at this time. Another Psalm might have suited his Subject as well as the 5th verse of this.¹ 'Tis certain, one may make Libels of David's Psalms; and if a person be abused, there is no Remedy: I desire to leave it to God who can and will Judge Righteously." A few days later Sewall went to see his minister, to expostulate with him, but there was no reconciliation at that time. He was particular, however, to call on Mrs. Pemberton,

¹ [The editors of Sewall's *Diary*, being in doubt as to whether the Bay Psalm Book or Tate and Brady's version was then in use at the South Church, quote from both, as follows.

In the former, the fourth and fifth verses of the 58th Psalm are thus rendered: —

Their poyson's like serpents poyson;
they like deafe Aspe, her eare
that stops. Though charmer wisely charme,
his voice she will not heare.

Tate and Brady thus render the five verses: —

Speak, O ye Judges of the Earth
if just your Sentence be:

Or must not Innocence appeal
to Heav'n from your Decree?

Your wicked Hearts and Judgments are
alike by Malice sway'd;
Your griping Hands, by weighty Bribes,
to Violence betrayed.

To Virtue, strangers from the Womb
their Infant Steps went wrong:
They prattled Slander, and in Lyes
employ'd their lisping Tongue.

No Serpent of parch'd *Afric's* Breed
doth ranker Poison bear;
The drowsy Adder will as soon
unlock his sullen Ear.

Unmov'd by good Advice, and deaf
as Adders they remain;
From whom the skilful Charmer's Voice
can no attention gain.]

to inquire for the baby, and to give a "tip" to the nurse. On the first Sunday in January, having ascertained that it would be Mr. Wadsworth's turn to administer the Communion at the First Church, he attended service there all day. On the 23d of the same month he records: "Mr. Pemberton visits us and prays Excellently." The breach was healed.

Lord's Day Feb 4. 1710-11 Mr. Joseph Sewall preaches for Mr. Colman p. m: prays for Col. Foster. Mr. Pemberton Prays for him.¹

Feb. 5. Joseph returns to the College.

Feb. 18. Joseph preaches at the North [meeting-house].

Feb. 19 Returns to Cambridge. Capt. Atwood comes after his going away, brings 20s. ; speaks very favourably of my Son.

March 2. Joseph comes to Town ; this morning Mr. Pemberton's desire that he should preach for him was told him by Mr. Flint, which comply'd with, though he was to preach at Mrs. Bridghams in the evening.

March 4. To my apprehension God assists my Son remarkably in prayer and preaching. I hope tis an Answer of my prayer last Mid-week. Preaches again in the Evening.

March 6. Joseph visits Mr. Pemberton.

April 15. Mr. Pemberton is indisposed as was administring the Lord's Supper. Had so much of a Fever as to keep him at home in the Afternoon, by which means Mr. Holyoke was alone. (Sewall.)

The reference in the last sentence quoted is to the Rev. Edward Holyoke, a graduate of the college in 1705, and afterward, from 1737 to 1769, its president. He was preaching from time to time for Mr. Pemberton, and was one of those who were thought of for the colleagueship. He became minister of the Second Church in Marblehead in 1716.

One of the great fires of Boston occurred in the autumn of 1711. "It broke out in an old Tenement within a back Yard in Cornhill, near the First Meeting-house, occasioned by the carelessness of a poor Scottish Woman, by using Fire near a parcel of Ocum, Chips and other combustible Rubbish."²

¹ [This was Colonel John Foster, an eminent merchant and a member of the Council, who died Feb. 9, 1710-11.]

² *News-Letter ; Drake's History and Antiquities of Boston*, p. 541. The building in which the fire began was owned by Ephraim Savage. The Old Meeting-House and Town House had had a narrow escape a few years before. Sewall says, August, 1704: "At the South

Church, Mr. Tho. Bridge pray'd, Mr. Pemberton preach'd: just as had done his Sermon and stood up to pray, a Cry of Fire was made, by which means the Assembly was broken up, but it pleas'd God the Fire was wonderfully Quench'd. The wind was Southwardly, so that if it had proceeded from the Tavern Ancor [the Blue Anchor], probably the old Meeting House and Townhouse must

Hutchinson says it began in or near Williams's Court. "All the houses on both sides of Cornhill [Washington Street], from School Street to what is called the stone-shop in Dock-square, all the upper part of King Street on the south and north side, together with the Town-House, and what was called the Old Meeting-house above it, were consumed to ashes."

The South Church was prompt to offer hospitality to its brethren of the First Church in their trouble, and it opened its doors to them, not for separate services, but for worship and the administration of the Sacraments in common fellowship.

Sunday, Oct 7. Mr. Pemberton stays the Church, who vote to have the Pastors of the First Church to officiat with us alternatly in Preaching and administering the Sacraments: and to be recompensed as our Minister. (Sewall.)

We have to depend upon the records of the First Church for the precise form in which this action was taken, and for the letter of Mr. Pemberton in which it was communicated.

BOSTON, October 12, 1711.

Reverend Gentlemen

The Church of Christ which I stand related to having considered the present dispersion of your flock thro' the holy hand of God in the late desolation of their meeting-house, thought it a proper and necessary expression of their Christian love and Regards to your selves and flock to pass the Votes, a copy of which I now send you, according to their desire, which you may communicate to your church if you think proper. The Votes were passed with the greatest unanimity and readiness. It will be to the last degree pleasing to us to have the advantage of your gifts and graces in every article desired. The last Vote, which invites you to administer the special Ordinances with us in your turn, we hope will be agreeable to your Church; for sure we are it is a point of fellowship which is Justifiable by the first and strickest principles of these Churches.

The alwise God has holy ends which he is carrying on by the present dark dispensation your people are under; and if it may but be serviceable to advance the spirit of [unity among these churches of] Christ in this Towne, whereby we shall be better qualified for the society of the Assembly of the First born above, wee shall all have reason to bless and adore the Holy Providence of Heaven.

May our gracious God speedily and peaceably repair your desolations, building up and beautifying your church with greater measures have been consumed and a great part of this Deliverance. Dr. Incr. Mather the Town beside. Ministers express'd pray'd, Mr. Willard preach'd and then great Thankfulness in the Afternoon for pray'd."

of his Holy Spirit ; may all under your charge be your crown and joy in the day of Christ. This, Reverend Brethren, shall be allways the prayer of your affectionate Brother

EBENR PEMBERTON.

At the meeting of the church in the South part of Boston October 7th It was Voted That the Rev. Mr. Bridge and Mr. Wadsworth, Pastors of the first Church in Boston be desired, during the present dispersion of their flock, to carry on alternately one halfe of the work of preaching in this Congregation.

That the Deacons of this Church make the same weekly allowance to them for this service that they do to our own pastor.

That the Reverend Mr. Bridge and Mr. Wadsworth be desired, also, to take their turns in the Administration of Baptism and the Lord's supper with us.

EBENR PEMBERTON.¹

A similar invitation came from the Brattle Street Church, and both were accepted ; the members of the scattered congregation divided their attendance between the two meeting-houses, and their ministers performed half the services in each. This arrangement continued for a year and a half, until the completion of a new meeting-house for the First Church upon the old site.

Octobr 11. Fifth-day, Fast. A collection was made for sufferers by the Fire ; Two Hundred Sixty odd pounds gathered at the South church, the oldest Meetinghouse in Town.²

Octob. 28. Joseph preaches for Mr. Colman, who is at Salem ; Reads the Scripture. Mr. Pemberton prays largely for the Lieut Govr [William Taler], that God would make him a Blessing like his predecessor, meaning Mr. Stoughton. Mr. Wadsworth p. m. pray'd for the Govr, Lt Govr, and all in Authority ; Baptis'd 2 children. (Sewall.)

Dec. 18. The Old Church keeps this Day as a Day of Fasting and prayr, that God would sanctify the late desolating judgment, and prosper them in building a New House for their Publick Worship.³ (J. Sewall.)

¹ [In printing this letter, we have followed Ellis's *History*, pp. 168, 169. Dr. Wisner prints it with very slight variations from the above. Mr. Emerson prints it in his *History*, p. 158, and says that it "embalms in the memory of First Church the piety, good sense, and sympathy of a Pemberton."]

² [This fast was observed in all the churches, and about £700 were collected.

The bell of the South meeting-house

was rung until the new house of the First Church was built. At a meeting of the selectmen, October 15, 1711, it was ordered that Mr. Williams "with the leave of Mr. Pemberton's church do ring that bell at nine at night and five in the morning."]

³ [These services were probably held in the South meeting-house, as Mr. Pemberton took part in the afternoon. We quote from the Rev. Joseph Sewall's

Decem. 23. Very sharp Weather ; yet serene, and had a comfortable day : Mr. Pemberton administred the Lord's Supper. Mr. Bridge baptized John Grice.

Decem. 31. Major Walley has prayer at his house respecting his Foot ; began between 2 and 3 p. m. Mr. Pemberton first, Mr. Bridge, Mr. Colman, Mr. Wadsworth, Dr. C. Mather. Mr. Wadsworth insisted pretty much, that several in the room might dy before Major Walley ; all of them might. Dr. C. Mather very near the Conclusion of his Prayer, said, Probably, some remarkable person in the room might dye before Major Walley. Major Walley was easy all the time of the exercise, had not one Twinging pain. (Sewall.)

Major Walley died January 11, 1711-12. Judge Sewall says of him : " He was a good Neighbour, a publick spirited Man, a Purchaser and principal Settler of Bristol." He held important military and judicial positions. Quincy says of him, in connection with the expedition against Quebec in 1690 : " He was subjected, like all unsuccessful commanders, to the suspicion of misconduct. But although he solicited an investigation, none was granted. Public opinion finally settled into a firm conviction that the causes of the failure were insufficiency of preparation and ignorance of the difficulty of the attempt, rather than want of courage and talent in the commander."¹ Mr. Pemberton preached his funeral sermon, which was printed under the title, *A True Servant of his Generation Characterized.*

Mr. Joseph Sewall had been preaching in Salem,² and he now received a call to become the pastor in the new precinct there. Judge Sewall went to Cambridge, to consult with the president of the college and Mr. Brattle ; they did not advise an acceptance of the call. Drs. Increase and Cotton Mather and Mr. Pemberton advised against it, and it was declined on the 8th of January, when a committee, consisting of Captain Gardiner, the younger, Mr. Felton, and Mr. Foster, came to Boston to urge it. Mr.

MS. Diary for the years 1711-1716, belonging to Professor Edward E. Salisbury, of New Haven, who has given us every opportunity for examining it.]

¹ *Hist. of Harv. Univ.*, vol. i. pp. 422, 423. Major Walley bequeathed £100 to Harvard College, to be applied to the support of "scholars devoted to the ministry." His father was the Rev. Thomas Walley, of Barnstable, who was called on his tombstone "that blessed son of peace." In the funeral sermon

of a descendant, Samuel Hurd Walley, preached at the Old South, November 25, 1877, Dr. Manning said of this inscription : "The words could hardly be truer there than they would be at the fresh made grave at Mount Auburn."

² Mr. Sewall preached for the new parish in Salem on Sunday, December 9, from Heb. vii. 25, and 2 Cor. iv. 17 ; and on Wednesday, December 12, he preached the lecture for Mr. Noyes, from John xiv. 27.

Sewall says in his diary: "I declined it, though not without pain. Their expressions of love and respect were truly affecting and extraordinary. . . . The differences at Salem, the difficulty of calling a church, the distance of the place from my friends, the suddenness of the thing, among other considerations sway'd with me."¹

Mr. Sewall records a fire on the 12th, when "Gray's Baker House and Kitchen, most of Brightman's House were consum'd." This was not very far from the South meeting-house, in Bishop's Lane, now Hawley Street.²

Midweek, Febr. 27. Fast at the South-church in order to call a Minister. Mr. Colman began with Prayer, Mr. Pemberton Preach'd excellently; Mr. Wadsworth pray'd. p. m. Dr. Cotton Mather pray'd Excellently: Dr. Incr. Mather preach'd a very good sermon, Mr. Bridge pray'd. Sung 2 first Staves 67. Ps. Dr. Mather gave the Blessing. Great Auditory.

Midweek, March, 19th. Church Meeting; each gave in one vote: I alleg'd twas fit to give two votes. seeing Two were to be Nominated; But Mr. Pemberton stood for the first and twas carried: Mr. Joseph Stephens had 19. Written Votes; Mr. Joseph Sewall 44. Mr. Flint, 4. Mr. Holyoke, 2. Before voting, Capt. Belchar mov'd it might be kept secret what Number each had; I oppos'd it as a Novel [novelty]; and should not know whether any had above two votes; some others seconded me; and that was best. (Sewall.)

The South Church came to a Vote today. The agreement was that those Two who were highest in the votes should be in nomination. Mr. Stevens had nineteen votes, I had forty four, which were all but six. Lord direct in that affair. Things were carried on, as it is said, amicably and peacably. (J. Sewall.)

Mr. Sewall had been preaching, in the mean time, for Dr. Increase Mather at the North Church, for Mr. Brattle at Cambridge, and at Charlestown and Watertown.

Lord's Day March 23. Heard Mr. Eels [at Scituate]. Rain'd hard last night and something this day; Thin Meeting.

Midweek, April, 2. Congregational Meeting at South-Church. What the Church had done in their Nomination, was by a Silential Vote Approved. The Money left in Æneas Salter's hand, is to be

¹ [Benjamin Prescott, Harv. Coll., 1709, accepted a call to the Middle District, Salem, and was ordained there September 23, 1713.]

² At a meeting of the selectmen, January 21, 1711-12, it was voted "That

three groce of pailles Sutable to be used in case of the breaking out of Fire, be provided at the Townes Charge, and that Mr. Daniell Oliver and Capt. Oliver Noyes be desired to procure the Same." — *Town Records*.

improv'd in making a Tomb for the South-church Ministry. I was not at the Meeting ; because Some had given out that they would have both the persons Nominated. I went to Mr. Pemberton's before-hand and intimated to him ; that Such debates might happen that I might not know well how to demean myself, and therefore had thoughts of not being at the Meeting. Speaking of Mr. Eells, and enquiring how he preach'd, I Comended him ; and Mr. Pemberton upon it, with a very remarkable Aer Said, his Pupils could do worthily, he was one of them. I gave no occasion at all for that Air.¹

Sixth-day, April, 25th. Church-Meeting in the Afternoon : Mr. Pemberton enquired whether were ready to proceed ; Answer'd Affirmatively. Whether would goe by a majority, or two Thirds : were for a Majority as the usual way. Voted by papers ; Mr. Joseph Stevens had Twenty votes ; Mr. Joseph Sewall, Forty seven. Mr. Pemberton pray'd earnestly for them both. Mr. Commissary [Belcher] sent his vote seal'd up. Major Genl [Winthrop] is at New-London.

April, 26. Mr. Pemberton prays with Joseph [who had been brought home from Cambridge, sick, a few days before].

April, 27. Mr. Wadsworth prays very much for him as Elected ; and Mr. Pemberton p. m.

Lord's Day, May, 4th 1712. Mr. Pemberton speaks to the Congregation, and by a Silential Vote, Mr. David Jeffries, Col. Thomas Savage, and Capt. John Gerrish are appointed to join with the Churches Messengers to acquaint Mr. Joseph Sewall with his Election.

Wednesday, May 7. Between 6 and 7. Mr. Sergeant, Mr. Bromfield, Capt. Hill, Capt. Williams, Col. Checkley, Major Fitch, Lt Col. Savage, and Capt. Gerrish, come and acquaint my Son with the Churches Election. He acknowledges the Honor done him, sensible of the weightiness of the Work, and asks time to consider of it. (Sewall.)

Mr. Sergeant said there was a more than common agreement in it, or to that effect. . . . Messrs. Stoddard, Jeffries, Phillips were appointed, but did not come. (J. Sewall.)

The question of the settlement of a colleague pastor, which had been on the minds of the members of the church for four or five years, was now decided. It is not easy, in making choice of a pastor, to approximate closely to unanimity, much less to reach it absolutely. In the present case, although Mr. Joseph Sewall had a decided majority, he lacked two of a two thirds vote, in the meeting at which the nominations were made, and

¹ [The Rev. Nathanael Eells was a member of the class of 1699, one of the classes taught by Mr. Pemberton when he was tutor at Cambridge ; he was for many years the minister at Scituate, and we shall have occasion to refer to him in connection with the revival period, 1740-1744.]

he had only two more than two thirds in the meeting at which the election took place. The friends of Mr. Stevens were so strongly in his favor, that after the choice of the church had been narrowed down to two candidates, it was proposed by some to arrange the matter by settling both. Whether Mr. Pemberton would have preferred Mr. Stevens to Mr. Sewall, we cannot say positively, but, evidently, he was not very earnestly in favor of the latter. The old feeling of mutual confidence between himself and Judge Sewall may not have been fully restored, and he may also have had misgivings about accepting as his colleague the son of one of the most influential members of the church. It may not have occurred to him, in this connection, that he himself was a child of the church over which, as a young man, he was settled as colleague pastor ; but it should be said that his father had never been as prominent in the membership as Judge Sewall was, and, further, that he had died four or five years before his son's ordination. We are inclined to think that Mr. Belcher, and perhaps Mr. Winthrop and some other influential men, preferred Mr. Stevens. Be this as it may, the minority acquiesced in the choice of the majority, and when the time for ordination came the young man was kindly welcomed by all to the church whose beloved minister he was to be for more than half a century. There was some delay in his formal acceptance of the call, owing to an illness he had at this time. Partly, perhaps, because of the state of his health, but mainly for another reason, as we shall see, he was not ordained until sixteen months after the call was given. Once since then, in the history of the church, it has waited more than a year for the man of its choice.

May 12. I visited Mr. Pemberton and He exprest himself as well satisfied in the choice which the Church hath made, and told me He should doe his utmost to make my life easy &c. Lord help me to doe my duty to him, if I settle in that Church, and let us be united in love, and a desire to advance thy glory among thy people. (J. Sewall.)

Mr. Sewall was to preach on the 1st of June, but he had been taken ill on the Wednesday preceding, and had been obliged to leave the meeting-house during the preaching of the Election sermon. He was very ill for several weeks.¹

¹ Judge Sewall's record on Artillery [the annual] Dinner; because of my Election Day, June 2, shows the tenderness of his heart: "Mr. Thacher of Son's incapacity to feed, I refus'd to Feast. Mr. Sam. Carter din'd with us Weymouth preaches: I refrain going to at home."

Lord's Day July, 27. Mr. Joseph Sewall goes to Meeting in the Fore-Noon : Note was, Joseph Sewall being, after long Sickness, in some good measure Restored, desires thanks may be given to God ; and begs Prayers, that he may profit by the Affliction, and may have his Health perfected and Confirmed.

Lord's Day, Augt. 10. 1712. Joseph goes to Meeting forenoon and p. m. Mr. Pemberton prays very particularly for him.

Aug 19. Mr. Pemberton and Mr. Commissary [Belcher] and son walk'd a considerable time together on the Parade.

Aug. 24. Both Mr. Bridge and Pemberton pray very Expressly for my Son as call'd to the south-church. (Sewall.)

Mr. Sewall preached in the South meeting-house in the afternoon of August 31, from Eph. iv. 30: "And grieve not the holy Spirit of God." On the 4th of October he sent his answer to the church.

Oct. 4. This day I gave in my Answer in writing to Mr. Sergeant: wherein I said, "If it shall please the great Shepherd and Bishop of Souls to discover his will by continuing the affection of this Church and congregation to me, I dare not but comply with the invitation." (J. Sewall.)

He preached for the South Church on Sunday morning, October 12, from Rom. viii. 6: "For to be carnally minded is death ; but to be spiritually minded is life and peace ;" and in the afternoon, Mr. Pemberton read his letter accepting the call.

Oct. 12. This day Mr. Joseph Sewall's Answer to the Church and Congregation's Call, was read to them.

Oct. 15. Mr. Pemberton visits us, staid a good while, was very placid.

Oct. 24. Son J. S. and I go to Mr. Pemberton's privat Meeting. Made a good Thanksgiving-Sermon from Ps. 116. 9.

Nov. 2. Govr. Saltonstall and Col. Thomas come to the South Assembly: Mr. J. Sewall preaches a. m. [Phil. i. 29.] Mr. Bridge p. m.¹

¹ Governor Gurdon Saltonstall, of Connecticut, had come from New London to marry his third wife, Mary, widow of William Clarke, of Boston. After the governor's death, she returned to Boston, and became a member of the South congregation, and probably of the church. By her will, proved January 16, 1729-30, £100 were given to the overseers of the poor for the poor of Boston, and £20 "to the poor of the now Old

South Church," "to be disposed of at the discretion of the said Church ;" also, £10 each to Mr. Sewall and Mr. Prince. Mrs. Saltonstall bequeathed £1,000 to Harvard College, "the Income whereof to be Improved for the assistance of two persons who shall by the overseers be esteemed of bright parts, and good Diligence, (always a Dissenter) to fit them for the service of the Church of Christ, and who has not means of his own." Mr.

Nov. 20. [Thanksgiving Day] Joseph preaches in the Forenoon. [2 Cor. vii. 1.] Mr. Pemberton not abroad.

Nov. 27. In the evening in the Street Mr. Pemberton spake to me whether some further step should not be taken about Joseph. Spake of the church's Thanking him for his Answer and desiring his readiness to assist. I told him, I left it to him. (Sewall.)



March 3. 1712-13. Mr. Pemberton was here with the Deacons of the South Church. He

inform'd me of the Meeting which the Church had ; they unanimously exprest their satisfaction with my Answer, and thank't me for it, and design'd my compleat Settlement as soon as the Old Church gott into their new meeting House. He spoke of the remarkable agreement there was in the management of this affair &c. I acknowledged the great kindness and respect which the Church had shown me ; spake of my weakness and insufficiency, and earnestly desir'd their prayers &c. (or much to this effect).

April 19. 1713. A. M. Mr. Wadsworth preacht from 1 Pet. 3. 8. Made a thankfull mention of the kindness which the South and Mr. Coleman's Churches had shown them since the fire, and seem'd to take leave. Lord bless the old Church, and settle them peacably in the House that's built for thy Service. (J. Sewall.)

April 19. Mr. Wadsworth preaches at the South, Excellently ; and with Great and very obliging Affection Took leave of the South church. Pray'd for Joseph in the 2d Prayer. *Post Meridiem*, Dr. Increase Mather preaches 1 Timo. 2. 1. Excellently, vigorously. Prays for Joseph, mentioning his having been made a Blessing. Pray'd not a second time because was Baptisme. Mr. Pemberton preach'd for the Dr. in the Forenoon, by which means Mr. Wadsworth was alone ; but now had all Three.

April 26. Mr. Bridge signifies to the scattered Flock their intention to meet in their new built Meeting-house, the next Lords-day ; Took Leave in very pathetical, obliging Terms. Pray'd much for Mr. Pemberton, acknowledging the Gifts with which God had adorn'd him. In

Joseph Sewall writes, Jan. 16, 1729-30 : "Madam Saltonstall died on the 11th — was buried yesterday. A Gentlewoman of Superiour Accomplishments, and I believe of true Piety." Quincy says of her : "Uniting exemplary piety and enlarged charity with a highly cultivated mind, she filled the high station to which

she was called with prudence and dignity. By her contemporaries she is celebrated for the graces which adorn and the virtues which are the honor of human nature." The baptismal basin now in use at the Old South bears her name as its giver, with her coat of arms. (See above.)

second Prayer pray'd for that other worthy person call'd to assist, that his Settlement might be hasten'd, might be a lasting Blessing. (Sewall.)

April 26. A. M. Mr. Bridge gave publick Notice of their design to meet in the New Meeting House next Lord's day. Blest God and thank't the Congregation for the kindness they had receiv'd. P. M. Mr. Pemberton preach't from [Psalm] 133. 1. Spoke of Unity and peace we have had together since the dispersion &c. I pray'd to God for strength to doe the work which I shall now engage in. (J. Sewall.)

Mr. Sewall preached at the South Church on the following Sunday, from Luke ii. 14: "Glory to God in the highest."

April 29. At the Council an Order was made to restore the Lecture to the new built Meetinghouse, as accustomed; and the place most Central.

Lords-Day, May 3, 1713. In the forenoon Mr. Wadsworth preaches the first Sermon in their New-built Meetinghouse, from Haggai 2. 9. The glory of this latter House. (Sewall.)

The old Church met in their New Meeting House today; so that now I shall probably be employ'd in a constant course of preaching. O Lord grant that I may find that as the day is, so strength is given to me. O help me in this great and difficult work! Let me come to the People in the fullness of the blessing of the Gospel of Christ. (J. Sewall.)

The First Church was now settled in its new house of worship upon the old site. It was built of brick, a dignified structure of its kind, and in after years it was called the Old Brick. It stood until 1808. During the year and a half after the fire of 1711, the Thursday Lecture had been preached in the South meeting-house; but, by order of the council, as mentioned above, it was restored to the church by whose pastor, John Cotton, it was first established. The Election Sermon, which also had been usually preached in the old meeting-house, was, in 1712, preached in the South, by the Rev. Samuel Cheever, of Marblehead; it did not return with the Thursday Lecture, but remained at the South, or Old South, with brief interruptions, so long as it continued to be preached.

So long as Mr. Wadsworth and Mr. Bridge were occupying the South Church pulpit with Mr. Pemberton, there was no immediate necessity for Mr. Joseph Sewall's ordination. When they and the members of their congregation left, some readjustment of the seating arrangements in the South meeting-house had to be made, and, in connection with this, the first and,

so far as we know, the only manifestation of jealousy took place, at the possibly increased influence of Judge Sewall in church affairs through the new colleague pastor. It was well that this feeling showed itself then, and that it spent its force before the ordination. The position of overseer of seats, which Judge Sewall had held for some time, was a responsible one, and the duty which it involved, of arranging the sittings of the congregation, was oftentimes difficult and perplexing.

Tuesday, April 28. I waited on Mr. Pemberton. Mr. Wisewall was there. Mr. Marsh of Braintry came in. Mr. Pemberton spake very fiercely against the Govr and Council's meddling with suspension of Laws, respecting Church of England men not paying Taxes to the dissenting Ministers. Spake very fiercely in dislike of the overseers, that nothing had been done; would chuse others. I think this was before Mr. Marsh came in. At the Gate said what I did twould be reckon'd my Son did; intimating as I conceive, twere best for me to lay down my Overseers place.

Monday, May 4. I wait on Mr. Pemberton at his desire. Mr. Sergeant and Col. Checkley there: Mr. Pemberton declares a Necessity of adding to the number of the Seaters. Would have us nominat at least. I said I would venture to mention one, Mr. Daniel Oliver; then Major Fitch was nam'd, whom Mr. Pemberton much applauded; I and all lik'd him very well. Then Mr. Pemberton enquired whether it might not be convenient to appoint one of the Congregation; we came into it. Mr. Jeffries was mention'd, whom all approv'd. I desired Mr. Pemberton to assist at opening the Court to morrow; He wholly declin'd it upon the account of his Lecture this week, and his great Indisposition. Mention'd my son. But I chose to call Dr. Cotton Mather in the evening. He readily undertook it.¹

Tuesday, May 5. The Church Meeting was begun before I could get to it; Major Fitch and Mr. Oliver Nominated. Then were chosen by lifting up the Hand. Then Mr. Pemberton call'd on them to Nominat another; Som body said, Capt. Savage (I understood it of Ephraim); but Capt. Habijah Savage stood up and disabled himself because of the Dispute between his Unkle and him about the Pue.²

¹ [Court was to be held on the following day for the first time in the building now called the Old State House.

"Monday May 5th [1712] I lay a stone at the South-east Corner of the Town House and had Engraven on it S. S. 1712."

"Tuesday, May 5, 1713. *mane*. Dr. Cotton Mather makes an Excellent Dedication Prayer in the New Court Cham-

ber. Mr. Pain, one of the Overseers of the Work wellcom'd us, as the Judges went up Stairs." — Sewall's *Diary*.

Town meetings were held in the South meeting-house, May 14, 1712, and March 9, 1713.]

² [The following letter from Ephraim Savage, son of Major Savage, explains the controversy about the pew, referred to by Judge Sewall:—

Then some body mention'd Mr. Phillips. After awhile, I said, Some have thought it might be convenient to have one of the Congregation.

*To the Gentlemen of the Committee for
the regulating the seating of the south
meeting hous*

Upon the Perusall of an Order from you about a Pew & I am Emboldned to beg your Consideration of the following lines: My father was at great Expence in building the hous and had a place given him to make a Pew in, which he built at his own Charg and therefore had an undoubted right to dispose of it as he saw fit (which I apprehend no Church Vote fifteen years after could take away) this right he bestowed on me and my two Sisters (one of which deserting) my sister Thacher and I and our children have enjoyed it forty four years Peaceably (excepting this disturbance of my Nephew) four years ago) which I have often complained to you of, but am not yet relieved: but instead thereof, you have Ordered him half the Pew and the Priveledg of my sister Thacher, so that instead of having two thirds or three quarters of the Pew as I should have by my fathers gift and my Purchas there is left for me but one half of one third, or one Sixth part, for me, my wife, my three daughters, their Husbands, and their children: which I do apprehend is by reason of some mistake or some different Interpretation of the church vote and not according to the true Intent and Meaning of it. ffor my father while he had this unlimited power and right gave it to us and none els (my brother Thomas Savage and sister Hannah Gillam having Pews Provided for them) this right we enjoyed ten years in his life time and thirty years more, after his death, without any so much as Pretence of a claim to it. And I apprehend that this right is Confirmed to us, in the year 1685, by a church vote (if that have any force in it) which saith that the right of the builder or owner of Pews, shall descend to their children or so many of them as they shall leav them to to: We are these Children and we are they that our father hath left this Pew to and we are they that were then in lawfull Possession ac-

cording to the Direction given in that vote and were found so by those that took accompt of the owners of the Pews: but if there were any right which my father had not given away in his lifetime, it came to his Executours and was settled before this vote of the Church and it was all sold to me: and I can see no reason why my Children should be drove out to accomodate my brothers Children but if they want a Pew let them go to their ffathers Pew (according to the Church vote) and not to mine: But if all this be over ruled and it is replied that this vote is to be understood that the children of the first owners have this right and so their children, I apprehend that the church vote can not look Backward to unravel rights but if that also be over ruled and all the children of the first owners have this right, he can have but one ninth part for my father had nine Children alive when he dyed (reckoning the only son of the eldest Brother to be one) and that right with all other rights to the reall and Personall estate of my father my brother Thomas Savage sold me almost thirty years ago under his hand and seal acknowledged before one of this Committee and is enrolled in the Records of the County of Suffolk and hath warranted to defend the same AND it is reckoned not to be Morally honest in civill cases for any to assume that right which their parents have lawfully sold and is it not much more so in this case.

This right is further confirmed to me by the greatest part of my fathers Children viz by mr. Thomas Savage Goldsmith only son of my eldest brother Habbijah Savage under his hand and Seal in record, by my brother Thomas Savage and by my brother Perez Savage Sons and Executours under both their hands and Seales and recorded, by my two younger Brothers under their hands and Seales viz Ebenezer and Benjamin Savage: and by Captn Ravenscroft that married one of my sisters released to me under his hand all which I have ready to

Mr. Pemberton assented. Mr. Jeffries was Nominated and voted. Mr. Pemberton said, Mr. Phillips was Nominated ; but I had carried it over to the Congregation : whereas twas what he himself had introduc'd at the Meeting of the Overseers at his House. And I reckon'd Mr. Phillips not so fit because of the Controversy about the Pue.¹ Concluded with Pray'r : Pray'd that my son now call'd to more Constant Work might be blessed of God.

May 7. Mr. Pemberton preaches the First Lecture in the New-built Meeting-house, from 2 Chron. 6. 18. But will God in very deed dwell with Men — very good Discourse.

May 10. Lord's day. Joseph preaches again.

May 24. Joseph preaches again.

May 28. The Four Churches [First, Second, Third, and Brattle Street] Treat the Ministers and Councillors in Town at the Exchange Tavern.² (Sewall.)

May 28. Att the Ministers' Meeting Dr. Increase Mather open'd the Meeting with pray'r. Question — How may a Minister best deport and behave himself : suppose the Church-Interest should prevail amongst us? Answer : Let Him be well studied in the point of Non-Conformity. 2. Take care of his life and Conversation &c. Dr. Cotton Mather concluded with pray'r. The Ministers din'd at the Exchange Tavern. (J. Sewall.)

To understand the question which engaged the attention of the clergy at this meeting, we must remember that the policy of the Anglican Church was becoming much more aggressive than it had been. Writing of this period, the historian of King's Chapel says :—

The bitterness and distrust toward the Church of England, which

shew : some of which viz that of Thomas and Perez were shewn to you and owned by my Nephew

My request therefore is that you would reconsider the case and call in that order, and restore me to my right, and remove the caus of our troubles : which I apprehend will be for the Peace and Profit of the Church and more for the Comfort of the Persons, contending and may Prevent many Sinfull Inconveniencys.

Yr Humble Servt

EPHRAIM SAVAGE

BOSTON 9th March 1714-15]

¹ [Habijah Savage married Hannah, daughter of Samuel Phillips.]

² [The May meeting of the General

Court was chosen as the occasion for the ministers of the country towns, thawed out from the isolation of a long winter, to make an annual visit to Boston, where they found genial hospitality in friendly homes. The Convention of Congregational Ministers was formed to bring the pastors together mainly for a sermon and for a charitable collection for the widows and orphans of the clergy. When the benevolent societies were organized, their anniversaries were held, naturally, during Election Week, which thus became Anniversary Week. On some day of Election Week, the Congregational churches gave the ministers a public dinner. Editors of the *Sewall Papers*, vol. ii. p. 386. The first convention sermon was preached in 1721.]

had been implanted and nourished by ancient sufferings, had become ingrained in the New England character to an extent now difficult to comprehend. This intense aversion to that Church was due not only to a dislike of her practices, but far more to the sensitive feeling that she was an aggressive presence among them ; not only seeking to feed the spiritual life of her own members, but aiming to proselytize from their churches, and really desiring nothing less than the same supremacy in a colony which was peopled by non-conformists that she exercised in the mother country. This jealousy was unfortunately fostered by much that was said and done by the representatives of the Episcopal cause. As it was expressed : " If the church can be settled in New England, it pulls up schisme in America by the roots, that being the fountain that supplies with infectious streams the rest of America." ¹

For thirty years, King's Chapel had been the only Anglican place of worship in the province, but a determined effort was now to be made to organize Episcopal parishes in other places ; those of Braintree, Newbury, and Marblehead date from this time. " Their establishment was attended with much ill-feeling throughout the province." ²

June 10. This day Mr. Pemberton comes to our House, desires me to take my Letter again, would not have me resign my Seaters place now. I took it. Would have Joseph ordain'd in August ; Marry first, that might lose no time. I again express'd myself desirous that it might be before changes from England. Best to be fix'd before such Temptations arrive.³

June 14. Lord's Day. Dr. Incr. Mather preaches for Mr. Pemberton p. m. Prays very much for Mr. Pemberton that God would continue him long a great Blessing : for Joseph thus, that other Servant upon whom their eyes are that God would fit him and furnish him.

August 12. Mr. Pemberton spake [to me] of some General Meeting to morrow night in order to call a Church Meeting referring to Joseph's ordination, said I need not expect any other Notice : I said I needed not.

August 13. A little after 7. Met at Mr. Pemberton's, Winthrop, Sewall, Sergeant, Bromfield, Sim. Stoddard, Hill, Williams, Checkley, Mr. Nathanl. Williams, Schoolmaster, Major Fitch, Mr. S. Phillips, Mr. Borland, Mr. Danl. Oliver, Capt. Winlow, Mr. Campbell. Conferred about the Ordination in order to have the Churches' Approba-

¹ [Foote's *Annals of King's Chapel*, vol. i. p. 250.]

² *Ibid.*, vol. i. pp. 252, 253.

³ [Judge Sewall may have feared the arrival of some invitation to his son to go to England. Mr. Joseph Sewall was married by Mr. Pemberton, on the 29th

of October, to Elizabeth, daughter of the late Hon. John Walley. On the following Sunday, according to the custom of the time, " Joseph and his Bride sat in Mr. Walley's Pew." The Rev. John Williams, we suppose of Deerfield, preached for him.]

tion. Propounded Wednesday, the Sixteenth of September, That Mr. Pemberton should give the Charge, as Mr. Willard gave him. Twas debated whether Joseph should preach, or some other. Some thought it was better for some other to tell Joseph and the people their Duty : Others said, His Duty would be told him by the Charge. Finally, twas left to the Church Meeting which is to be held next Tuesday at 10. m. in the Meetinghouse. One Bell to be Rung. Churches to be sent to, Old, [First], North, [Second], Colman, [Brattle Street], Cambridge, Charlestown, Roxbury, Dorchester, Milton, Weymouth.

August 16. Lord's Day. In the Afternoon, after Sermon and Prayer and Contribution, Mr. Pemberton Warn'd a Church-meeting next Friday, at Ten in the morning at the Meeting-house, One Bell to be Rung. To agree about Mr. Sewall's Ordination, the Time and Circumstances of it. (Sewall.)

Aug 21. This Day the Church had a meeting to agree about the time and circumstances of my Ordination. It is to be on the 16th of September next. Mr. Pemberton is to give the charge. There is to be but one sermon which I am to preach. The Churches which are to be sent to are, The Old, North, Colman's, Cambridge, Charleston [Charlestown], Roxbury, Dorchester, Milton, Weymouth.

Aug 26. Major Winthrop, Sergeant, Belcher, Bromfield, Stoddard Esqrs. Mr. Pemberton and the Deacons visited me and inform'd me of the time which is appointed for my ordination.

Sept 13. Before the last Singing, Mr. Pemberton read my Dismission from the Church of Christ in Cambridge into which I was admitted A 1706, and then gave me the Covenant. (J. Sewall.)

We have no other account of the meeting of the 21st of August than the brief record of the pastor elect, but, evidently, the recommendations of the preliminary meeting held at Mr. Pemberton's house were agreed to. When the representatives of the churches were assembled (we do not find that they were called a council), they appear to have taken the following action : first, they chose a moderator, Mr. Pemberton ; secondly, they desired the Boston ministers, Dr. Increase Mather, Dr. Cotton Mather, Mr. Wadsworth, Mr. Pemberton, and Mr. Colman (Mr. Bridge was absent because of illness), to lay on hands in the ordaining prayer ; thirdly, they designated Dr. Increase Mather to act for them in giving the right hand of fellowship. The church had previously requested Mr. Pemberton to give the charge to the pastor-elect, and no separate charge was then given to the church and congregation. There was no cross-examination of the pastor-elect ; no assumption beforehand that

he was unsound, and that the *onus probandi* rested upon him to show his orthodoxy; and no voting, except by the church, which openly confirmed, in the presence of representatives of the sister churches, the definitive choice it had already made. We know it is said by some that this service and others like it took place when Congregationalism was in a crude and partially developed state. On the contrary, we contend that Congregationalism was then in the purity and strength of its early prime, and that the men who assisted in these services knew perfectly well what they were doing, and intended to do just what they did.¹ The fathers of some of them had seen parish ministers thrust upon unwilling congregations, in the mother country; and they did not propose to build up an ecclesiastical system here, under which congregations should be hampered and irritated and sometimes baffled in the exercise of their undoubted right to choose and settle pastors for themselves.

We come now to Judge Sewall's interesting account of the

¹ The *Congregationalist* of April 10, 1884, referred to the letter-missive sent out by the Old South Church, in anticipation of the installation of the Rev. George A. Gordon, in these words: "The letter-missive calling the council conspicuously violated a fundamental principle of Congregationalism, by going back to the days when our churches were crude in polity and vague in faith, and selecting a form which in language failed to submit to the decision of the body the question of the fitness of the candidate for the place."

The utterances of this periodical were much more in accordance with its name a generation ago than they have been of late. Dr. Clark's *Historical Sketch*, published in 1858, from which we have quoted so freely, appeared originally as a series of papers in the *Congregationalist*; this author was guilty of no such slighting, not to say contemptuous, criticism upon the faith and polity of the fathers as appears above. On the contrary, his judgment is: "All the essential features of New England Congregationalism, and the religious characteristics of her Congregational churches, especially in Massachusetts, received a permanent shape during that period [1640 to 1650], which in every subsequent age has been

looked back upon as the primitive pattern, when conscious degeneracy has waked up a wish to reform" (p. 35).

Referring to the report of a Congregational committee appointed in May, 1844, for the purpose (not avowed), of "mending or remodelling our good old Congregational system," the same writer says: "Though the whole subject of church government was laid open by the committee, their leading object evidently was to magnify the office-work of councils, and to strengthen the authority of their decisions. To do this without trenching on that first and fundamental principle of Congregationalism—the independent and self-governing power of the churches—had often been attempted before, and had always failed. It did so in this instance, and always must. The veritable old Cambridge Platform (thanks to the committee) was printed as an appendix to their proposed Manual; and in passing from one to the other, the reader experiences a feeling of disenfranchisement,—a grateful relief from needless and perplexing restraints,—like one sailing on a broad, open sea, after descending a stream where snags and sawyers and sand-bars have kept him on a constant and anxious look-out" (p. 283).

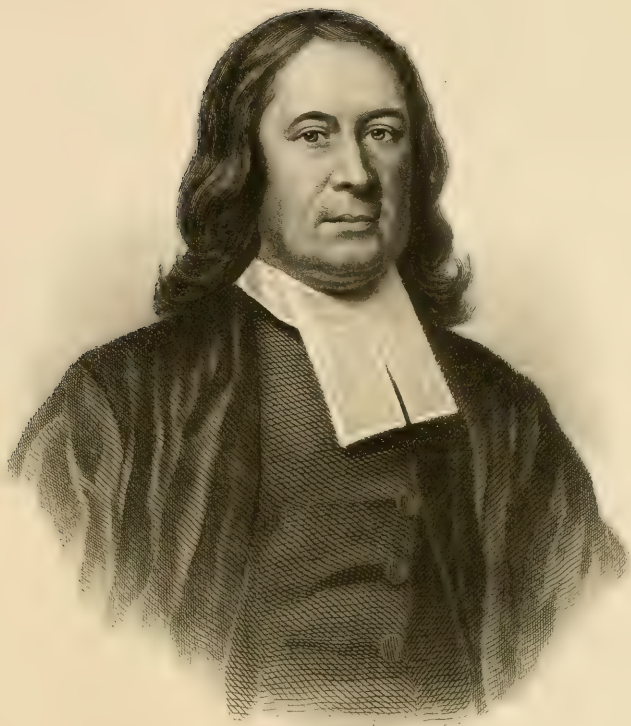
services, to which, as a member of the church and as a father, he had been looking forward so long. A northeast storm, he tells us, had been threatening ; but after much rain in the night the weather cleared in the morning, and the day was "very comfortable."

September 16. Began a little after Ten m. Dr. Cotton Mather begun with Prayer, Excellently, concluded about the Bell ringing for Eleven. My son preached from 1 Cor. 3. 7. So then neither is he that planteth anything, nor he that Watereth ; but God that gives the Increase. Was a very great Assembly : were Elders and Messengers from nine Churches, viz. North, Old, Colman, Cambridge, Charlestown, Roxbury, Dorchester, Milton, Weymouth. Twelve Ministers sat at the Table by the Pulpit. Mr. Pemberton made an August Speech, shewing the Validity and Antiquity of New English Ordinations. Then having made his way, went on, ask'd as Customary, if any had to say against the ordaining the person. Took the Churches Handy vote ; Church sat in the Gallery. Then declar'd the Elders and Messengers had desired the Ministers of Boston to lay on Hands (Mr. Bridge was indispos'd and not there). Dr. Increase Mather, Dr. Cotton Mather, Mr. Benjamin Wadsworth, Mr. Ebenezer Pemberton and Mr. Benjamin Colman laid on Hands. Then Mr. Pemberton pray'd, Ordain'd, and gave the Charge Excellently. Then Dr. Increase Mather made a notable Speech, gave the Right Hand of Fellowship, and pray'd. Mr. Pemberton directed the three and Twentieth Psalm to be sung. The person now Ordain'd dismiss'd the Congregation with Blessing. The chief Entertainment was at Mr. Pemberton's ; but was considerable elsewhere. Two Tables at our House, whereat were Mr. Gerrish of Wenham, Mr. Green, Mr. Graves, Mr. Holyoke, Mr. Robie &c. &c. At night Mr. Pemberton was taken very ill with his old distemper, that could not sit down, took little or no[thing]. On the Sabbath 7r. 20. Mr. Rowland Cotton preaches for Mr. Pemberton, and will preach in the Fore-noon, that may preach at the North p. m. Felix trembled &c. J. S. preach'd p. m. from Jno 1. 29. Behold the Lamb of God which taketh away the sin of the world.¹ (Sewall.)

Mr. Sewall's account of the services of ordination is in the following words :—

Sept. 16. This Day I was ordain'd a Pastor of the South Church in Boston. Dr. Cotton Mather began with prayer. Then I preach'd from 1 Cor. 3 : 7, So then neither is He that planteth anything etc. After Sermon Mr. Pemberton made a learned Speech, shewing the

¹ [Mr. Sewall, in his diary, tells us as Robinson, Deborah Simpson, and that he baptized, on this occasion, Thom- John Merrifield.]



Joseph Sewall.

Validity and Antiquity of New English Ordinations. Then ask'd as Customary if any had to say against ordaining the Person. Took the church's handy vote. Church satt in the Gallery. I gave my Consent in such words as These : Relying on the help of God I devote myself to the work of the ministry in this Place. Then Mr. Pemberton declar'd that the Elders and Messengers had desir'd the Ministers of Boston to lay on Hands (Mr. Bridge was not there by reason of his indisposition). Dr. Increase Mather, Dr. Cotton Mather, Mr. Benjamin Wadsworth, Mr. Ebenezer Pemberton, and Mr. Benjamin Colman laid on Hands. Then Mr. Pemberton Pray'd, and gave the Charge excellently (pray'd twice). Then Dr. Increase Mather made a notable Speech, gave the Right Hand of Fellowship and pray'd. Mr. Pemberton directed the 23 Psalm to be sung. I dismissed the Congregation with Blessing. Who am I that God should call me and sett me apart to this divine and honourable Employment? O Lord, I desire to be deeply humbl'd under a sense of my own sinfulness and unworthiness ! O God, my Dependence is upon Thee ! Pour out on thine unworthy Servant the Gifts and Graces of thine Holy Spirit ! Help me to . . . this thy People in the fullness of the blessing of the Gospel of Christ. O that I might save my own Soul and the Souls of them that hear me ! I am a Child — Lord undertake for me !

Thus began a ministry which was to be most memorable and successful. The young pastor had just completed his twenty-fifth year. He had been the child of many prayers, and probably at an early age had been consecrated by his parents to this sacred work. When he was baptized by Mr. Willard within the walls where he was now to preach the gospel, he received the name of Joseph, "not out of respect to any relation, or other person," wrote his father, "except the first Joseph." He soon gave evidence of a beauty and purity of character such as made the youth of his great namesake so attractive and his long life so useful ; like him, too, but more like Him of whom Joseph was only a type, he was to dispense bread to his brethren, — not, indeed, the bread that perisheth, but that which endures unto everlasting life.¹ He may not have been endowed with exceptional ability, but he possessed that which is worth more than this for permanent success in the pastoral work, — adaptation to its requirements by natural tastes, by careful training, and by an experimental knowledge of the truth.

Lord's Day. Sept 27. a. m. Mr. Pemberton still kept in by Sick-

¹ "Treasure house of golden grain
By our Joseph laid in store
In his brethren's famine sore
Freely to dispense again."

Auto on the Lord's Supper, by Calderon. See Trench's *Sacred Latin Poetry*, p. 56.

ness, his Colleague preaches from Philip. 2. 8. Being found in fashion as a man, he humbled himself to death, even the death of the cross. Administred the Lord's Supper to good Satisfaction. Mr. Bromfield and Mr. Sergeant congratulated me upon it: p. m. Mr. Flynt preaches.

Oct. 4. Mr. Jno. Barnard [of Marblehead] preaches a Sermon too much savoring of Arminianisme. p. m. Son preaches from ps. 37. 37. on occasion of Mrs. Rock's death.¹ Samuel Eliot, son of Andrew Eliot, Baptis'd. (Sewall.)

On the 13th of October Mr. Joseph Stevens, whom some had desired to settle at the South Church, was ordained at Charlestown as colleague with Mr. Bradstreet.² Neither of the pastors of the South Church took part in the services, but Mr. Sewall was present; of the laymen, Samuel Sewall, Andrew Belcher, and Edward Bromfield were there. Dr. Increase Mather was moderator, and the pastor elect preached the sermon from Dan. xii. 3. Dr. Cotton Mather gave the Right Hand of Fellowship, and made "an august speech, showing that the Congregational Churches early declar'd against Independency, that all the Reformation of the Continent of Europe ordain'd as New England did; shew'd that their Ordination had no other foundation." As Mr. Pemberton four weeks previously had defended the validity of New England ordination against the claims of prelacy, Dr. Mather now insisted on the laying on of the hands of the presbytery, as against the ordination of ministers by individual and independent churches.³

Decr. 11. Yesterday Mr. Francis Boroughs was buried. He was a Member of our Church and hath the character of a knowing and good Christian, This day, Major Fitch's Eldest Son was buried. He was a very pious and hopefull youth, about 16 or 17. (J. Sewall.)

The disease which proved fatal to this promising young man, Thomas Fitch, was the measles. Mr. Burroughs was one of the most highly respected men in the town. Judge Sewall wrote of him as "an intelligent exemplary Christian;" and John Dun-

¹ [Mrs. Rock was second wife and widow of Joseph Rock, one of the founders of the South Church. She was a daughter of the Rev. John Wilson, of Boston, and her first husband was the Rev. Samuel Danforth, of Roxbury. She was probably a member of the Second or North Church at the time of her death.]

² Mr. Stevens graduated at Cambridge in 1703. He died in 1721.

³ Mr. Sewall records that the churches invited on this occasion were "Old, North, South, Colman's, Cambridge, Andover, Meadford;" and that Drs. Increase and Cotton Mather, Mr. Brattle, Mr. Barnard, and Mr. Bradstreet laid on hands.

ton called him "an Israelite indeed," and said that Sir Henry Wotton's verses on the character of a happy life exactly described him :—

Whose armour is his honest thought,
And simple truth his utmost skill.

Another useful member of the church and prominent citizen, Mr. Peter Sergeant, was in a precarious state of health, and on the afternoon of the 14th several ministers met at his house to pray with and for him. Those present were Mr. Wadsworth, Mr. Pemberton, Mr. Colman, Mr. Joseph Sewall, and Mr. Danforth, of Dorchester. He died a few weeks later.

Dec. 17. The Lecture was turn'd into a Fast, upon the account of the Epidemical Sickness, and the Scarcity which the Town is afflicted with. p. m. There was a Contribution for the Poor. The Old Church gather'd about 70£, the North 126£ the South 103£.¹ (J. Sewall.)

Decr. 17. Thorsday is a Cloudy and very Cold Day, which made the Fast-Assemblies the thinner in the four Congregations in Boston ; yet the Work was carried on. Two sermons. In the afternoon £103. was gather'd at the South Church, 68. at the old, about 70 at Mr. Colman's, £126. at the North.

Dec. 20. The weather is much more moderate : my Son administer's the Lord's Supper. (Sewall.)

Mr. Sewall preached the Lecture for the first time (in Mr. Bridge's turn) on the 3d of January, from Gen. xvii. 1 : "I am the Almighty God : walk before me, and be thou perfect."

At the beginning of the year, Mr. Sewall, with his bride, Elizabeth, daughter of the late Hon. John Walley, moved into the

¹ [How serious a matter the scarcity was to which Mr. Sewall refers will appear from the following :—

"At a meeting of the Select men Novr. 24.

"Pursuant to a Proclamation of his Excellency the Governor, Relating to the present Scarcity of Graine, and in order to the necessary Supply of the Inhabitants of Boston.

"The Said Select men do accordingly order and direct That the Master of each Sloop or other vessell, Importing into this Town the quantity of fifteen hundred Bushells of Graine, Do Supply each person who Shall come or Send to buy for the relief of their respective families, not exceeding two bushells and an halfe,

thereof for each family, and out of ves-sells with a thousand bushells, two bush-ells to each, and out of vessells with five hundred bushells, one bushel to each family and of flower one barrell to each family.

"And they do hereby Signifie the present moderate accustomary Prices thereof to be as followeth vizt.

	Shill.	<i>P. bushell."</i>
Of good Winter Wheat	8	
Summer Wheat	7	
Rhy	6	
Indian Corn	5	
<i>Town Records.</i>		

Judge Sewall records, November 27 :
"I got a Grist of Wheat among the many that were pressing for it."]

old parsonage, which had been vacated by Mr. Pemberton on the completion of the new one in Milk Street.

Jan. 26. 1713-14. This day my son, Mr. Joseph Sewall, Removes into the Church's House and Lodges there.

Jan. 27. As I pass along I call at my Son's and wish the Blessing of Winthrop, Norton, Willard, Pemberton [his predecessors in the occupancy of the house] to come upon him. (Sewall.)

April 1, 1714. There was a Day of Thanksgiving kept by the Town of Boston, in Consideration of the great goodness of God to us in Providing for us this last Winter, and in restoring such general Health to the Town. I preacht from Ps. 103. 2 Bless the Lord O my soul &c.

April 9. Old Mrs. Mather was buried in the North Burying Place. Bearers [Messrs.] Bridge, J. Danforth, Wadsworth, Pemberton, Coleman, Sewall.¹

April 11. Admitted to church, Mrs. Faith Savage, Mary Neeland, Mary Eliot to full communion, which were the first I ever admitted.²

¹ [This was Sarah, widow of the Rev. John Cotton, and secondly of the Rev. Richard Mather. See *ante*, pp. 120, 121. At the time of her death she was the owner of a house and garden in the market-place, in Boston, Lincolnshire.]

² [These names do not appear on the church register, on which there are no entries between February 7, 1713-14, and March 3, 1716-17.

When a pew had more than one owner, the overseers of seats were called upon to settle the question of precedence.

"At a Meeting of the Seaters of the South Church at Maj. Genl Winthrops the 10th April 1714,

"Present, Maj. Genl Winthrop, Col. Saml Checkley, Mr. David Jeffries, Mr. Danl Oliver, Maj. Thomas Fitch.

"There having happened a dispute about the Rights in that Pew formerly possess'd by Mr. Paul Dudley and Doer Allen — And the Committee having heard the Pleas that have been offered, and made inquiry; do find that that Place was by the then Overseers Granted to Mr. Paul Dudley and Mr. Danl Allen [that is, granted to them in this order].

WAIT WINTHROP
SAML CHECKLEY
DAVID JEFFRIES
DANIEL OLIVER
THOMAS FITCH.

"April 20th 1714

"At a Meeting of the above Seaters.

"We Conceiving the Precedency in the above said Pew did at first belong to Mr. Paul Dudley, we think it's Reasonable it should be so still, and Accordingly order, That the Southerly halfe of Said Pew Adjoyning to Mr. Willard's Pew belong of Right to said Dudley.

WAIT WINTHROP
SAML CHECKLEY
DAVID JEFFRIES
DANIEL OLIVER
THOMAS FITCH.

"This is a true Coppy."

Mass. Archives.

Paul Dudley, "the well accomplish'd merchant and accomptant," died December 1, 1681. His widow, Mary, married Penn Townsend as his second wife. His posthumous child, Paul, was baptized at the South Church, April 30, 1682. His interest in the pew in controversy had been sold to Col. Taylor or Tailer.

At a meeting of the "Seaters," February 24, 1719, it was "Voted that Mr. Francis Willoughby on his request have liberty to purchase Mr. Paul Dudleys $\frac{1}{2}$ of the pew of Coll. Tayler, said Willoughby and his wife late Chauncey quitting their right in the pew Major Walley's held $\frac{2}{3}$ rds of." Mrs. Willoughby was a daughter of Major Walley. Her

June 7. Preached to Artillery Co. from Rev. 19. 14. "And the armies which were in Heaven." (J. Sewall.)

July 5. I went to Mr. Pemberton, found Mr. Commissary [Belcher] and Mr. Bromfield there. They began to speak to me about Deacons. Some of ours very old and infirm. Mr. Pemberton spake how much Col. Checkley was broken ; which I had not observ'd. Mention'd the expediency of adding to their number. Nam'd Mr. Daniel Oliver : I said I should like him very well if he would Accept. Then nam'd Mr. Sam. Phillips : I said nothing. But said, I had need of a List of the Church members before I could speak to it. Mr. Pemberton said he was a man of Substance ; seem'd to be much for him. (Sewall.)

The deacons at this time were Nathaniel Williams, James Hill, and Samuel Checkley. Both Mr. Williams and Mr. Hill were more than seventy years old, and the former died in the following December. There is no evidence that any new deacons were chosen until 1719.

Aug. 5. The lecture was turn'd into a Fast, upon the account of the great Drought which the land is afflicted with. A. M. Mr. Pemberton preach't from Jer. 5. 24 ["Neither say they in their heart, Let us now fear the Lord our God that giveth rain, both the former and the latter, in his season : he reserveth unto us the appointed weeks of the harvest"]. Mr. Wadsworth began with prayer and Mr. Bridge concluded. P. M. Dr. Cotton Mather preach't from Hosea 10. 12. ["Sow to yourselves in righteousness, reap in mercy ; break up your fallow ground : for it is time to seek the Lord, till he come and rain righteousness upon you."] Mr. Colman began with prayer. I made the last prayer.

Sept. 2. There was a general Fast kept upon the Consideration of the Distress on this Province by a Scorching Drought. I preach'd from Amos 4. 12. ["Therefore thus will I do unto thee, O Israel : and because I will do this unto thee, prepare to meet thy God, O Israel."] (J. Sewall.)

first husband was Charles Chauncy, grandson of the second president of Harvard College, and father of the minister of the First Church of Boston, of the same name.

At the same meeting it was "Voted That Mr. James Pemberton be placed in that half of the pew which was Doctr. Allens." Dr. Allen's half of the pew became the property of the church by purchase from his widow, as appears from the following receipt :—

BOSTON, Feb : 26 : 1719

Reced of Ezekiel Lewis in behalf of the South Church in Boston, and in the name of the Overseers, five Pounds money, being for One half of that Pew which belonged to my former Husband Doctr Daniel Allen (the Other half originally to Mr. Paul Dudley Deceasd) this by the Direction of the Overseers & is entirely now at their Disposal for the service of the Church.

MARIANA LYNDE.]

On the 20th of October the fifth Congregational church in Boston, the New North, was organized by a friendly secession from the Second or North Church, and the Rev. John Webb was ordained as its minister.¹ Alexander Sears and his wife Rebecca, who had been connected with the South Church for a year or two, were among the original members.

October 20. New North Church Gathered: Dr. Increase Mather read their Names and Covenant, which they had Subscrib'd, and took their Assent to it, then voted their choice of Mr. Webb. Gave him his Charge, He, Dr. C. Mather, Mr. Bridge, Mr. Pemberton Laying on their Hands. Dr. C. Mather gave the Right Hand of Fellowship. Govr was there, Mr. Speaker and many of the Court. Only the Four Churches in Town sent to. Mr. Webb's Text, He was a Burning and a Shining Light; were entertain'd at Mr. Seers's.

Lord's-Day, Nov. 28. Rains very much. Have the Lord's Supper at the New North, which is the first time. My son preaches there in the After-noon. (Sewall.)

From the last quotation, and from other passages in the diary, we see that what Judge Sewall had said to Mr. Pemberton and others in 1705 on the subject of observing the Lord's Supper once in four weeks, without reference to the first Sunday in the month, had had some effect. This was always the established usage in the South Church, and seems to have been made the rule in the new church.

Lord's Day, Decembr. 26. Mr. Bromfield and I go and Keep the Sabbath with Mr. John Webb, and sit down with that Church at the Lord's Table. I did it to hold Communion with that Church; and, so far as in me lay, to put Respect upon that affronted, despised Lord's Day. For the Church of England had the Lord's Supper yesterday [Christmas] the last day of the Week: but will not have it to-day, the day that the Lord has made. And Genl. Nicholson, who kept Satter-day, was this Lord's Day Rummaging and Chittering with Wheel barrows &c. to get aboard at the long Wharf, and firing Guns at Setting Sail. I thank God, I heard not, saw not any thing of it: but was quiet at the New North. I did it also to Countenance a young small Church, and to shew that I was pleas'd with them for having the Lord's Supper once in four Weeks, and upon one of the Sabbaths that was vacant.² Had a very, comfortable Day. (Sewall.)

¹ Mr. Webb graduated at Harvard College in 1708. He married, April 13, 1715, Frances, daughter of Edward Bromfield; she was a member of the South Church, and died in 1721.

Mr. Webb's ministry was a successful

one, and his church was greatly increased at the time of the religious awakening in 1740-43.

² [The following relates to the Second Church:—

"It was at this period [March 15,

May 8 1715. I preach'd P. M. from 1 Cor. 7. 14. — But now are they holy. From this text I endeavour'd to prove that the Infants of Believers are federally Holy, in covenant with God, and the Subjects of Christ's visible Kingdom. Grace Morgan entred in Covenant and was admitted to Baptism. I then baptized my little Son ; named him Samuel. O Lord doe thou baptize Him with the Holy Ghost and with fire ! Take possession of Him by thy Spirit and grace, and make Him an Heir to all the blessings of the New Covenant. O Lord be thou my God and the God of mine forever ! Let this Child live and glorify God, and help me to doe my Duty towards him. (J. Sewall.)

The honored grandfather was not able to be present at this interesting service. "The wet weather," he says, "and my Indisposition, caused me to stay at home ; that I had not the Satisfaction to be present at the Baptisme." The child of this pious ancestry became a member of the South Church, and served as deacon under his reverend father.

July 14. Son preaches [the Lecture] out of Isa. 11. His Rest shall be glorious. Mr. Stobo and several other Carolina Ministers were Auditors. p. m. I visited Dr. C. Mather and his new Wife at the house that was Mr. Kellond's.¹

July 17. My son and Mr. Webb Exchange. Mr. Pemberton not abroad in the Forenoon. Baptizes Mr. Clark's Son John, p. m.

July 31. Lord's Day. My Son baptizes Nathanael Bethune, James Salter and Anne.

Aug. 2. Fast at Mr. Colman's about Calling another Minister. Mr. Wadsworth began with Prayer ; Mr. Colman preach'd from Ephes. 4. 8. 11. Excellently : Censur'd him that had reproach'd the Ministers as if they were Gog and Magog ; said would conclude as Zech. 3. 2. The Lord rebuke thee Satan — Mr. Bridge pray'd and gave the Blessing.

p. m. Mr. Pemberton pray'd, Dr. Cotton Mather preach'd from Isa. 5. 6. latter clause, I will command the clouds &c. Excellently ; censur'd him that had reproach'd the Ministry, calling the Proposals Modalities of little consequence, and made in the Keys ; call'd it a Satanick insult, twice over, and it found a Kind Reception. Dr.

1741,] that an evening lecture before the communion was established ; and at the same time the season of the communion was changed from every fourth week to the first Sabbath of every month. After two months, however, the vote was reconsidered, and the old term of rotation restored, which continues unchanged to the present time." Ware's *Two Discourses*, 1821, p. 29.]

¹ [Dr. Cotton Mather married as his third wife Lydia, daughter of the Rev. Samuel Lee, for many years of Bristol, and widow of John George, a worthy merchant of Boston, who died in 1714. She joined the South Church by letter from Bristol, March 1, 1695-6. Mr. George became a member a few months later, and afterward was one of the founders of Brattle Street Church.]

Increase Mather concluded, Sung the 3d part of the 68th Ps. Gibson set the Low Dutch Tune, Dr. Incr. Mather gave the Blessing. All excellently ; only I could wish the extremity of the censure had been forborn — Lest we be devoured one of another. (Sewall.)

Sept 1. After Lecture the Ministers met together at Mr. Pemberton's. At this Meeting, there was a warm debate about Mr. Wise's Book (which was written in answer to the Proposals drawn up and Voted by several Ministers in the year [1705] and contains a very high Charge) And Mr. Ebenezer White and Mr. Samuel Moodey were admonish'd and reprov'd for the Letter which they wrote to Encourage the Printing that Book. Dr. Cotton Mather and Mr. Pemberton manag'd the Charge with Considerable Severity. Mr. Moodey stood up and said, as near as I can remember, that He pleaded not guilty and knew or would know whom He should be tried by. Mr. White seem'd to justify Himself, and spoke with a pretty deal of freedom. The matter ended uncomfortably, saving that Mr. Stoddard concluded with an excellent Prayer. Lord save us, Heal our divisions, unite our hearts to fear thy Name, Show thy Servants wherein they have exceeded, and let not a Spirit of Contention prevail among us. Suffer not the Common Enemy to take advantage either from that Book, or the disputes which it hath occasion'd. O Thou God of Peace, dwell among us, teach and direct and influence thy Servants, in the Ministry ; Bless thy Churches, let them have rest and be edified ; Encrease the power of Godliness among them, and let thy Worship always be maintain'd in the purity of it. (J. Sewall.)

The occasion of the severe censures which both Judge Sewall and his son mention with regret was the appearance of a second edition of John Wise's scorching satire upon the Proposals of 1705, *The Churches' Quarrel Espoused*, to which was prefixed a commendatory letter from Mr. Moodey and Mr. White.¹ Mr.

¹ GLOCESTER, March 25, 1715.
Reverend Sir

We have had the favor and satisfaction of reading, and according to our measure considering the transcendent logic, as well as grammar and rhetoric, of your Reply to the Proposals; by which our eyes are opened to see much more than ever before we saw, of the value and glory of our invaded privileges, and are of opinion that if your consent may be obtained to a new edition, it may be of wonderful service to our churches, if God shall please to go forth with it. However, it will be a testimony that all our watchmen were not

asleep, nor the camp of Christ surprized and taken, before they had warning.

We are Reverend Sir
Full of dutiful respect and gratitude,
Your Sons and Servants,

SAMUEL MOODEY
JOHN WHITE.

Several years later, another edition of this work was published, with this note: "The following Reverend Gentlemen recommended the foregoing as well worthy the perusal of the public. Peter Thacher, Joseph Sewall, Thomas Prince, John Webb, William Cooper, Thomas Foxcroft.

"BOSTON, January 25, 1733-4."

Wise followed up his attack with another publication, entitled *A Vindication of the Government of New England Churches*, "a production," says Dr. Joseph S. Clark, "as remarkable for terse logic as the other is for keen satire. It is unquestionably the clearest and most convincing demonstration of the Congregational polity ever put forth in the same number of pages. It would have left its mark on any age that could produce it. But in that age, and among a people whose susceptibilities of impression were quickened by late encroachments on popular freedom in the state, and still later on the liberties of the churches, it was like setting a seal to melted wax. Especially forcible is his argument 'drawn from the light of nature.' Digging down to the bottom, and laying bare the foundation stones, he shows that all human government is, and must be, originally derived from the people. . . . Ranging all governments under three general heads—the monarchy, the oligarchy, the democracy—and subjecting them each to a scrutiny in the light of nature, he discovers that the last named is incomparably the best suited to the end for which human government is instituted; and looking at the Prelatic, the Presbyterian, and the Congregational, as the then corresponding forms of ecclesiastical rule, he finds the same grounds of preference for the latter."¹

Only to superficial observation is there no marked difference between the Congregational and the Presbyterian polity. We have nothing to say here upon the relative merits of the two systems, but we must insist that confusion and contradiction are the almost inevitable result, whenever the attempt is made to blend them. Presbyterianism administered under its own constitution and laws is one thing; Presbyterian rules and restrictions imported into the Congregational system are altogether another thing. When such importation has taken place, it has generally been for the purpose of abridging the liberties of the local churches. The Presbyterian members of the Westminster Assembly brought "an extraordinary outside pressure" to bear upon the New England divines when they were framing the Cambridge Platform, leading to the introduction of certain features into that great historical statement which are out of harmony with its essential character.² These discordant

¹ *Hist. Sketch of the Cong. Chhs. in England, and privately circulated; pamphlets were published, speeches made, Mass.*, p. 119.

² *Hist. Sketch*, pp. 41, 42. Dr. Clark and entreaties uttered. The wonder is, says: "Letters were sent over from that in adjusting the platform to the

provisions were the basis of the Proposals of 1705; and they have been made the excuse of those in every generation since that time, who have desired to bring the churches of Massachusetts and their ministers under centralized authority.

We have few incidents from any source for the years 1715 and 1716.¹ Mr. Bridge, colleague pastor of the First Church, died September 26, 1715. "With him," Judge Sewall said, "much primitive Christianity is gone; the Old Church, the Town, the Province have a great loss. He was particularly

times then passing the framers had not got into it more discrepancies than they have. But so explicitly have they defined the matter, form, and power of a Congregational church, and guarded its independence against internal misrule and external control, that whatever we may find there in seeming disagreement with these fundamental principles must be interpreted consistently with them,—as was long ago intimated by President Stiles in his Election Sermon, and by John Wise in his Churches' Quarrel Espoused."

¹ We reproduce another letter to the overseers of seats, to illustrate further the nature of the duties, often difficult and delicate, which devolved on these officials.

Gentn

Understanding that you are appointed by the South Church to order the Seating of people who belong there and to redress greivances occasioned by Peoples Seating them Selves on others Rights, I acquaint you with the State of my Case (and apply my Selfe to you for redress) which is as follows vizt

My Father you all know was a Constant hearer and Contributor at the South Church and purchas'd halfe of a Pew there, the other halfe of which belong'd to Coll Poole, You may also remember there was an ally between that and Mrs. Gillams as a passage to Major Walleys Pew, which passage Coll Minot got leave of the Church to take into my fathers Pew but not without agreeing with him therefor on these Conditions vizt that if he or any of his family at any time found any ilconveniency occa-

sioned by another family's joyning with his, he the said Minot promised to alter it and make it as it was before, Mr. Minot sells this part of the Pew to Mr. Barber the Taylor and the ilconveniencys wee find are these, Said Barber has built a bench which when Seated on takes up the whole part which belongs to them, but instead of being contented with their own part takes up the whole breadth of a Chair in our part Soe that wee are Crouded out of our Rights, My Brother has once or twice put up a Partition of about Six Inches high only to keep them within their own bounds which they have as often pull'd down

My request to you is that you will be pleas'd to take this matter into your Consideration and either order them to make the Partition as it was formerly or order me the part they now have I paying them what money it cost them or let us have a Seat where elce in the Church you shall think propper, Two of my Brothers have absented themselves for these many years from the Church on the account of their being crouded out of their Seats and my Sisters are forced to goe to other Churches or Sett in the Allys, I begg the favour of you (at your own time) that you'l be pleas'd to give me your resolutions in this affaire and you'l oblige

Gentn

Your most humble servt

JOHN ALFORD

BOSTON, 24th Augt 1715

John Alford, son of Benjamin and Mary (Richards) Alford, was baptized at the Third Church, July 5, 1685.

dear to me.”¹ On the 6th of October, Samuel Adams, Henry Hill, and others received permission “to build a Meetinghouse with Timber, and cover it with Shingles on Church-Green,” on what is now Summer Street. All the meeting-houses were crowded, and there was a movement of population to what was then considered the extreme south part of the town. It was necessary, therefore, to build the New South, which was completed in January, 1717.² On the 19th of October, 1715, a church was formed in Rumney Marsh (Chelsea), and the Rev. Thomas Cheever, formerly of Malden, was settled as its pastor.

Lord’s Day, Jan. 15. 1716. An Extraordinary Cold Storm of Wind and Snow. Blows much worse on coming home at Noon, and so holds on. Bread was frozen at the Lord’s Table: Mr. Pemberton administered. Came not out to the Afternoon Exercise. Though twas so Cold, yet John Tuckerman was baptized. At Six-a-clock my ink freezes so that I can hardly write by a good fire in my Wife’s Chamber. Yet was very Comfortable at Meeting. *Laus Deo.* (Sewall.)

On the 23d of May, Mr. William Cooper was ordained colleague pastor at Brattle Street. He had graduated at Cambridge four years before, and brought with him a high reputation for scholarship and piety. At the ordination service, the sermon was preached by Mr. Colman, and not by Mr. Cooper himself, which was a departure from the usual custom. Between the sermon and the ordaining prayer, Mr. Cooper read a paper, in which he answered four questions propounded by Mr. Colman, relating to Christian doctrine and the work of the ministry.

¹ Samuel Sewall and Edward Bromfield wrote to Mr. Bridge, when it was proposed to call him to the First Church, April 22, 1703:—

“We hope if it please God to incline your heart to visit these parts, It will be a happy Expedient for the satisfactory and agreeable Repairing some one of our many Breaches: for which we shall have cause to bless the Sun of Righteousness, Rising Westward on us, with Healing under his Wings.”

Mr. Bridge was installed May 10, 1705.

² “A piece of land commonly called Church Green” was granted by the town to the new church, September 20, 1715. In the record of a meeting of the select-

men, October 5, 1715, it is said: “The Selectmen pursuant to the grant of the Town have Now Staked out the Land on Church Green for the setting a New Meeting House on.” In the petition for “a grant of that piece of land called Church Green,” it was said: “By the situation and name of said land it was no doubt intended by our forefathers for that purpose.” It is quite possible that this was the piece of land allotted by the town to the Third Church in 1669, and that it took its name, as above, from that circumstance. See *ante*, pp. 128, 129, 142, 143.

October 16, 1716. “View’d the New South Church. Gave the Workmen 5s.” (Sewall.)

In our day, the pastor-elect does not preach his own ordination sermon, but usage gives to him the selection of the preacher, which shows the survival of the old custom in its spirit although not in form. Mr. Cooper afterward married Judith, youngest child of Judge Sewall.

In the autumn of 1716 the town of Boston was saddened by the news of the loss of the *Amity*, — one of the London packets, on her way down the English Channel, — with her passengers and all her crew except the second mate.

Nov. 24. Chadder arrives and brings the dolefull News of Capt. Thomas lost in a storm off Dungeness, and in him Prince, Jeffrey. (Sewall.)

It was supposed at first that Mr. Thomas Prince, a classmate at Cambridge of Mr. Joseph Sewall and a young minister of much promise, was among the lost. He had written to his friends here that he was proposing to embark in this vessel, with "a dear and pious friend, Mr. David Jeffries;" but "sickness and other incidents" frustrated this plan, and he was spared, as it proved, for a long and faithful ministry at the Old South, and for other eminent services as a scholar and historian. His friend, Mr. David Jeffries, was just entering upon a career of honor and usefulness. He graduated at Cambridge in 1708, a year after Mr. Sewall and Mr. Prince, so that they were all in college together for three years; and he became a member of the South Church in 1711.¹ He left an only son, David, who, nearly half a century later, became a deacon in the church before whose pulpit both his father and himself had been baptized, and with which both had entered into covenant in early manhood.

Dec. 30. Only my Son abroad in the Forenoon. Only Mr. Pemberton with us p. m. preaches a notable funeral Sermon from the Promise to Josiah of dying in peace: Only Mr. Belcher and I in our Fore-seat. Son preaches for Mr. Colman p. m., his wife being dangerously sick. (Sewall.)

¹ David Jeffries united with the Cambridge church, December 22, 1706, in company with five of his classmates (class of 1708): (the Rev.) Ebenezer Thayer, Recompense Wadsworth, (the Rev.) Eleazar Williams, (the Rev.) John Webb, and (the Rev.) John Tufts, — six out of a class of thirteen. (The Rev.) Samuel Phillips, afterward of Andover,

belonged to the same class. Mr. Jeffries brought a letter to the South Church in 1711. He was the son of David, the emigrant, for references to whom see *ante*, pp. 355, 360.

His widow, Katharine, daughter of John Eyre, afterward married Oliver Noyes. Her sister Bethiah married John, son of the Hon. John Walley.

On the 8th of January, 1717, the New South meeting-house was opened with appropriate services, and the Third or South Church thus became the Old South.¹ Mr. Wadsworth preached in the morning, and Dr. Cotton Mather, in the afternoon. Mr. Pemberton, Mr. Sewall, and Mr. Colman also took part in the services.

Mr. Pemberton preached to his people on Sunday, the 20th of January, and this proved to be his last sermon. His text was Matt. xxii. 5: "But they made light of it, and went their ways, one to his farm, another to his merchandise." He had never been a strong man, and for several years he had been suffering much bodily pain; but he had struggled manfully against disease, and he did his work well to the last. His colleague said: "I look upon it to be truly wonderful, that under such frequent returns of distressing maladies, he was strengthened and spirited



Ebenezer Pemberton Pastor

in so great a measure to perform his ministerial labours in the house of God." Perhaps to the state of his health should be attributed, in part at least, that irritability of temper which he manifested when affairs in the churches and in the political world did not move according to his mind, and which appears to have been his only failing as a public man.

Feb. 8. Mr. Pemberton is very sick; I visit him in his little Bedroom next the Study.

Feb. 10. Mr. Pemberton pray'd for as there being hopes of 's being better. Mr. Sam Fisk preaches in the afternoon.

Feb. 11. A number of the Church meet at Mr. Sewall's [the old parsonage] and pray for Mr. Pemberton. Mr. Wadsworth, Dr. Cotton Mather, Mr. Colman, Mr. Webb, Mr. Cooper, Mr. Sewall, in the West-Room.

Feb. 13. Susan [Thayer] brings word that Mr. Pemberton had a good night, was much better. Yet afternoon am sent for to him as

¹ This name came into use very gradually. The first time it was used in the Town Records, if we have observed correctly, was in 1723. For half a century, or longer, the church was known familiarly in the town as Dr. Sewall's.

approaching his end. When came was finishing his Will. Then I went in to Him: He call'd me to sit down by him, held me by the hand and spake pertinently to me, though had some difficulty to hear him. Mr. Sewall pray'd fervently, and quickly after he expired, Bolstered up in his Bed, about $\frac{3}{4}$ past 3. afternoon in the best Chamber. The Lord sanctify it to me, and to all. My Son writ a letter to Dr. Cotton Mather to preach [the Lecture] for him, and before 'twas superscribed, he came in, which took as a Token for good. I spake to Mr. [Ezekiel] Lewis, and he approved of it.

Feb. 14. Dr. C. Mather preaches and prays excellently. Come my people enter into thy Chambers—Isa. 26.

Feb. 15. The Revd. Mr. William Brattle died last night at midnight. He was a Father to the Students of Harvard College, and a Physician, My Fast Friend. I wish it be not portentous That Two Such great Men should fall in one week. *Deus avertat omen.*

Feb. 16. Is a great Storm of Snow and Sleet, so that the Burying of Mr. Pemberton is put off to Monday, and Notice sent accordingly.

Feb. 17. Serene, Mr. Wadsworth preaches at the South Excellently, from 2 Pet. 1. 15.

Feb. 18. Great Storm of Snow; yet good going under foot. Mr. Pemberton is buried between 4 and 5. in Mr. Willard's Tomb. Bearers, Mr. John Leverett, president, Dr. Cotton Mather; Mr. Wadsworth, Colman; Mr. Sewall, Webb; Dr. Increase Mather, Majr. Genl Winthrop. Col. Hutchinson not there, by which means it fell to me to wait on his Excellency: 'Twas good going, a broad path being made.

Feb. 21. Extraordinary Storm of Snow; yet many men at Lecture to hear Mr. Colman preach the Funeral Sermon of Mr. Pemberton and Mr. Brattle, from John ix. 4. ["I must work the works of him that sent me, while it is day."] Compar'd Mr. Pemberton to Elijah, Mr. Brattle to Moses. After Lecture the storm increases much, grows more vehement. (Sewall.)

Mr. Colman said:—

There was a Great likeness in these Servants of God: I mean not in Face and Feature, nor in natural Temper or Conversation, nor in their way of Preaching; but they were alike men of great Parts and Learning, alike Phylosophers and Divines, Masters of the best Literature, and very thorow and General Scholars; they had read Books and Men, and were good Judges of both, for they had an uncommon strength of mind, and searched every thing to the bottom, as far as the Ordinary Attainments among Men, may allow us to say so. They were very Judicious Men, and plac'd neither Learning nor Religion in unprofitable Speculations, or Superficial Notions, or in Science falsely so called; but in Solid and Substantial Truth, to furnish themselves with that which betters the Mind and serves the World.

Speaking particularly of Mr. Pemberton, the preacher continued:—

He imitated his great Lord and Master, who spake as one having authority. His Warm or Passionate Temper (which was sometimes his great Infirmary and Burthen) serv'd here to set the greater Edge, and give a further Energy to his Admirable Discourses, which were always Animated with a fervent Zeal for the Glory of God and the Salvation of Man. His Sermons appear'd to Others always to cost him great Pains and much Study; They were Practical, Pathetical and very Moving; Illuminating, Affecting, Convincing. Our Expectations were always Great when he stood up, and how often has he exceeded 'em, never deceived 'em: Like the Sun he ran his Course strongly and steddily, giving light and heat.

The preacher made a passing reference to the controversies which prevailed during the greater part of Mr. Pemberton's ministry:—

My Deceased Brother has sometimes told me how much his Spirit has been wounded, and His Hands weakned in the Master's Work, by the unjust Surmizes and Censures which have been bestow'd upon some of his most Faithful Endeavours to serve these Churches. I also have Suffer'd with him in things wherein I have the utmost Satisfaction of his Integrity and my own.

Mr. Sewall paid an affectionate tribute to his departed colleague in a sermon on 2 Cor. iv. 7: "But we have this treasure in earthen vessels, that the excellency of the power may be of God, and not of us."¹ We quote a sentence from it which embalms one of Mr. Pemberton's own expressions: "It is a comfort and refreshment to us that this bright lamp of the sanctuary went out at last in a sweet perfume; that I may borrow the phrase used by him in his excellent discourse on this subject above a year ago."

Another snow-storm followed those above mentioned, which is characteristically described by Dr. Cotton Mather:—

On the 24th day of the month comes Pelion upon Ossa; another

¹ This sermon was printed, with an Address to the Reader by Dr. Increase Mather, which is suggestive when it is remembered what the relations of the president and the tutor at Cambridge were, less than twenty years before. Says the ex-president: "I had peculiar reason to know him, when he was a student at the college. I then observed that he had a pregnant wit, and strong

memory, and was an hard student, whence it necessarily follows that having (as he had) a considerable time to furnish himself with variety of learning, his accomplishments must be eminent. But that which made him chiefly desirable, was his piety. His gifts were sanctified with grace, and the fear of God."

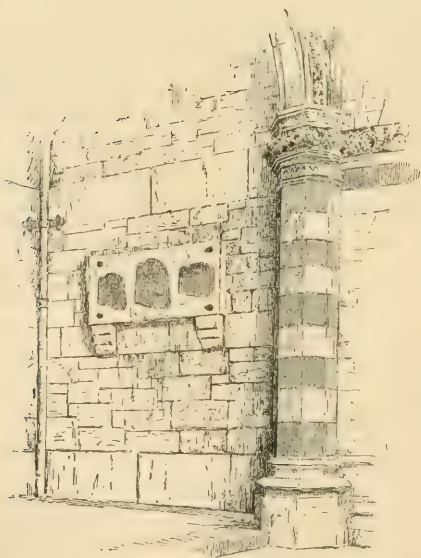
Mr. Pemberton had just completed his forty-fifth year.

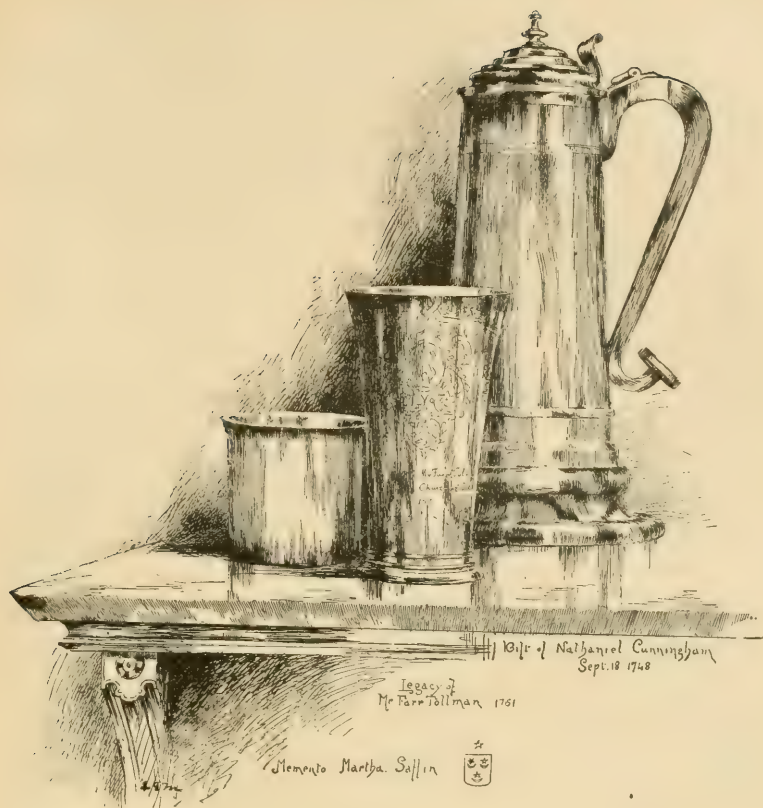
snow came on which almost buried the memory of the former, with a storm so famous that Heaven laid an interdict on the religious assemblies throughout the country, on this Lord's day, the like whereunto had never been seen before. The Indians near an hundred years old affirm that their fathers never told them of anything that equalled it. Vast numbers of Cattel were destroyed in this calamity.

Feb. 24. 1 Violent Storm of Snow, which makes our Meeting very thin especially as to Women. Mr. Cotton of Newtown here. Hardly any of the Ministers at Mr. Brattle's Funeral are got home. 'Tis fear'd many Congregations fail'd. There was none at the New-South.

Feb. 28. Storm. Dr. Cotton Mather preaches excellent [the Lecture] from Psal. 147. He sendeth his word and melteth them. Apply'd it also to the Conversion of the Jews.

March 3. 1. Fair good wether p. m. Robert Calef is baptized ; and Mr. Abiel Wally, John James, Mrs. Margaret Wally, and Susan Thayr are admitted. Mr. Holyoke dined with us, who is still kept here by the snow that makes the ways unpassable. (Sewall.)





CHAPTER VIII.

1717-1730.

THE BEGINNING OF A LONG CO-PASTORATE.

THE young pastor who now had sole charge of this important church was less than thirty years of age. Although the three colleague pastorates thus far had covered less than one fourth of the period of the church's existence, it had become the settled policy to have two ministers, and it so continued until the days of the Revolution. At the proper time, therefore, a colleague would be given to Mr. Sewall, and fortunately there were to be fewer embarrassments and less delay in making a choice than there had been in the last two instances.

The next entries we shall quote from Judge Sewall's diary

refer very indefinitely to some irregularity of which we have no other knowledge. Nathaniel Oliver, son of Peter Oliver, left the South Church, with his wife (Elizabeth Brattle), when the Brattle Street Church was formed, and died in 1704. The name of his son Nathaniel does not appear on the register of membership of the South Church, but this was so imperfectly kept during Mr. Pemberton's ministry that it cannot be depended upon for completeness.

March 2. Capt. Oliver comes to me, and declares his Unwillingness to make his Confession before the Congregation ; his friends advise him. I said, you did run well, who hindered you ?

March 31. Now about 'tis propounded to the Church whether Capt Nathanl Oliver's Confession should be before the Church, or before the Congregation : I opposed the former as not agreeing with the universal Practice : 'Twas brought on by our late Pastor with the design that it should be before the Congregation. Not fit that the penitent should prescribe before what Auditory his Confession should be. Some said there was little difference : I said twas the more gravaminous that Capt. Oliver should insist on it. I think it was the Congregation's due, all being Offended : when a person is admitted, the Congregation are acquainted with it. 'Twas carried for Capt Oliver, and he was restor'd, but I did not vote in it. When he spake to me, I said, you did run well, who hindered you ? He mention'd the advice of some Friends. I suppose Col. Paige. When Mr. Williams spake to me, I said let him as a Captain take courage and make it before the Congregation. (Sewall.)

The Congregational churches of the town decided to observe a day of fasting together, with reference, probably, to their own special needs, rather than to the general wants of the community. Two of them, the First and Third, were without colleague pastors. There was to be a public fast, by appointment of the Governor and Council, on the 4th of April.

March 10. Lord's Supper at the South. Comfortable Weather. Son propounds the Turning the Lecture into a Fast. Sundry of our Fathers in the Ministry think it proper ; which I mention that I may have your Concurrence with them in the seasonable Solemnity.

March 14. Fast, Mr. Webb begins with Prayer, Mr. Colman preaches ; Text, Feed me with Food Convenient — Prov. 30. Prays. P. m. Mr. Sewall Prays. Mr. Wadsworth preaches : Text 107. ult., whoso is wise — Prays ; Sung. Great Congregation. Fn. and Aftn. Dr. Incr., Cot. Mather, Mr. Cooper not there, by reason of Indisposition. Governour was present in the Forenoon only. (Sewall.)

On Sunday, the 21st of July, the London packet Martha and Hannah arrived, bringing among its passengers Mr. Thomas Prince. He had been travelling and living abroad for several years, and during a part of this time had been preaching in England. He was already beginning to be famous as a preacher and scholar, for when it was announced that the vessel in which he was expected as a passenger was in the harbor, more than five hundred people went to the Long Wharf, between the services, to greet him as he landed. He remained on board, however, until the afternoon, when the captain's pinnace brought him ashore, and he walked quietly through the deserted streets to the South meeting-house. The Rev. Nicholas Sever was preaching. Mr. Sewall, who was in the pulpit, saw his classmate come in, and would have made some public reference to his arrival at the close of the service, but Mr. Prince modestly "made haste into the porch," and escaped observation. He had been absent eight years, during which time he had ripened into manhood, and he wore a wig, so that his old friends did not easily recognize him. On the following Thursday, at the Lecture, which was preached by Mr. Sewall, Mr. Prince put up a note, returning thanks for his preservation during his long absence and in his many journeyings. His "first sermon in New England" was preached July 28th, at the Old North; and he appeared soon after in the South pulpit. On the 5th of September he gave the Lecture in Mr. Sewall's turn, and it was printed, with the following title: "A Thanksgiving Sermon Deliver'd at the Lecture in Boston, N. E. on Thursday, September 5. 1717. Upon Occasion of the Author's safe Arrival thro' many great Hazards and Deliverances, Especially on the Seas, in above Eight Years Absence from his Dear and Native Country." From the preface, by Increase Mather, we copy the following sentences:—

It was well done of him upon his safe Arrival here, to give God the glory of this Remarkable Salvation, and to do it in the hearing of a Multitudinous Auditory, many belonging to the Adjacent Towns being present at the Lecture when this Sermon was preached. . . . I cannot but rejoice to see that the Author Preacheth Christ. . . . Many late preachers have little or nothing of Christ in any of their *Sermons* (shall I call them) or Harangues. . . . The worthy Author of the Excellent Sermon which is Emittid herewith, had his Birth and Education in New England. It is no dishonour to the Country that there have been such Natives in it.

Thomas Prince was born at Sandwich, Massachusetts, May 15, 1687, and was the son of Samuel Prince by his second wife, Mercy, daughter of Governor Samuel Hinckley. His father, the son of John Prince, of Watertown and Hingham, and grandson of the Rev. John Prince, rector of East Shefford, Berkshire, England, had been a mariner and afterward a merchant, and already had a large family by his first marriage. "We can well imagine, however, that this first-born child of his young wife was a most welcome addition to his household circle, and as his property increased with the growing demands upon it, our future divine was well placed at his entrance into life. His father was, he tells us, religious from his youth, much esteemed for his abilities and gifts, and especially for his powers of argument; while his zealous love for the principles and liberties of New England no doubt led him early to instill into the mind of his son those principles of piety and that respect for the freedom of conscience so conspicuous in his subsequent life."

He entered Harvard College in 1703, under the presidency of Mr. Willard, and, as his classmate, Sewall, afterward said, "he made a laudable Proficiency in the liberal Arts; and that which set a crown upon all, was, that he feared God, from his Youth, and early appeared a Lover of pure Religion, as well as good Literature. I apprehend, I may truly say, that from his Youth, and in riper Age, as an Overseer of the College, he was a Blessing and Ornament to that Seminary of Learning."

The two years after his graduation were probably devoted to theological study, but we have no record of them. On the 29th of March, 1709, he started on his foreign travels. He went as a passenger in the *Thomas and Elizabeth*, one of a fleet consisting of eight ships, two brigantines, and two sloops, all under convoy of the *America*, of twenty-four guns; for this was during the ten years' war between England and France. The first destination of his vessel was Barbadoes, and here she remained nearly five months. Mr. Prince went ashore frequently, preached several times, and collected much and varied information, which he treasured up in his diary. On the 4th of September the *Thomas and Elizabeth*, in company with a fleet of about fifty vessels, sailed for London, at which port she arrived on the 17th of November. Mr. Prince spent two months visiting friends, seeing the sights of the metropolis, listening to the most famous preachers, and preaching occasionally himself; and then he was attacked by small-pox, which confined him to his room for several

weeks. As soon as he had well recovered he rejoined his vessel, and on the 17th of March, 1710, sailed in her from Gravesend for Madeira. They anchored in the road of Funchal April 27, and six days later, having taken on board a cargo of wines, proceeded to Barbadoes, and arrived there May 27. The vessel exchanged her cargo of wines for another of sugar, and sailed again for London August 3, in company with a large number of ships as before, for mutual protection against privateers. She reached the Thames in October, and Mr. Prince, landing on the 17th of that month, took lodgings, and renewed his explorations of the great city. He attended lectures at Gresham College, on law, medicine, and theology. In January the good ship in which he had crossed the Atlantic three times was burnt at Deptford. "Thus ended," he wrote, "the Thomas and Elizabeth, that began to vie for Fame and Renown, with all the ships built in New England, or that have traded to the West Indies." She probably belonged to some member of his family.

Mr. Prince was at Yarmouth in February, 1711, at Norwich in July, and in London again in September. Early in the year he had suffered from an attack of measles. During the year 1712, and until August, 1713, he was at Coombs, in Suffolk, and remained there until June, 1714. He then went to Rotterdam and spent a month, after which he returned to Coombs and lived for two years, but declined to be settled over the church there. "The Flock to whom he ministered, manifested their earnest Desire of his Continuance and Settlement with them ; but no Importunity could overcome his longing Desire after his native Country, and Father's House." He was providentially prevented by sickness and other circumstances from taking passage for New England in the *Amity* in the autumn of 1716, and spent another winter in and about London ; he embarked for home in May, and after a passage of between nine and ten weeks landed, as we have seen, upon his native shores.¹

Towards the end of this summer Mr. Sewall's parishioners showed their appreciation of his faithful service as their minister by a subscription among themselves of nearly three hundred pounds, for the purchase of "an annuity towards the better support of his wife and family." His salary at this time was sixty shillings a week.

¹ We have condensed the above account of Mr. Prince from an article, based upon a volume of his diary in the possession of the Mass. Hist. Society, in the *North American Review* for October, 1860, vol. xci. pp. 354-363.

BOSTON IN NEW ENGLAND 23d August 1717

Wee whose names are Underwritten Having had large Experience of the Learned and Painfull Labours of the Revd Mr. Joseph Sewall Our Honoured Pastor in the work of the Ministry, Are desirous to Shew our Thankfullness for so great a Benefit ; And do therefore promise to give the Severall summs written after our Names, in order to the Procuring an Annuity towards the better Support of his Wife and Family. And Edward Bromfield Col. Saml Checkley, Danl Oliver, Capt Habijah Savage Esqrs and Mr. Ezekiel Lewis and Mr. Wm Clarke are requested to Collect the money for the Ends aforesaid.¹

Sept. 1. Went to the Solemn Assembly p. m. the rather that I might hear Mr. Josiah Oakes, who preach'd very well, from Psal. 73. 25.

Sept. 15. Went to the solemn Assembly p. m. A Fast was agreed on to humble ourselves for the breach made in the South church by the death of Mr. Pemberton ; and to Seek unto God by prayer for a Sutable and seasonable Supply.

Sept 22. Went to the Lord's Supper : heard Mr. Prince in the Afternoon from the same Text he preach'd on this day four weeks.

Sept 25. Fast at the South Church : Mr. Webb begun with Prayer, Mr. Sewall preach'd from Jer. 3. 15. Give you pastors. Mr. Cooper pray'd and gave the Blessing. P. m. Mr. Colman prayed, Dr. Cotton Mather preach'd from John 6. 11. And Jesus took the Loaves and distributed to the Disciples, and the Disciples to them that were set down. Mr. Wadsworth pray'd. 23d Psalm sung, D. Mr. Sewall Blessed. Twas a good day.

Sept. 29. The church is staid, the calling a Church Meeting is propounded to Confer about getting supply in the work of the Ministry. Majr Genl and Mr. Williams oppose it ! 'Tis voted. Then the Time was debated ; Monday morning and Friday were proposed ; which was oppos'd ; Both were voted [on] but neither Carried it. At last Tuesday come Sennight at 3 p. m. is voted. Voted twice before could tell whether 'twas a vote or no. (Sewall.)

¹ [There were three subscription papers, only one of which has come down to us, and this bears the following names and amounts : —

Andrew Belcher, £15. Anthony Stoddard, 5. Saml. Phillips, 8. John Campbell, 4. John Alford, 4. John Walley, 4. W. Foye, 4. Thos. Savage, 4. Edward Winslow, 2.10/. Daniel Henchman, 1.5/. Saml. Gerrish, 2. Jonathan Simpson, 1.10/. Samuel Bass, 1.10/. Thomas Debuque, 1.10/. Gillam Phillips, 1.10/. John Gerrish, 2.10/. Joseph Maylom, 1. Thos. Marshall, 1.10/. Elisha Story, 1.

John Nicholls, 1. Seth Smith, 1. Nath. Cunningham, 1.10/. Jabez Salter, 1. Thos. Hitchborn, —. Wm. Young, 1. Thos. Kimball, 10/. Francis Archball, 1.10/. Abiel Walley, 3. William Allin, 2. Geo. Bethune, 3. Nichs. Davis, 2. John Leech, 10/. Saml. Checkley, 3. Habijah Savage, 5. Total £91.15.0.

The totals from the other lists are brought forward on the paper before us, £80 and £115.5.0, making the total of the subscription, so far as we know, £287.0.0. There was a similar subscription for Mr. Willard in 1693.]

Of the meeting held on the 8th of October we have no record, but Mr. Prince was engaged for two months to supply the pulpit with Mr. Sewall.

Judge Sewall's wife, Hannah, and the mother of his fourteen children, died on Saturday, October 19, at the age of sixty. She was a modest, patient, and unobtrusive woman; self-distrustful, perhaps, for although she owned the covenant with many of her young friends in 1680, two years after her marriage, she did not come into full membership until 1688. Her family cares and the state of her health kept her in retirement; that she was exemplary in her sphere, we have not only the testimony of her husband, but the witness of her children's character. Their training must have depended largely upon her, for their father had many public duties and was much from home.¹ On the day after her death, this father attended divine service as usual, morning and afternoon, and recorded pathetically, "My Son has much adoe to read the Note I put up, being overwhelm'd with tears."

Nine days later, Judge Sewall was bereft of his son-in-law, Mr. Grove Hirst, a merchant of high standing, and a faithful member of Brattle Street Church.² His daughter, Mrs. Elizabeth Hirst, had died the year before, and a young family of orphan children was now left to his care. Three of them, Hannah, Elizabeth, and Jane,³ became members of the Old South in 1726.

Mrs. Sewall was buried on Wednesday, October 23; Mr. Hirst, on Wednesday, October 30. On Wednesday, November 6, Andrew Belcher was buried. He was the most opulent merchant in the town, a member of the council and commissary of the forces. He had been an active member of the South Church for twenty years. On the same day, another leading member, also a councillor, died, — Wait Still Winthrop, chief justice and major-general, "for parentage, piety, prudence, philosophy, love to New England ways and people, very eminent."⁴ Both Mr. Winthrop and Mr. Belcher were bearers at

¹ Mr. Joseph Sewall says in his diary that "under all infirmities of body and spirit [she] was a diligent reader."

² See Mr. Colman's Funeral Sermon. William Hirst, father of Grove Hirst, died four days after his son.

³ Hannah married Nathaniel Balston, Elizabeth the Rev. Charles Chauncy,

and Jane the Rev. Addington Davenport. An older sister, Mary, married William Pepperrell in 1722.

⁴ The editors of Sewall's *Diary* say truly that no finer tribute than this could be paid. Mr. Winthrop, although chief justice, was more frequently called the major-general. A military title was evi-

Mrs. Sewall's funeral.¹ Judge Sewall heard, November 21, of the death of William Tilly, "a great loss to the South Church and to the town," and, November 30, of that of Samuel Bridge, whom also we suppose to have been a member of the church or congregation, as he left a small sum of money to the poor of the church. "The good Lord stay his hand!" says Sewall in his diary.

Mr. Thomas Foxcroft² was ordained as colleague at the Old, or First Church, on Wednesday, November 20. Mr. Joseph Sewall joined in laying on hands. Dr. Increase Mather gave the right hand of fellowship, and said that he had performed this service three times at the South Church, and this was the third time it had fallen to him at the First Church.

Lord's Day Dec 8. Mr. Secretary [Josiah Willard] puts up a Note for Thanksgiving for his safe Arrival [from England]. Madam Winthrop for the Recovery of her only Son.

P. m. Mr. Jonathan Belcher comes to the Assembly and very pathetically acknowledges [we suppose, in a note] God's distinguishing Mercy towards him.³ At night the Church is stayed, and Mr. Thomas Prince's two Moneths being compleat; Friday the 20th current is

dently thought more of than a judicial one. Judge Sewall was known to his townsmen as Captain Sewall, and Mr. Walley, who was also on the bench, was usually called Major Walley. The military title took precedence even of the favorite prefix, deacon; for example: Captain Frary, Captain Williams, Colonel Checkley.

¹ Another bearer, Col. Elisha Hutchinson, a councillor, was buried December 16. "Now," says Sewall, "I have been a Bearer to three of my Wive's Bearers in less than two Moneths time."

² Thomas Foxcroft was a son of Francis Foxcroft, a prominent man in King's Chapel, who designed his son for the ministry of the Church of England. After his graduation in 1714, Thomas taught school in Roxbury, where, becoming intimate with the Rev. Nehemiah Walter, he was convinced by him "of the truth and excellence of the Puritan faith, which he adopted," and gave his life to the Congregational ministry. He married Anna, daughter of John Coney, the goldsmith.

³ [More than thirty years afterward,

Mr. Belcher, then governor of New Jersey, thus wrote to Mr. Prince, of his father's deathbed:—

"My Father was as great a Genius as his Country could boast of, but wanted an Education to Improve and polish it. Governor Dudley (who was a good Judge) used to say that Mr. Commissary Belcher would make a good Minister of State to any Prince in Europe, Especially in the Article of Finance. His late Farewell and Blessing of me show'd his strong thoughts and great modesty. Its fresh in my memory and will be till the Frost of Age seals up that Faculty; he called me to his Bed-side, took me by the hand and said — Son you may expect me to bless you in a better manner and style than I am able to do, for God did not put it into your grandfather's power to give me the Education he Inabled me to give you, but remember my Last Words to you are — *May the Blessing of the God of Abraham and the God of Isaac and the God of Jacob rest upon you and your seed for Ever. Amen. Farewell.* Neither the Patriarchs nor Apostles could have done it better."



Thomas Prince

appointed for the Church to Meet to Consider what further Steps are to be taken.

Dec. 20. Church Meeting. After debate voted by Papers, whether would now proceed to the Choice of a Pastor; 40. Yeas, 27 Nôs. Then voted for a Pastor, and Mr. Thomas Prince had 48. Mr. Saml. Fiske, 12. Appointed a Committee to wait on Mr. Prince and acquaint him with the Churches Call, and their Desire of his Acceptance; Deacons, Gentlemen of the Fore-Seat, Justices, Mr. Nathani Williams [Committee].

Lord's Day, Dec. 22. The Congregation is Acquainted herewith and the Committee told them, and mention is made of some Nominated for the Congregation, if they aprov'd of them.

Dec. 23. Committee met at Mr. Sewall's. From thence went to Mr. Prince about 6. p. m. There were of the Congregation, Mr. David Jeffries, Col. Thomas Savage, Capt. Gerrish, Mr. Wm Foy, that I remember. We Thank'd him for his Labours with us in the Ministry these Two Moneths. The Church had sent us to acquaint him of their Choice of him last Friday to the Pastoral Charge, and to desire his Acceptance. Disabled himself, twould require Time, would not be hurried. Told him his Answer was not expected presently, would not precipitat him. He desired our Prayers were his. At parting said, that as his preaching with us had been Acceptable, Edifying, we desired the Continuance of it, and so might have the best opportunity to pray mutually for the Direction of God. (Sewall.)

Less than six months had passed since Mr. Prince landed quietly at Long Wharf and worshipped unrecognized at the South Church, and now he had received an invitation, which in due time he would accept, to settle there as one of the pastors. In the mean time he had preached in several pulpits, and more than one church was ready to receive him as its minister. He was called, almost immediately after his arrival, by the Hingham church, whose venerable meeting-house, "the Old Ship," still remains;¹ the church at Bristol also gave him an unanimous call. We can see many reasons why the South Church should have the preference with him over any other, and it is not unlikely that he returned to New England just when he did at the instance of Mr. Joseph Sewall, and with some view to

¹ In the Introduction to his ordination sermon, addressed to the people of the Old South, he said:—

"The sudden Invitation of so desirable and considerable a Church and Town as Hingham, within Eight and Forty Hours of my landing and their Call in a little Time after, together with Yours at the

same Conjunction—must needs astonish my mind. . . . I had denyed the Solicitations of Two in England before, of Battsford and Coombs in Suffolk, and afterwards of a larger Society, that alternately meets at Winden and Clavering on the Borders of Cambridgeshire and Essex."

what afterward took place. He manifested no haste, however, in giving his decision. Perhaps the circumstance that one fifth of the votes thrown at the meeting convened to act upon the calling of a colleague pastor were for some else, and that several who were present did not vote at all, led him to hesitate a little.

Lord's Day Febr. 9. 1718. As my Son went out at Noon after the Lord's Supper, he invited me to Dine with him, which I did ; He told me Mr. Prince resolv'd to give his Answer that day ; Mr. Prince desired me to read it over, which I did ; but alter'd very little, though I had Commission. Twas read after Sermon before Singing. Mr. Sewall said, he hop'd God had in Mercy inclin'd his Servant to give this Answer, that it would be in way of a Blessing ; we must earnestly pray, and do our Duty that it might be so.

Lord's Day, Feb. 23. Mr. Foxcroft preaches. I set York Tune, and the Congregation went out of it into St David's in the very second going over. They did the same three weeks before. This is the second Sign. I think they began in the last Line of the first going over. This seems to me an intimation and call for me to resign the Præcentor's Place to a better Voice. I have through the divine Long-suffering and Favour done it for twenty-four years, and now God by his Providence seems to call me off ; my voice being enfeebled. I spake to Mr. White earnestly to set it in the Afternoon ; but he declin'd it. After the Exercises, I went to Mr. Sewall's, Thank'd Mr. Prince for his very good Discourse : and laid this matter before them, told them how long I had set the Tune ; Mr. Prince said, Do it six years longer. I persisted and said that Mr. White or Franklin might do it very well. The Return of the Gallery where Mr. Franklin sat was a place very convenient for it.

Feb. 27. I told Mr. White Next Sabbath was in a Spring Moneth, he must then set the Tune. I set now Litchfield Tune to a good Key. [This must have been at the Thursday Lecture.]

Feb. 28. I told Mr. Nathanl Williams My voice was much Enfeebled ; He said twas apparently so. I bid him tell Mr. White of it.

March 2. I told Mr. White the elders desired him, he must Set the Tune, he disabled himself, as if he had a Cold. But when the Psalm was appointed, I forbore to do it, and rose up and turn'd to him, and he set York Tune to a very good Key. I thank'd him for restoring York Tune to its Station with so much Authority and Honor. I was glad ; I saw twas Convenient that I had resign'd, being for the benefit of the Congregation. (Sewall.)

Mr. John White, who led the singing as the successor of Judge Sewall in the precentorship, "and did it very sweetly," is one of those whose names it disappoints us not to find in the

register, for he was undoubtedly a member of the South Church. He graduated at Harvard College in 1685, at the age of sixteen. He was chaplain to Sir William Phips, when he was governor of the province, "to whom and all persons of figure in the town, he then endear'd himself, by a shining Ingenuity, Wisdom, Humility and Piety, the crown of all." After Sir William's death, Mr. White was for three years a representative for the town of Boston, and then for twenty years he was annually chosen clerk of the House of Representatives. Upon the death of Mr. Thomas Brattle in 1714 he was made treasurer of Harvard College, and so continued through life. He was also one of the corporation, and was "a father to that society, not only in a faithful care of 's estate, but also in a wise and prudent government of it."¹

March 23. Next Friday is agreed on for a Church Meeting to adjust matters relating to the Ordination. Wednesday was mention'd ; but Mr. Bromfield said he supposed Mr. Denison's Funeral would be on that day.²

March 28 Church Meeting at the South to set a time for the Ordination of Mr. Prince. But Mr. [Edward] Winslow, Emory³—oppos'd it as too soon ; so many did not Vote for having it in the Spring, that nothing was done. Voted Madam Pemberton 40.£ and she has had near 10.£ in wood. Propounded the chusing two Deacons the next Church meeting.

March 30. Dr. Increase Mather preaches excellently at the South p. m. Mr. Sewall preach'd for him a. m.

April 6. Dr. Cotton Mather preaches for Mr. Prince a. m. very well, and Communicats.

April 9. Son holds the Catechizing.

April 13. Great Lightening with Thunder, Forenoon and Afternoon ; But through the goodness of God, the Claps were not very sharp. Mr. Prince p. m. order'd part of the 29th Psalm to be sung. ["The God of glory thundereth."]

July 6. Cous. [the Rev. Joshua] Moodey preaches at the South a. m. Mr. Sol. Stoddard p. m. Both Excellently.

August 26. Church Meeting South. Agree to have Mr. Prince ordain'd the first of October next. (Sewall.)

The church records give us an amplification of the last para-

¹ Mr. White died December 11, 1721, in the fifty-third year of his age. For an estimate of his character, see *Boston News-Letter*, quoted by the editors of the *Sewall Papers*, vol. iii. pp. 296, 297.

² [William Denison, of Roxbury, a son of Major-General Denison, Harv. Coll. 1681, died March 22, 1717-18.]

³ [The name of Emory does not appear on the list of members.]

graph, and the vote, a few months before, in favor of Mrs. Pemberton.

At a church meeting March 28, 1718.

Voted — That an Allowance of fourty Pounds be made to Mrs. Mary Pemberton out of the church stock, in consideration of her being the Relict of the Rev. Mr. Ebenezer Pemberton, our late worthy pastor.

JOSEPH SEWALL.

At a chh. meeting Augt 26. 1718.

Voted — That Wednesday, the first of next October be the Day for the Ordination of Mr. Thomas Prince.

Voted — That these Churches be sent to; viz: The Old Church, The North Church, The Church in Brattle Street, and, The New-north Church of this Town; The Church in Charlestown, the Church in Cambridge, The first Church in Roxbury; and that these churches be desir'd to Assist at the Ordination by their Elders and Messengers.

Voted — That the Revd. Dr. Increase Mather be desired to Give the Charge.

Voted — That the Revd. Dr. C. Mather Mr. Wadsworth, and Mr. Coleman be joyn'd with Dr. I. Mather and our Pastor in Laying on of Hands.

JOSEPH SEWALL.

It is evident that in making arrangements for the ordination services, the church determined everything except as to who should give the right hand of fellowship. This being the act of the churches which should accept the invitation, it was proper, of course, that their elders and messengers should select the person to represent them in it. The terms of the last vote indicate that the church chose Dr. Increase Mather to preside or to officiate as moderator. The pastor-elect preached the sermon, as a matter of course.

Mr. Prince was received into the church on Sunday, September 28.

Mr. Prince's Letter of Dismission was read from the church of Cambridge where he was admitted January 1705. Mr. Sewall said: "Brethren your choice of Mr. Prince to the pastoral office among you, prevents my asking your consent to his Admission," and then gave him the Covenant.¹ (Joseph Sewall.)

Oct. 1. Ordination of Mr. Thomas Prince. Mr. Wadsworth began with Prayer, very well, about $\frac{1}{2}$ past ten. Mr. Prince preached from Hebr. 13.-17. ["Obey them that have the rule over you, and submit yourselves: for they watch for your souls, as they that must give

¹ [Sewall's *Commonplace Book*, MS. in the Prince Library belonging to the Old South Church.]

account ; that they may do it with joy, and not with grief : for that is unprofitable for you." ¹] Mr. Sewall pray'd. Dr. Incr. Mather ask'd if any had to object : ask'd the Church Vote who were in the Gallery fronting the Pulpit. Ask'd Mr. Prince's Acceptance of the Call. Dr. Increase Mather, Dr. Cotton Mather, Mr. Wadsworth, Colman, Sewall lay their Hands on his head. Dr. Incr. Mather Prays : Gives the Charge, Prays agen. Dr. Cotton Mather gives the Right Hand of Fellowship. Dr. Incr. Mather, when he declared whom the elders and Messengers had appointed to do it, [said] that it was a good Practice. Sung Psal. 68. 17-20. ["The chariots of God are twenty thousand," etc.] Mr. Prince gave the Blessing. Govr. Dudley and his Lady came in about the beginning of Sermon. Entertainment was at Mr. Sewall's, which was very plentiful and splendid. ² (Sewall.)

More than forty years were to pass before there would be another ordination at the Old South, and they were to be years of great religious prosperity. Mr. Prince had been supplying the pulpit with more or less regularity ever since his return from England, so that the transition to the full pastoral relation was an easy and natural one. He preached his first sermon after his ordination, Sunday afternoon, October 12, from Psalm lxxi. 14-17 : "But I will hope continually, and will yet praise thee more and more. My mouth shall show forth thy righteousness and thy salvation all the day ; for I know not the numbers thereof. I will go in the strength of the Lord God : I will make mention of thy righteousness, even of thine only. O God, thou hast taught me from my youth : and hitherto have I declared thy wondrous works." On Sunday, October 19, he administered the ordinance of baptism for the first time.

The Rev. Samuel Fisk, who was the first choice of a minority of the members of the South Church, had previously received a call to the New South, but had declined it. He was afterward settled at Salem. The new church in Summer Street now came to its older namesake for a minister, in the person of Mr. Samuel Checkley, son of Deacon Samuel Checkley, and grandson of Joshua Scottow. Mr. Checkley graduated at Harvard College in 1715 ; he served as minister of the New South for fifty years, and was a very excellent man. His daughter, Elizabeth, married Samuel Adams, the patriot, who wrote of her in the family Bible, at the time of her death in 1757 : "She ran her Christian race with a remarkable steadiness and finished it in triumph."

¹ [Of this ordination sermon the Rev. Charles Chauncy said that no ordinary man could have written it.]

² [The charge on the deacons' books for wine used on this occasion was £5. 17. 3.]

April 15. Mr. Samuel Checkley was Ordain'd ; Five Churches in Town, and Cambridge were sent to. Dr. Increase Mather gave the Members of the church the Covenant, and then Ordain'd ; Dr. Cotton Mather gave the Right Hand of Fellowship. Mr. Wadsworth began with Prayer, Mr. Checkley preached, Mr. Colman prayed. After the Ordination the first and last Staves of 122. Psalm were Sung. Mr. Boon set Windsor Tune, and read it well. Dr. Incr. Mather, Dr. C. Mather, Mr. Wadsworth, Colman, and Sewall, laid on Hands. (Sewall.)

This was the sixth Congregational church in the town ; it began with forty-four members, of whom Samuel Adams, Thomas Peck, John Clough, and perhaps others came from the Old South.

April 17. South Church Meeting p. m. Choose two Deacons ; Mr. Barthol. Green, Mr. Danl Henchman. Voters 41. Mr. Green had 37. Mr. Henchman 19. Mr. Franklin 10. I was afraid we should have been hindered by Lethered's Arrival, 5. weeks passage ; but it prov'd otherwise. *Laus Deo.* Mr. Sewall began, and Mr. Prince concluded with Prayer. (Sewall.)

Mr. Green was the principal printer of the town and country for forty years. He married, as his second wife, in 1710, Jane Tappan, a niece of Judge Sewall. It was said of him at the time of his death in 1732 : "He was a person generally known and esteemed among us, as a very humble and exemplary Christian, one who had much of that primitive Christianity in him, which has always been the distinguishing glory of New England." Mr. Henchman was a grandson of Daniel Henchman, one of the early members of the church. He was the enterprising bookseller who caused the first edition in America of the English Bible to be printed. His daughter Lydia married Thomas Hancock, and gave the land in Court Street on which the parsonage of Brattle Street Church stood for many years.¹

On the evening of Thanksgiving Day, October 29, Judge Sewall was married to Abigail, widow of William Tilly. On the following evening, Mr. Prince was married at the house of Mr. Daniel Oliver, to Deborah Denny, who had been a member of his congregation at Coombs, in England, and who, with her

¹ Daniel Henchman's name does not appear at all on the register of membership ; and Bartholomew Green's appears under date of June 21, 1719, two months after his election to the office of deacon. We suppose that the omission of the latter name was discovered and the entry

made at this date, but the omission in the case of Mr. Henchman does not seem to have been noticed. Bartholomew Green, Jr., was baptized September 1, 1700, and owned the covenant January 2, 1725. Lydia Henchman was baptized October 10, 1714.

brother and some friends, had sailed with him in the same ship on his return to New England.¹ She was about twenty-one years of age at the time of her marriage, and ten years younger than her husband. In anticipation of this marriage the church had recently taken action, asking Mrs. Pemberton to vacate the new parsonage, and placing it at the disposal of Mr. Sewall, and assigning the old one to Mr. Prince. From this time forward, the church records are more full, for which we are indebted to Mr. Sewall, who seems to have had the methodical habits of his father.

At a chh. meeting Octr. 2. 1719.

Voted — That our Pastor Joseph Sewall be desired to Remove into the new Ministerial House, as soon as he conveniently may, and shall see meet so to doe.

Voted — That the Gentlemen of the Fore Seats with the Deacons, be a Committee to Notify Mrs. Pemberton of the above mention'd Vote, and to desire her to Comply with it as soon as she can with convenience.

Voted — That the Deacons, or any two of them be empowered to receive the Legacy given this church, by the Honorable Andrew Belcher Esqr deceased, for the use of the Church, and give a Discharge to the Executor accordingly.

Voted — That the Summ of forty Pounds be given out of the Church Stock, to Mrs. Mary Pemberton, in consideration of her being the Relict of the Rev'd Mr. Ebenezer Pemberton, our late Pastor ; And that this summ be Presented to her by the above mention'd Committee.

Voted — That the Summ of twenty Pounds be given by the Deacons to Mrs. Eunice Willard out of the Church Stock, in consideration of her being the Relict of the Revd. Mr. Samuel Willard, formerly our Pastor.

Voted — That three Pounds, five Shillings pr. Week, be allow'd and by the Deacons paid, to Mr. Joseph Sewall, our Reverend Pastor.

¹ The Martha and Hannah brought as cabin passengers, besides Mr. Prince, Stephen Barford and William Argent, from Cambridgeshire ; James Southgate, his wife and three daughters, Richard Southgate, his wife, two sons, and three daughters, Dorcas and Margaret Southgate, Rebecca Harvey, Samuel Denny and Deborah Denny, all, as we suppose, from Suffolk. There were also four steerage passengers and twelve men-servants. The Southgates and Dennys seem to have been peculiarly attached to

Mr. Prince, and according to Dr. Sewall they were influenced to migrate to this country by a desire to remain under his ministry. Elizabeth Southgate, a member of one of these families, joined the South Church April 2, 1721. Samuel Denny went to Maine, and became Judge of the Court of Common Pleas in Lincoln County. His brother Daniel afterward settled in Leicester, Mass., where some of the Southgates had gone to live. Judge Sewall speaks of visiting a Mr. Southgate at Leicester in 1718.

Voted — That three Pounds, five Shillings pr. Week, be allow'd and paid to Mr. Thomas Prince, our Revd Pastor from the time of his marriage ; And that he be desir'd by the Committee afore mention'd, to remove into one of the ministerial houses of this Church, as soon as may be.¹

Voted — That the Honble Jonathan Belcher Esqr. be joyn'd with the Seaters.

Voted — That a Committee be annually chosen to Audit the Deacons' accounts ; And that they annually make a Report to the church.

Voted — That the Honble Thomas Fitch, Jonathan Belcher, and Daniel Oliver Esqrs. be appointed a Committee for Auditing the Deacons' accounts for the ensuing year.

Voted

1. It is just and reasonable that such Persons as enjoy the Privilege of the Pews and best Seats in the Meeting House, doe contribute agreeably to Support the Worship of God there.

2. That such as claim or pretend to any right in such Pews or Seats, and doe not constantly or usually attend on the Worship of God there, or doe neglect their duty in Contributing as aforesaid, may not expect the continuance of such a Privilege : but ought to give way to such as doe constantly attend, and support the Worship of God there.

3. That when any persons are remov'd from their Pews or Seats, and others placed therein, they are to be reimbursed their first cost or charge, according to our former Settlement.

4. That the Overseers or Seaters (who have power to dispose and regulate these affairs), are desired and directed, to pursue these and the former Votes of the Church relating to these Affairs, and it is expected that all Persons concern'd, do conform thereunto, for the good and peace of the Church.²

JOSEPH SEWALL
THOMAS PRINCE.

¹ [A scrap of paper has been preserved, and now belongs to Mr. David Pulsifer, which shows us how Mr. Prince divided his time, day by day : —

“ 1719 Oct. 30. I marry.

Nov. 10 we begin to keep House.
My Proposed Order.

1. At 5 a Get up and go into my Study
2. Pray and read in the orig. Bible till 6 and then call up the Family.
3. At 6½ Go to Family Prayers and only the Porringer of Chocolat for Breakfast till 7
4. At 7 go into my study till 12½ and then do something about House till 1, to Dinner ; except on Thurs-

day, study till 10½, then Dress and at 11 to Lecture.

5. Dine at 1.

6. at 2 Dress and go abroad till candle-Light. Except Wednesday, after Dinner, Do something about House ; Saturday, after Dinner, visit at Dr. Sewall's till 2½ and then Home to study.

7. at candle Light and Study to 9½. at 9½ go to Family Prayers and so to Bed

N B. I eat no supper.”]

² [There was a sharp controversy between Sampson Sheaffe and the widow of Robert Gibbs, about the ownership

Whether this last vote, in four sections, refers to the action taken by the church in 1685,¹ or to anything later and unrecorded, we not know. It is evident, however, that under the ministrations of the two young men, whose joint pastorate was to constitute perhaps the most brilliant epoch in the history of the church, the congregation had already increased to such an extent that every sitting counted, and in justice to those who desired accommodation it became necessary that perma-

of a pew which had been fitted up for Richard Wharton in 1686, and which was one of the most eligible in the meeting-house. The following document, something like a brief, has been preserved; it was submitted to the overseers of seats in the spring of 1719, and was prepared, as we suppose, by Jacob Sheaffe:—

“An Account of Sundry Persons that is ready to give Evidence Concerning Mr Sheafs Right to his pew, in Controversy with Mrs Gibbs.

“1. Madam Winthrop Widdow Saith She Knows the pew to be Mr Sheafs Right.

“2 Mr Benja: Emmons Saith the Same.

“3 Mr Jno Kilby Shopkeepers Wife Saith that Mr Robert Gibbs Deceased in his Life time hath often told her that it was his Uncill Mr Sheafs Pew and that he Sat there only during his Pleasure.

“4 Mrs Mary Alden widdow saith She was present at Mr Nathaniel Williams’s when Mrs Sheafe gave Mrs Gibbs Leave to Sett in Said Pew.

“5 Mrs Cook Sayes She has often Satt at Said Pew Dore in the Heat of Summer and that Mrs Gibbs hath often handed her out of said Pew a Stool to sett on, and would often say to her she made bould to hand her a Stool, but it was her Aunts Pew and Stools.

“6 Deacon Draper Sayes he Remembers the fitting up said Pew for Mr Wharton.

“7 Mrs Sherrer Sayes She Heard her Father Wharton bid the Carpenters (that fitted up Said Pew) when they Came for a Lock for it) that they must go to Mr Sheafe for a Lock, for it was his Pew.

“8 Mr Sampson Sheafe has often tendered to You to give his Oath to his Right to said Pew, and that he bought it

as Lawfully as any was bought in the Church and that He Had the Consent of Mr Willard, the Deacons and others Immediately concerned in that Affaire.

“9 That the Plaine Record ta-k-en about Thirty four Years Past by Judge Sewall Esqr one [own] Hand writing (which was Long before any of the Gibbs’es ever had Leave to Sett in said Pew) Plainly Show’s it to be Mr Sheafs Pew.

“So Gentlemen, I think Every Circumstance with the Plaine Record And Mr Sampson Sheafs Carrector and Reputation (who Tenders to give his Oath to his Right to said Pew) considered will I hope be a plain and Sufficient Evidence to Shew the Pew to be his, and that you will Accordingly use Some Speedy Methods that He and his Wife and children may sett Quietly and Peaceably therein for the future.”

Other loose papers have been preserved, with notes of the proceedings at the overseers’ meetings, at this time. On one of them we find, “A List of such as want Seats, Mr. George Bethune, Mr. Oxenbridge Thatcher, Mr. John Walley, Brasier, Mr. Nicholas Davis, Mr. Francis Willoughby.” On another: “To be Invited to sit in the Front Gallery, Mr. Francis Willoughby, Capt. John Gerrish, Mr. Saml Gerrish, with Mr. Borland, Mr. Bethune, Mr. Ox. Thatcher, Mr. Wigglesworth, Capt. Nichols, Davis.”]

¹ See *ante*, pp. 253, 254. It is evident from the record that the church recognized an ownership in pews as property, with certain limitations obviously necessary to the perpetuity and best prosperity of the church itself. The rules of the Old South society to-day, in this regard, vary little from those adopted two hundred years ago.

nent absentees should make way for them. But even this requirement only met the emergency for the time; and in the course of a year or two it was proposed to enlarge the meeting-house, and the valuation of the pews was very considerably advanced.

Mrs. Willard, whom the church generously remembered twelve years after the death of her husband, died January 14, 1720.¹ On the 27th of the same month, the Rev. Peter Thacher, of Weymouth, a grandson of the first minister of the South Church, was installed as colleague pastor with the Rev. John Webb, at the New North Church. There was very decided opposition to this settlement on the part of many in the church, the only avowed reason being that it was not right for a wealthier congregation to entice away a minister from a poorer one. "Weymouth," they said, "in God's sight, is as precious as Boston; and the souls there, of as great worth as the souls here. And to the common objection, that it is a pity that Mr. Thacher, being so bright a light, should smoke out his days in so much obscurity, we answer, first, bright lights shine brightest in the darkest places; and, secondly, bright lights are the obscurer for burning in a room where there are more, and as bright."

"No other adequate motive," says Dr. Chandler Robbins, "can be assigned for their opposition or their subsequent doings. Mr. Thacher himself was in all respects such a minister as would be likely to please their taste, to gratify their pride, and to build up the church. There was nothing objectionable in Mr. Webb, to excite their aversion. Nor do I find in any quarter so much as a hint that there were any latent causes of division previously existing between the members of the society themselves." Taking the church and congregation together, the two parties were nearly equal; and for this reason alone it might have been better if the friends of Mr. Thacher, in the interest of peace and fellowship, had withdrawn his name, or at least had postponed final action for a time. The vote of the church, after a day spent in fasting and prayer, was thirty-four out of forty-four for Mr. Thacher. A week later, when the congregation came together to vote, six church members and thirty-nine others of the congregation protested, and immediately withdrew, taking their written protest with them. Forty-six persons

¹ "Jan. 18 1719-20 Madam Willard Prince. Govr had a scarf, Col. Taylor was buried. Bearers, Dr. Cotton Mather, went with him, I and Col. Townsend Wadsworth; Colman, Williams; Sewall, &c." (Sewall.)

remained, all of whom voted for Mr. Thacher. A few days before the time fixed for the installation services, the "aggrieved brethren," by the advice of the Boston ministers, proposed that the difficulty should be referred to a mutually called council. The church declined this proposal, on the twofold ground that it came too late, and that it came in a wrong way. "It seems strange," says Dr. Robbins further, "that the New North Church and its pastor should have persisted in their purpose of settling Mr. Thacher against the wishes of so large a portion of the congregation, against the unanimous advice of the clergy of the town, against the general sense of the religious community, and at the risk of their own dismemberment. There can be no reasonable doubt that, by a more moderate and pacific course on their part, the difficulty might have been healed, and those subsequent disturbances prevented which are a perpetual disgrace to all who were concerned in them. The counsel of such men as the two Mathers, Benjamin Wadsworth, Joseph Sewall, Thomas Prince, and William Cooper—all of them names justly celebrated in the churches of Boston—was precisely such as the spirit of Christianity would have dictated." The substance of this counsel, addressed to the disaffected brethren, but intended for all, was: "A patient waiting may cool and calm spirits that are discomposed and heated. Time, by the help of God, may give more light to us, to you, to Mr. Thacher, Mr. Webb, and the New North, in the present affair, than we have hitherto had." But the majority proceeded to the installation, as undoubtedly they had the right to do. Whether it was expedient for them thus to act is another question.

It seem only Mr. Thacher of Milton and Mr. Chiever of Rumney-Marsh acted in the Installment of Mr. Thacher. For though Mr. Fisk [of Salem] was here with his Delegates; two of them, Mr. Lynde and Mr. Osgood (three came not; Col. Browne, Daniel Epes esqr., Mr. Timothy Lindal) yet the church had limited them so that they saw not cause to Act. And Mr. Thacher is his Unkle. It seems there was a long and shamefull Tumultuous disturbance in the Meeting-house. Mr. Thacher of Milton pray'd; Mr. Thacher of Weymouth preach'd from Psal. 57. 2. I will cry—After the church had voted him the Pastor, and Mr. Thacher had accepted; Mr. Chiever declar'd him to be the Pastor of that church: No Psalm was sung. Col. Taylor, Townsend, Fitch, Secretary [Willard] were there. Mr. Leverett [President] acted not because Mr. Appleton the Pastor [of Cambridge] was not present. And none from Charlestown. (Sewall.)

The "shamefull tumultuous disturbance" mentioned above was made by the disaffected members of the church, and not by any of the elders and messengers of the churches invited to participate in the service of installation. These latter, with the exception of Mr. Thacher, of Milton, and Mr. Cheever, of Rumney Marsh, absented themselves from services in which they could not conscientiously and cordially participate. The settlement of the colleague pastor, therefore, can hardly be called a settlement by council; it was, in effect, a settlement by the church itself, and as such, afterward, it was accepted and justified. The controversy brought out a large number of pamphlets and printed documents, among the rest one by Increase Mather on "the usefulness and necessity of councils, in order to preserving peace and truth in the churches." On the other side, a "declaration" was published by Mr. Webb and Mr. Thacher, in which it was asserted that "it is an essential right belonging to particular churches to enjoy a free liberty, within themselves, duly and regularly to inquire" into their own affairs, "and to judge upon them as becometh creatures endued with reason and conscience, who are ever to be supposed more nearly concerned for their own spiritual interests, than others can be supposed to be for them;" at any rate, "they ought to have the privilege reserved unto them of regularly determining when and in what cases to call in the help of their brethren."

That consistent Congregationalist, Dr. Clark, from whom we have quoted several times in these pages, thus refers to these proceedings in his *Historical Sketch* :—

The fact that the writers on both sides appeal to the Cambridge Platform, as they do with great earnestness, in support of their conflicting views, is evidence of at least an apparent discrepancy between its different parts, which we have before had occasion to notice. But the fact that the New North Church was sustained in its proceedings by a strong public sentiment, under which the disaffected party were constrained to withdraw and form a separate church (the New Brick), also shows that in those days the key-note of Congregationalism—its leading idea, to which all other ideas embraced in the system were to be held subordinate and subservient—was the right of a church to manage its own affairs; that whatever power the Cambridge Platform confers on synods and councils cannot be truly interpreted, nor lawfully exercised, to the prejudice of this right; "that, according to the constitution of these churches," to quote the words of Messrs. Webb and Thacher, "neither the declaration of ministers nor of councils to any particular church is to be received by it as *law* only to be under-

stood and so obeyed, but as *counsel* to be advised on, weighed, and determined upon according to the word of God, by the body of Christians to whom it is made; though we freely confess the affair ought to be managed with the greatest honour and respect to those that give their advice in a solemn way and manner, as well as with a due regard to their own both Christian liberty and holy edification." In short, the issue to which this controversy came most clearly shows that as late as 1720 it was a prevailing sentiment in Massachusetts that each particular church is the seat and source of whatever ecclesiastical power belongs to Congregationalists; and that synods, councils, associations, and whatever other machinery may be found convenient and helpful in the working of our system, or deemed essential to the "well-being of the churches," are to be so used as in no wise to interfere with the free exercise of this power.

Whatever different views we may have of the expediency of settling a pastor under the forbidding circumstances which beset the New North Church in settling Mr. Thacher, it must be confessed that, as defenders of a great principle lying at the foundation of our church polity, they were clearly in the right and did a good service; and it was by losing sight of primitive Congregationalism, and looking solely at modern usage as an exponent of Congregational law, that Mr. Ware, in his notice of their proceedings, could have reached the conclusion that "they were clearly in the wrong" — which Mr. Robbins, in his valuable *History of the Second Church*, has inadvertently admitted.¹

May 25. Election, the Revd Mr. Stone Preach'd from Rom. 13. 3. For Rulers are not a terror to good works, but to the evil. Lord ever grant thy people such to rule over them. The Ministers met at my House.²

May 26. They Met again this Morning. Voted that a Sermon shou'd be preached annually to the Ministers on the Day following

¹ [Clark's *Hist. Sketch*, pp. 134, 135. Dr. Robbins's remark, quoting the Rev. Henry Ware, Jr., is as follows: "Mr. Ware's opinion seems to me perfectly correct, viz.: 'that the New North people wrote with most moderation, though they were clearly in the wrong; while the advocates of the New Brick, though on the right side, lost all command of their temper.'"]

Dr. Robbins adds: "The result of Mr. Thacher's connection with the New North was certainly in the end favorable to the interests of that church, and justified the good opinion, formed by those who supported him, of his fitness for

that place." — *History of the Second Church*, p. 307. See also pp. 170-177.]

² [The church bore at least a portion of the expense of entertaining the clergy at the parsonage on these occasions. The following charges appear in one of the deacons' books:—

1723	May 29	Cash for Wine for the Ministers . . .	1. 7. 10
1724	May 26	Money for Wine for the Ministers . . .	1. 8. 0
1725	May 24	Wine taken out of Stock for the Ministers	12. 0
1726	May 23	Canary for the Ministers . . .	1. 12. 0]

the Election. Dr. Increase Mather was Chosen to that Service for the next Year. The Revd Mr. Solomon Stoddard was also Chosen in case the Doctor shou'd fail : And Dr. C. Mather to supply his place upon Supposition that He should be Prevented by the Providence of God. Dr. C. Mather Pray'd Yesterday : Mr. John Williams to Day. It was propos'd, and I think generally agreed that Days of Fasting and Prayer shou'd be kept by our Churches successively to Ask the plentiful Effusion of the Spirit on the rising Generation. (Joseph Sewall.)

During the night of the 26th and 27th of May Judge Sewall lost his wife, Abigail, to whom he had been married only seven months.

May 29. God having in his holy Sovereignty put my Wife out of the Fore-Seat, I apprehended I had Cause to be ashamed of my Sin, and to loath myself for it ; and retired into my Pue. Mr. Williams of Derefield preach'd in the morning from Rom. 5. Christ died for Sinners. Mr. Sewall administered the Lord's Supper. I put up a Note to this purpose ; Samuel Sewall, depriv'd of his dear Wife by a very sudden and awfull Stroke, desires Prayers that God would sanctify the same to himself, and Children and family. Writ and sent three ; to the South, Old, and Mr. Colman's. Mr. Prince preaches p. m. Matt. 25. At midnight behold a Cry was made. (Sewall.)

Deacon James Hill died Sunday morning, February 26, 1721, aged eighty-two ; his wife died the day before, aged eighty-three. She was a sister of the first Daniel Henchman. They were buried together on the following Thursday, after the Lecture.

March 5. Lord's Day. Serene, and good but very cold, yet had a comfortable opportunity to celebrate the Lord's Supper. Mr. Prince, p. m, preach'd a Funeral Sermon from Psal 90. 10. ["The days of our years are threescore years and ten," etc.] Gave Capt. Hill a good Character. (Sewall.)

The church now proposed action in reference to the enlargement of its meeting-house.

At a meeting of the South Chh. in Boston. Apr. 21. 1721.

Voted — That the Meeting House be enlarged 16 feet on the North side to make suitable Accommodations for such as want them for their Families, and that the whole be arch'd and ciel'd, provided a suitable and sufficient number of Persons appear to encourage it ; and the necessary Charge of repairing the meeting house, be not increased thereby.

Voted — That the Committee for seating the Meeting House and Capt. Winslow be appointed to take the oversight and management of this affair, and prosecute it with all convenient expedition.

Voted — That Anthony Stoddard Esqr be added to the Seaters.

Voted — That the former stated Price of 10£ for a Pew be annul'd and superseded, and that for the future, where any alienation may be made of a whole, or part of a Pew, or any person entitled to one, the Overseers for the time being are to govern the matter according to their discretion, not exceeding Thirty five Pounds for any one. And that if at any time, any Person purchase or offer to take possession of any Pew in the Meeting House without the consent of the Overseers, They may dispossess them and entitle any other suitable Person thereto.

Voted, — That Half the Space at the Entrance of the East Door, and the Men's Short Seats by the Pulpit Stairs, be made into Pews provided the Overseers shall judge it expedient.¹

Voted — That the two hind Short Seats of the Women, be made into a Pew, provided such persons as are placed there, be conveniently Seated, and the Overseers shall judge it expedient.

Voted — That Thanks be given to the Committee for Auditing the Deacon's accounts, and that they be desired to stand for another Year.

JOSEPH SEWALL
THOMAS PRINCE.

¹ [April 15th 1724 At a Meeting of the Overseers at the house of Daniell Oliver, Esqr Present Samuell Checkley Esqr Daniel Oliver Esqr Habijah Savage Esqr Mr. Ezekiel Lewis and Anthony Stoddard

There being Three New Pews now built by Order of the Overseers Pursuant to a Liberty Given them by a Vote of the Church April 21 1721

Voted That the New Pew at the foot of the Stairs leading up to the Pulpit be sett at thirty Pounds.

Voted that the New Pew at the East Door be sett at twenty five pounds.

Voted that the New Pew at the End of the Women's Short Seats be sett at thirty five Pounds.

Voted that an Offer be Made to Coll: Thos Fitch Esqr of the New Pew by the Pulpit Stairs

Voted that an Offer be made to Capt John Ellery and Capt John Osborn Of the New Pew at the East Door to be possessed between them

Voted that an Offer be made to Mr. Chris: Kilby, Mr. Benj: Sympson, Mr. Saml Rand and Mr. Jer: Belnap of the New Pew at the End of the Women's Short seats.

Voted that Deacon Daniell Henchman be Entitled to half of the Pew between Mr. Gibbs's and Mr. Bowes's (the other half belonging to Mr. Ellison's Family) he paying five pounds for the same.

May 20th 1724 At a Meeting of the Overseers at the house of David Jeffries Esqr. Present: Coll: Checkley, David Jeffries, Daniel Oliver Antho Stoddard Hab: Savage Esqr and Eze. Lewis —

Voted that the Wife of Mr. Nathan Lewis be placed in her Mother's Seat in the short seat next to Coll: Checkleys Pew —

Voted that the Wife of Mr. Chriss Kilby be Seated in the Pew belonging to the heirs or Children of mr. Nicholas Bowes decd :

Novbr 28. 1724 At A Meeting of the Overseers at Coll. Checkleys present Danl Oliver, Coll: Checkley Antho Stoddard, Habijah Savage Esqrs and Eze: Lewis —

Voted that Liberty is granted to Capt. John Ellery and Capt John Osborne to purchase the Pew that was Majr General Winthrop [he died in 1717] in Equall halves.]

Anthony Stoddard, who was added to the overseers of seats by one of the foregoing votes, and whose name will meet us frequently in this history, was one of those who were not enrolled as they should have been on the list of members. He was grandson of Anthony Stoddard, whose name appears so often in our earlier chapters, and son of Simeon. He graduated at Harvard College in 1697.

The Election Sermon this year was preached by Mr. Moodey, of York; and on Thursday, June 1, Dr. Increase Mather preached a sermon to the ministers, at Mr. Joseph Sewall's house. This, we suppose, was the first of the "convention sermons" in Boston, which with few interruptions have been preached year by year until the present time. Dr. Mather's text was Rev. i. 20: "The seven stars are the angels of the seven churches." "Lord grant," wrote Mr. Sewall, "that thy ministers may more and more resemble angels, for their wisdom and holiness, zeal and activity in thy service; and stars for their light and influence."

June 8. This Lecture Day was observed as a Day of fasting and Prayer at the Old-meeting-house in consideration of the Fear and Distress we are in from the Smallpox. Mr. Colman Preached from Mark 6, 54-56—they laid sick in streets—as many as touched him &c. Mr. Webb began, Mr. Foxcroft concluded with Prayer. P. M. Dr. C. Mather preached from Amos 4. 12, Prepare to meet thy God. Mr. Prince began and concluded with Prayer. (J. Sewall.)

A Thanksgiving Day having been appointed by the civil authorities, the question came up whether there should be two sermons as heretofore had been the custom in the town, or only one. Judge Sewall, who was always earnest for the maintenance of the old customs, was for two sermons, but he was overruled.

Oct. 15. After the Evening Exercise, Mr. Prince Read the Order for the Thanksgiving; and then offer'd it to Consideration, that there might be but One Sermon. I spake against it. Said I had seen one such a one; and I did not desire to see another. Twas the privilege we in Boston had, that might have two, which our Brethren in the Country could not have, because of their remote Living. No body seconded me; and I desisted.

Oct. 20. In the Council Chamber I discours'd Col [Penn] Townsend about having but one Sermon on the Thanksgiving day. He was of Opinion twas best to have two, but for the distress of the Small Pox: and could not get him to move a jot towards having Two.

Oct 26. Thanksgiving; But one Sermon in most Congregations,

by reason of the Distress of the Small Pox. Began at eleven a-clock. Note. I think so great an Alteration should not have been made; without the Knowledge and Agreement of the Councillours and other Justices in Town, met together for that purpose. (Sewall.)

During this visitation of the small-pox there were seven hundred and sixty-one deaths in Boston, in September, October, and November, and its ravages extended to all the neighboring towns. Among its victims was the Rev. Joseph Stevens, of Charlestown, whom some desired to settle at the South Church when Mr. Joseph Sewall received the call. His only daughter and his wife's sister died of the same disease at the same time, and all were buried in one grave. He was less than forty years of age, and he had been pastor at Charlestown only eight years. It was said of him: "In the pulpit he was to us a very lovely song; and in his life an amiable example of the doctrines he sweetly recommended." The scourge came even closer than this to the South Church. On the 11th of December Mr. John White, the treasurer of Harvard College, died; four years before, he succeeded Judge Sewall in the precentorship. A few days earlier an humbler member, Susan Thayer, had been called home, and was buried on Friday, December 1st, "just after the Sacramental Lecture." Judge Sewall's testimony to her worth was: "She had serv'd me and my family faithfully fifteen years, and now I hope she is gon to Heavenly Rest." He and his son-in-law, the Rev. William Cooper, followed her to her grave. The prevailing disease entered Mr. Joseph Sewall's family, but not in its worst symptoms.

Feb 25, 1722 Was affected to hear the Confession of the Woman and her Restoration; and to see Capt. [John] Osburn and five women admitted.¹ (Sewall.)

We do not know the name of this woman who confessed her sin and was restored to her former standing in the church.

On the 29th of March Judge Sewall was married for the third time, namely, to Mary, widow of Robert Gibbs, and daughter of Jonathan Shrimpton by his wife Mary, daughter of Peter Oliver. Her sister Sarah married John Clark, the speaker. The Rev. Nathaniel Williams, master of the Latin School, was her half-brother. Most of her family connections were members of the South Church. Mr. Daniel Oliver, one of the overseers of seats, was her uncle. Her social position, as wife of the chief justice, now entitled her to a place in the fore seat for women.

¹ [Abigail Lewis, Rachel Gilbert, Sarah Kneeland, Rachel Kneeland, Katharine Galpin.]

Lord's day April 1. Sat with my wife in her Pue.

April, 8. introduc'd her into my Pue, and sat with her there.

April 15. Conducted my wife to the Fore-Seat ; having been invited by David Jeffries esqr, Danl Oliver esqr, and Mr. Ezekiel Lewis, March, 31. as overseers. (Sewall.)

May 1. 1722 A Council of about 14 Churches (of which our's was one) met at Watertown, Condemn'd the Proceedings of Mr. Sturgeon and his Party. I got home safe about 3 a'clock A. M. with Col. Fitch. O Lord give Peace with truth and holiness to that divided Town.¹

May 31. [Election Week.] Dr. C. Mather preach'd at my house from Rev. 2.2. Help thy Ministers to labour in thy Service as being sensible that the Head of the Church knows their labor and Patience. (J. Sewall.)

Probably the addition and alterations authorized by the vote of April 21, 1721, were not made. There is no record one way or the other, but certain repairs were now necessary, and, not long after, it was proposed to build a new house of worship.

¹ [For the history of a long-standing controversy in Watertown in reference to the location of a new meeting-house, see *An Historical Sketch of Watertown*, by Dr. Convers Francis, pp. 59-63. The governor and council were appealed to in 1692, and a committee, of which William Stoughton and Samuel Sewall were members, considered and reported upon the questions in dispute. In a "return" of the council it was said: "There has been of a long time, even ever since the days of your blessed pastor Phillips, an earnest contending about the place of meeting for the public worship of God." In 1696, the heated state of feeling being unabated, and leading to occasional disorders, the town determined that a day of humiliation should be observed, and Mr. Willard and Mr. Cotton Mather were invited to fix the time and conduct the services. The farmers in the precinct which was afterward incorporated as Weston arranged for separate religious services for themselves. In May, 1697, the Rev. Samuel Angier was settled over the old church, and began to preach in the new meeting-house. Five months later, a church was gathered at the east end of the town, and the Rev. Henry Gibbs was ordained as its pastor. Difficulties arose respecting the support of

the two ministers, both of whom were paid from the common treasury. A definite division between the eastern and western parts of the town was at length found necessary, and in 1720 the General Court appointed a committee to run a dividing line between them. Mr. Angier died in 1719, and Mr. Sturgeon was one of his successors. Dr. Francis says: "The society, it is probable, finding themselves too feeble to exist separately, were gradually dispersed, and joined themselves to the other two parishes. Their meeting-house, being abandoned, was, we may presume, in the course of a few years demolished. It appears, however, that for some time they acted as a distinct church and society, and that their proceedings were thought to be irregular and censurable. That this was the fact I infer from a vote recorded by Mr. Gibbs's successor [the Rev. Seth Storer] concerning a Mr. Daniel Whitney, in which it is mentioned as an offence, that he 'owned the covenant among and submitted himself to the watch and discipline of those who acted as a third church in Watertown, and that he had a child baptized by Mr. Robert Sturgeon after the result of the council of churches met at Watertown on May 1st. 1722.'"]

At a meeting of the South Church in Boston Augt 21 1722

Voted ;

1. That Thanks be given to the Committee for Auditing the Deacons' Accounts, and that they be desired to stand for another year.

2. That Mr. Daniel Oliver, Mr. Edward Winslow, and Mr. Timothy Prout be a Committee to consult with Mr. Thomas Foster, and consider what is needfull to be done for the Reparation of the Meeting House, and the Charge ; and that they make a Report to the Church and Congregation next Tuesday at 3ck p. m.

Pursuant to a Vote pass'd at a Meeting of the South Church, Augt. 21. 1722,

The Church and Congregation met Augt. 28.

And having heard the Report of the Committee, Voted ;

1. That Thirty or Forty Pounds only, or so much as shall be needfull to make the Roof tight, be for the present Expended towards repairing the Meeting House.

2. That Mr. Daniel Oliver, Mr. Edward Winslow and Mr. Timothy Prout be a Committee to Manage the Affair above voted with all convenient Expedition.

JOSEPH SEWALL

THOMAS PRINCE.

A fast was observed at the Old North on Tuesday, the 25th of September, "to pray for the pouring out of God's Spirit in New England, especially the rising generation." Dr. Mather referred during the services to the recent "apostasy" in Connecticut, and to the remark of the Rev. Timothy Cutler and others, who had gone over to the Anglican communion, "that there was no minister in New England." There was a similar observance at the South Church a few weeks later.

Sept 25. It having been agreed by the Ministers to Propose it to their Churches to keep Days of Fasting with Prayr successively, This Day a Fast was Kept at the Old-North. A. M. Mr. Wadsworth began, Mr. Walter concluded with Prayr. P. M. Mr. Colman began, and Dr. Increase Mather concluded. Dr. Cotton Mather preach'd both parts of the Day from Matt. 9. 18. — My daughter is even now dead : but come, and lay thine Hand. — N. B. The Design — is to Ask of God the Effusion of his Spirit especially on the rising Generation. (J. Sewall.)

Nov. 4. 1722.

The church was stayed, and Voted, that the 13th of this instant should be observed by us as a day of Prayer with Fasting, to ask of God the effusion of his Holy Spirit, particularly on the rising generation.

JOSEPH SEWALL

THOMAS PRINCE.

Novr. 13. This Day was observ'd by the South-Church as a Day of Fasting with Pray'r. Mr. Cooper began with Prayr A. M. Mr. Prince Preach'd from Ps. 90. 16. Let thy work appear to thy servants &c. Mr. Webb began P. M. I preached from Luke 11. 13. — How much more shall your Heavenly Father give the Holy Spirit. Mr. Prince and I made the last Prayers. I humbly Bless God for the Assistance granted his Servants, and that his people were so far spirited to Give their Attendance. We were under fears considering the time ; the Thanksgiving but the week before &c. But God favour'd us, I think, beyond our expectation.¹ (J. Sewall.)

Lord's day Dec. 9. I was much refresh'd by reading in course 1 Kings, 10. the high value the Queen of Sheba put on Solomon, and behold a greater than Solomon is this day exhibited in the Lord's Supper which Mr. Prince administered: Text 1 Cor. 11. 29. The Rain was so great, that Col. Partridge [of Portsmouth], and I and my Wife din'd with my Son [at the new parsonage]. His Text [p. m.] was 2 Sam. 6. 20. Of Family Prayer; very well.

Dec 30. Lords Day, Notes are put up in many Congregations to this effect. His Excellency, Governour Shute, bound to Sea, desires prayers. (Sewall.)

The governor sailed from Nantasket Roads a day or two later. He had been governor since 1716.² He was succeeded temporarily by William Dummer, third of the name, as acting governor.

The New Brick Church was formed by a secession from the New North, at the time of Mr. Thacher's settlement as colleague with Mr. Webb. When its meeting-house in Hanover Street was completed and opened for divine worship, sermons were preached by Dr. Cotton Mather and Mr. Wadsworth. The text chosen by the latter was suggested as that of Dr. Increase Mather's convention sermon in 1721 had been, by the number

¹ [The other associated churches held similar services in turn, in accordance with the recommendation of the ministers.]

² Samuel Shute was a colonel in the army, and a brother of John Shute, afterward Lord Barrington, in the peerage of Ireland. The maternal grandfather of these brothers was the celebrated Presbyterian minister, the Rev. Joseph Caryl.

Governor Shute had been a non-conformist; but just before his departure, in the course of a discussion upon the observance of Christmas Day, he told

Judge Sewall that he was of the Church of England.

The *New England Courant* pronounced the following: "*Quere.* Whether (pursuant to the charter) the ministers of this province ought now to pray for Samuel Shute Esq. as our immediate Governor, and, at the same time, pray for the Lieutenant Governor as commander-in-chief? Or, Whether their praying for his success in his voyage, if he designs to hurt the province, (as some suppose) be not in effect to pray for our destruction?"

of Congregational churches then existing in the town: "These things saith he that holdeth the seven stars in his right hand, who walketh in the midst of the golden candlesticks." The Rev. William Waldron was ordained as its first minister, May 23, 1722.¹ Mr. Sewall offered prayer, Dr. Cotton Mather preached, Dr. Increase Mather gave the charge, and Mr. Wadsworth the right hand of fellowship. Late in the year 1723 Judge Sewall spent a Sabbath with this church, in token of his Christian sympathy.

Dr. Increase Mather died on Friday, the 23d of August, after a ministry at the Old North or Second Church of sixty years.² He had filled a large place in the political as well as the ecclesiastical affairs of the province, and made his mark upon his generation. On Sunday, September 1, Mr. Colman, whose coming to Boston at the beginning of the century Dr. Mather had opposed with characteristic intensity of feeling, preached to the bereaved congregation from Isaiah iii. 1, 2: "For, behold, the Lord, the Lord of hosts, doth take away from Jerusalem, and from Judah, the stay and the staff, the whole stay of bread, and the whole stay of water, the mighty man, and the man of war, the judge, and the prophet, and the prudent, and the ancient." Mr. Colman said:—

I count not myself worthy nor able to speak of so great and good a man, nor to you upon this occasion. Yet if I should altogether be silent it might be justly censurable, and if I presume to speak my words will fall below his praises which are in all the churches. Modesty forbids me to attempt his character, but reverence commands me to pay some tribute to his memory, and love constrains me to mourn with you in your bereavement.

Sept. 10, 11. 1723. Mr. Henchman and I set out together for South Braintree, where the Elders and Messengers from Nine Churches met, had a publick hearing of the Matters which are occasion of Difference among them. The result of the Council was read in the meeting house, 11th, p. m. and then Mr. Walter the Moderator concluded with

¹ See Jeremiah Bumstead's diary, in the *N. Eng. Hist. and Gen. Register*, 1861. Dr. Ware and Dr. Robbins give May 22 as the date of ordination; Mr. Bumstead says May 23, and as this was on a Wednesday, we assume that he is right.

Mr. Waldron died suddenly, September 11, 1727, in his thirty-first year. He

was succeeded by the Rev. William Welsted. In 1779 the New Brick was united with the Second or North Church.

² He was buried on the 29th. The bearers were Governor Dummer, Judge Sewall, President Leverett, Mr. Thacher, Mr. Wadsworth, Mr. Colman. "There was a vast number of spectators." (J. Sewall.)

Prayer. We got safe home a little after sun-set. Laus Deo. O Lord restore Peace and Truth and Holiness to that divided Flock.¹ (J. Sewall.)

Lord's Day, Dec 1. I went to the New North Brick, Mr. Sheriff Winslow accompanying me, and kept the Sabbath with Mr. Waldron, who preach'd Excellently from John, 6, 66, 67, 68, 69. verses ; adapted his Discourse to the Temptations of our Day. In concluding the Sacramental Solemnity, the two last staves of the Fourth Psalm, and the 12th and 13th verses of Rev. 5th were sung. Dined at Deacon [Solomon] Townsend's (Mrs. Waldron being with her travelling Mother at the Vinyard), where Mr. Bromfield and I dined, when we visited Mr. Webb upon the like occasion many years agoe. Major Moodey and Madam Winslow dined with us. Mr. Sheriff Winslow went home. In the afternoon Mr. Waldron baptised *Thomas*. Brother [the Rev. Nathaniel] Williams preached from Rev. 2. 21. And I gave her Space to repent—and she repented not. The Lord help me to hear and obey the pungent exhortations to Repentance ; and that the power of Godliness may be, and appear in me. Being dry under foot and serene weather, I had very Comfortable going and returning. I humbly bless God that I have had the Opportunity to show this Respect to Seven of the Churches of Boston : and earnestly pray that he would pardon my unworthiness to bear This Testimony for Him ; and of his boundless Benignity, He would condescend to know me, and to be known of me !

Lord's Day, April 5. 1724. The Ways are dry, and the Weather moderat, so that I comfortably goe to the solemn Assembly Forenoon and Afternoon : Hear my Son preaching from the first Commandment ; and Mr. Prince from Prov. 8. 17., both exhorting to the Love of God ; may I be enabled to hear through the Long Suffering and Goodness of God ! (Sewall.)

¹ [From the *New England Courant*, then issued in the name of Benjamin Franklin, his brother James, in consequence of his freedom in criticising public men and measures, having been called to account by the General Court :—

“BOSTON, Sept. 16. Last week a Council of Churches was held at the South Part of Brantrey, to regulate the Disorders occasioned by Regular Singing in that place, Mr. Nile, the minister having suspended seven or eight of the Church for persisting in their Singing by Rule, contrary (as he apprehended) to the result of a former Council ; but by this Council the suspended Brethren are restored to Communion, their Suspension declared unjust, and the Congregation ordered to sing by Rote and

by Rule alternately, for the Satisfaction of both parties.”

“BOSTON, Decemb. 9. We have advice from the South Part of Brantrey, that on Sunday the First Instant, Mr. Niles the Minister of that Place, performed the Duties of the Day at his Dwelling House, among those of his Congregation who are opposers of Regular Singing. The Regular Singers met together at the Meeting House, and sent for Mr. Niles, who refused to come unless they would first promise not to sing Regularly ; whereupon they concluded to edify themselves by the Assistance of one of the Deacons, who at their Desire prayed with them, read a sermon &c.”—Buckingham's *Specimens of Newspaper Literature*, vol. i. p. 86.]

April 14. The Council sat again at South-Braintry. An accommodation was proposed, and was so far effective, that the suspended brethren made some general acknowledgment and were restored. Something was also spoken (I am inform'd) in behalf of the other side towards an acknowledgment; but it did not seem to satisfy the suspended brethren (N. B. Mr. Oliver and I came away before these things were done in publick.) O Lord Pardon the Sin, and heal the Distemper whereby the minds of that people are alienated from each other. (J. Sewall.)

The Rev. John Leverett, the president of Harvard College, was found dead in his bed on Sunday morning, May 3, and he was buried with every mark of respect three days later. He had held the office sixteen years, and had governed the students "with great sweetness and candor, tempered with convenient severity." Judge Sewall writes, under date of August 12: "Scipio brings word this morning from Mr. Gerrish that my Son is Chosen President." This is the only reference to the subject in his diary. The South Church had relinquished its claim on Dr. Leonard Hoar, on his arrival from England, more than fifty years before, in order that he might serve the college as its president; and it had allowed Mr. Willard to act as president during the last six years of his life. It was now asked to make a much more serious sacrifice than in either previous instance, and it felt obliged to decline. It had two pastors, admirably adapted to the work which had been committed to them, laboring harmoniously together and with success; and the members of the church no doubt thought that it would be more easy to find another man fitted for the presidency of the college than to fill the place, in their pulpit, of either Mr. Sewall or Mr. Prince.¹ The board of overseers sent a committee to confer with the church, and we have a brief account of the interview and of the result so far as the church was concerned, in the handwriting of Mr. Prince:—

At a meeting of this church, Sept. 30. 1724.

After looking to God for his gracious presence — (As is usual at all the meetings)

¹ Mr. Sewall says in his diary, August 29: "Several of the Brethren of the Church were with me last night and to day, who express their Unwillingness to part with me, and some of them pretty strongly express'd their Apprehension that it would not well consist with the peace and welfare of the Flock, and that

but few wou'd Consent to it. Lord make my way clear; shew me, thy people, what thou wouldst have us to doe, and incline us to that which is pleasing in thy sight. . . . I humbly thank thee that thou hast given me such a room in the hearts of thy people, who are dear to me: and humble me to the dust."

Voted

That according to the desires of the Overseers of the College, their Committee be now admitted to present their desires to this church, with respect to Mr. Sewall, our Pastor, without our entering into any debate on the affair depending, while they are present.

After the said committee's admittance and Recess, the Question was put ; whether the church saw sufficient reason to consent to the desires of the Overseers of the College, in the removal of their Revd Pastor Mr. Sewall from them?

To which I could see but one Hand affirmative.

And then the following Vote was put, and pass'd with a very general concurrence, there being about Sixty Brethren —

The Hon'd and Revd Overseers of the College having appointed a Committee to ask, and move for our consent to our Revd Pastor Mr. Sewall's Removall from us to the College ; the Church being met together on that affair, and having humbly asked Council and Direction of God, and fully heard and seriously considered what was offered by said Committee came to the following Determination ; and

Voted — That they can't apprehend it to be their duty, but think it will very much disserve the interest of Religion among them, and will tend very much to disturb their peace and comfort to part with their said Revd. Pastor, and therefore can by no means comply with said motion ; but earnestly desire He would as soon as may be give his Answer accordingly.

THOMAS PRINCE.

We have thought sometimes that jealousy might be called "the last infirmity of noble" ministerial "mind." The following extract from the diary of a disappointed aspirant to the presidency, Dr. Cotton Mather, is an illustration in point : —

I am informed that yesterday the six men who call themselves the Corporation of the College met, and contrary to the epidemical expectation of the country, chose a modest young man, of whose piety (and little else) every one gives a laudable character. I always foretold these two things of the Corporation ; first, if it were possible for them to steer clear of me, they will do so ; secondly, that if it were possible for them to act foolishly, they will do so.

Mr. Sewall was fortunate, under the circumstances, in that the possession of personal piety was conceded to him by his brother minister and rival. The members of the corporation who supported his election were Henry Flint, Benjamin Wadsworth, Benjamin Colman, and Nathaniel Appleton. They doubtless knew what they were doing, and acted under a full sense of responsibility. We may assume, therefore, that Mr.

Sewall, if he was not exceptionally learned, had certain definite qualifications, both natural and acquired, for a successful college president.¹ To the great satisfaction of the Third Church, he declined the invitation;² and on the 18th of November the Rev. Benjamin Colman, of the Brattle Street Church, was chosen instead.³ He, too, declined; and in the summer of 1725 the Rev. Benjamin Wadsworth, of the First Church, was elected and installed.

The diary of Samuel Sewall, Jr., contains the following:—

August 11th. 1724. Brother Sewall chose President of Harvard Colledge by the Corporation. Aug. 26th. Confirmed his choise by the Overseers of the Colledge. They chose a Committee to acquaint him with it and to desire his acceptance of it viz. Col. Byfield, Col. Adam Winthrop and Mr. Wadsworth. Brother gave them a denial which they would not take up with when reported to the Overseers. But added Two more, Mr. John Danforth and Mr. Benjn. Colman. September 30th. The Old South Church had a Meeting which was a very full one. The Committee, each of them, made a Speech to the Church and then withdrew. Afterwards the Church proceeded to a vote and all except Brother [in law Samuel] Gerrish voted his continuance with them. After He gave his full answer.

Mr. Colman was one of the committee which appeared before the church, and pleaded for its consent to the acceptance by Mr. Sewall of the presidency. In his *Life*, by Mr. Turell, there is a reference to his speech on the occasion, but a mistake is made in intimating, as the author seems to do, that Mr. Colman was called to the position before, instead of after, Mr. Sewall was chosen to it:—

Although Dr. Colman excused himself from this high Honour and Trust, yet no one shewed a greater Solicitude, nor took more pains, to have the College well supplied,—His moving Speech to the Old

¹ President Quincy says that by the election of Mr. Sewall the corporation sought to conciliate the predominating religious influences of the province, and adds: "Sewall, though not deficient in other qualifications for the president's chair, was not distinguished for possessing them. The office was not suited either to his character or his views. Amiable, faithful, and affectionate, he was peculiarly adapted to the office of teacher and pastor. He had the good sense to realize the advantages he pos-

sessed; and his church, by refusing their assent to his removal to the college, expressed the wishes and affections of their pastor not less than their own." — *History*, vol. i. p. 331.

² Mr. Sewall was chosen a Fellow of the college in 1728, and served until 1765.

³ On the election of Mr. Colman, Dr. Mather wrote in his diary: "The Corporation of the miserable College do again, (on a fresh opportunity) treat me with their accustomed indignity." See Quincy's *History*, vol. i. pp. 331-339.

South Church in Boston, September the 30th, 1724, to part with their Reverend and Honoured Pastor, Dr. Joseph Sewall, for that Service, which lies before me, is a Demonstration of it.¹

What Mr. Sewall's attitude was in this matter we learn from the memorial sermon preached in his pulpit on the Lord's Day after his death, forty-five years later :—

In consideration of the many good qualities in which he excelled, he was, so long ago as the year 1724, upon the death of President Leverett, chosen, in his room, to take the head-ship of Harvard College, in Cambridge. Upon the news of this, which, as his own words are, was "surprising" to him, I find him making that pious reflection, "O Lord! what am I, a sinful worm, that there should be any tho't of me for so considerable a trust!" This choice of him to so important a service, lay with great weight upon his mind, partly from his own modest diffidence, but principally from the ardor of his affection toward you of this Church and congregation. He often carried the case to God in humble earnest prayer, and more than once set apart a day for solemn application to him who dwelleth on high for direction in an affair of such consequence. On one of these days, he writes thus; "I besought the Lord to give all needed direction to the overseers, the flock I stand related to, and to my self. I also endeavoured to examine myself;—and, if I know my own heart, my inclination is to abide with my dear people, and to spend and be spent in the work of the ministry here, if this be the will of God, and most for his glory. I think I can truly say, that no prospect of greater worldly honor, or gain, would prevail with me to leave this people; and that I do not account my life too dear to be spent in the service of Christ among them." You, the people of his charge, expressed a like affection towards him, in your voted unwillingness to part with him. Upon which, your beloved Pastor, having again asked the direction of heaven, thus writes: "I suppose that now God makes my way plain to give an answer in the negative, which I accordingly did;" adding that wish of piety, "Lord! provide a more sutable and sufficient person for that important trust."²

Nov. 22. Bro'r. Williams preaches. The prudent forseeth the evil, and hideth himself. Made a very good Discourse.

Nov. 29. Mr. Charles Chauncy preaches for my Son, from Mat. 19. 17. If thou wilt enter into Life, Keep the Commandments. Mr. Sewall blessed the Congregation. Mr. Prince preached in the Afternoon from Hoseah 14—1, 2, 3, 4. Mr. Sewall baptized Benjamin Brandon. Gave Thanks for his [own] Recovery, pray'd that all his Sins and Defects might be pardoned. (Sewall.)

¹ [Turell's *Life and Character of the*
Rev. Benj. Colman, p. 58.]

² [Dr. Chauncy's *Discourse*, July 2,
1769, pp. 23, 24.]

The young man mentioned above, Mr. Charles Chauncy, was a baptized child of the church, and had become a member two or three months before he preached this sermon, which was one of his first. His father, of the same name, a merchant, and his mother, Sarah, daughter of the Hon. John Walley, were also members. He married, May 9, 1728, Elizabeth Hirst, a granddaughter of Judge Sewall. He was, therefore, a nephew of Mrs. Sewall, and a nephew by marriage of the Rev. Joseph Sewall. His name will come prominently before us, as we proceed with our history.

Lord's Day, Decr. 6th. Lord's Supper. Mr. Prince's Text, Cant. 2. 14. which I hope I was the better prepared for, being ravished with Christ's Love declar'd in Psal. 40 — I joy to do thy will — which sung in course in the morning. My Son, and Deacon Green were kept at home by the Great Rain and Indisposition. Deacon Checkly Deliver'd the Cup first to Madam Winthrop, and thus gave me a Tankard. 'Twas humiliation to me and I think put me to the Blush, to have this injustice done me by a Justice. May all be sanctified. Mr. Mayhew preached p. m. Heb. 12. 14. Holiness.

Fifth day, Dec. 31. [Lecture.] Mr. Prince takes notice of it as the last day of the year, and preaches an agreeable Sermon from Lam. 3. 22. It is of the Lord's Mercies that we are not consumed.

Sixth day, Jany. 1. Mr. Colman in his Sacramental Lecture, mentions Mr. Prince's Text and then reads his own, Deut. 30, 20 — for he is thy Life — and made an excellent Sermon thereupon, demonstrating that God is emphatically our Life ; natural, Spiritual. (Sewall.)

The following vote explains itself :—

At a Church Meeting June 25. 1725.

Upon consideration had that the Bills of Credit on this Province are considerably lessened, or sunk in their value,

Voted

That there be allowed and paid to each of the Revd Pastors of this Church, Four pounds, five shillings per week for their support.

THOMAS FITCH

Moderator

A true copy

JOSEPH SEWALL

THOMAS PRINCE.¹

Katharine, wife of the Hon. Josiah Willard, secretary of the

¹ [June 25. 1725. "A church meeting at the Old South, and raysed our two ministers' (viz. Mr. Prince and Mr. Sewall) sallerys from 3. 5. 0 a week to 4. 5. 0 a peece, and the authority ordered it soon after to be increased to other ministers through the Colloney."—Bumstead's *Diary*.]

province, died on Sunday, the 1st of August, and Katharine, widow, successively, of John Eyre and Wait Winthrop, died on the following day. On the 6th of December, Mrs. Anne Pollard died: she had been a member of the church fifty-five years; she attained the age of one hundred and five years, and left one hundred and thirty descendants.¹

Lord's Day, Decr. 12. Mr. Sewall preach'd from Gen. 5. Adam died, of Mortality — a good Discourse on occasion of Mrs. Pollards great Age. Exhorted all to prepare to dye. Mr. Prince prosecuted his Discourse on Compunction in order to Conversion, Act 2. (Sewall.)

Collections for benevolent purposes had been taken up in the congregation from time to time, as circumstances had seemed to make it desirable. It was now proposed that they should be made statedly, twice a year, and that a committee should be authorized to make appropriations to uses corresponding to Home and Foreign Missions, the Bible Society, and the Publication Society in our own day.

At a church meeting, March 13 1725-26

The following Proposal was made to the church, viz.

That there be a publick Collection on our anniversary Fasts and Thanksgivings, to be bestowed on pious uses, for the advancement, of Christ's Kingdom among the poor and other proper objects of such a Charity; first among ourselves, and then in other places, as we shall find we are able; by putting into their hands Bibles, Catechisms and other Books of piety; or by promoting Religion among them any other way as you shall agree and determine.

Upon which the Church very generally came into this Vote —

That there be a publick Collection on our anniversary Fasts and Thanksgivings, to be bestowed on pious uses, and for the advancement of Christ's Kingdom.

The church then voted that the Honble. Edward Bromfield and Daniel Oliver Esqrs. be joined with the Deacons as Trustees of this Evangelical Treasury.

The church also Voted, that the concurrence of the congregation should be asked in this affair.

JOSEPH SEWALL
THOMAS PRINCE.

Pursuant to the Vote above mentioned, the Proposal was made to the Congregation March 20. who readily consented to it.

Accordingly on Thursday the 24th of March 1725-6, there was Col-

¹ Her portrait is in the collection of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

lected by the whole Congregation, the sum of Eighty-three Pounds, seven shillings and eleven pence.¹

March 27. Mr. Prince preach'd out of *Exod. 12.* Comparing the Passover with the Lord's Supper; made good work of it. p. m. Mr. Sewall preached from *Hab. 2-3.*—For the Vision is yet for an appointed time &c. very well.

April 3. My Son preach'd in the fore-noon from *Gen. 1. 26.* Read the whole Chapter, and Commented pithily and well upon it; and after that spoke to the 26th verse. [*"And God said, Let us make man in our image, after our likeness,"* etc.] I desire with humble Thankfulness to Bless God, who has favour'd me with such an excellent Discourse to begin my 75th year, withall delivered by my own Son, making him as a parent to his Father! (Sewall.)

[From the Church Records.²]

On the Thanksgiving day, Nov. 10th 1726, [there was collected] Eighty four pounds, five shillings and sixpence.

At the meeting Nov 15, 1726.

Voted

That fourty Pounds be given out of the last Collection for supplying the poor of this Church and Congregation with Wood and other necessities of life.

Voted,

That ten Pounds be given out of the money collected by the Church and Congregation towards the encouragement of the preaching of the Gospel at Kingston in Narraganset.³

JOSEPH SEWALL.

March 3, 1726-7, Mrs. Sarah Williams, second wife and widow of Deacon Nathaniel Williams, died, "a very pious gentlewoman." The Rev. Nathaniel Williams was her stepson.

¹ [Mr. Joseph Sewall says:—

"March 10. The united Ministers of the Town having agreed to Propose to the Churches the Having a Collection for pious Uses on our Publick Fasts and Thanksgivings, Mr. Prince and I Pray'd together about the time for God's Direction and Blessing upon this Affair."

"March 13. We made the Proposal to the Church, who generally came into this Vote, [as above]."

"March 20. It was Proposed to the Congregation."

"March 24. . . . I am inform'd that in other Congregations in this Town there were liberal Contributions."]

² [From this time, we shall usually print the church records in their order, without mentioning the record book from which they are taken.]

³ [On the last Sunday of the year, Mr. Sewall wrote in his diary: "I have been much concern'd that so few have been added to the Church of late: I humbly hope God hath enabl'd me to seek earnestly to him to Revive his work among us." There were five admissions on that day (William Alden, Mary Williams, Ann Williams, Mary Simpson, Robert Due), and twenty-five altogether in 1726. In 1727 there were seventy-four, and in 1728 forty-two.

She was nearly eighty years of age, and had been a member of the South Church fifty-seven years.

Mr. Benjamin Franklin, an uncle of Dr. Franklin, died March 17, 1727, in the seventy-seventh year of his age. His wife, Katharine, became a member of the church in 1678, and it is more than probable that he was a member also. He was, we are told, "a rare and exemplary Christian." It was said of him: "His presence in the house of God was always solemn and affecting; and though he courted not the observation of men, yet there were many that could not but take notice, and admire the peculiar excellencies that so visibly adorned him." In these characteristics, we should suppose that he and his brother Josiah were much alike. Mr. John Borland, a prominent merchant, died March 30. He became a member in 1694, soon after his arrival from England. His son, Francis, was afterward active in the affairs of the congregation.

At a Church Meeting, March 21. 1726-7

Notwithstanding the vote pass'd by this Church, March 13 1725-6, relating to a publick collection;

Voted,

That it is the mind of the church that these collections should not be made from time to time, till the church have particularly considered, and determined upon them; and that the money collected, shall be disposed of to charitable and pious uses as the church shall from time to time determine.

Agreeable to the foregoing vote, the question being put whether there should be a publick collection on the anniversary Fast, next ensuing, March 30. 1727, it pass'd in the affirmative.¹ J. SEWALL.

March 30. 1727. Collected Ninety-two Pounds.

August 9. Mr. Pemberton was Ordain'd at the Old-South Pastor to a Church at N. York. Mr. Thacher began with Prayer. Mr. Colman preach'd from Matt. 9. 38. I pray'd. Dr. Mather gave the Charge, and Mr. Prince the Right Hand of Fellowship. (J. Sewall.)

Mr. Pemberton became pastor of the First Presbyterian Church in New York, then worshipping in Wall Street, near Broadway.

At the Thursday Lecture, on the 17th of August, Mr.

¹ [Mr. Sewall's private record of this meeting is as follows: "At the Church Meeting, March 21, Some seem'd to oppose our Proceedings in these publick Collections, and there was some Altera- tion made as to the Votes about it. However I hope it pleased God to bless what was said, so that the Brethren voted a Collection on this Fast with considerable Unanimity."]

Sewall preached a funeral sermon for King George the First. "Twas his turn and the Council also desired him," says his father.¹

October 25. This day Mr. Charles Chauncy was Ordain'd Pastor to the Old Church in this Town. Mr. Foxcroft began and Mr. Thacher concluded with Prayr. Mr. Colman gave the Charge, Dr. Mather the Right Hand of Fellowship. Mr. Chauncy Preach'd from Matt 28. 20. — Lo I am with you alway — I hope God was graciously Present with his Servants. Shew thy Servant His Need of the Presence of our Lord Jesus Christ, and enable him to Live by the Faith of the Son of God.² (J. Sewall.)

The question of repairing and enlarging the meeting-house, or building a new one, could be deferred no longer, and a meeting was called to consider it.

At a church Meeting Oct 20. 1727.

Voted—I. That there be a Committee appointed to view this House ; and consider what is needful to be done towards the repairing

¹ "August 14. This day we have the surprising and awfull News of the King's Death. Lord Sanctify thine Hand, enable thy people to humble themselves under it. Pour out thy Spirit on thy Servant who is our King. O make him a nursing Father to thy people!"

"August 17. It being my Lecture in course, I was Desir'd by the Governor to take notice of the late awfull Providence in the King's Death. I preach'd from Isai. 33. 22. For the Lord is our Judge." (J. Sewall.)

The sermon was printed with the title, Jehovah is the King and Saviour of his People.

² [We reproduce the letter-missive sent by the First Church in anticipation of this ordination, at the risk of its being condemned by some authorities as "archaic and uncongregational":—

BOSTON, Oct. 10. 1727

To the Church of Christ whereof the Reverend Mr. Sewall and Mr. Prince are the Pastors,

The Old Church in Boston, Sendeth Greeting in our Lord Jesus.
Revd Hond and Beloved,

We presume you are not unacquainted that we have sometime since chosen and

called our worthy Brother Mr. Charles Chauncy to the Pastoral Office among us. Now these come to inform you that we have appointed Wednesday the Twenty fifth of this instant October to be the Day for his Ordination. At which Solemnity We desire your Presence and Help, by your Elders and Messengers, to joyn with others in Council on that important Occasion ; agreeable to the known approv'd Custom of these Churches. And beseech you in the mean time to assist us by your fervent Prayers, in Preparing for so great a Transaction ; That We may have the gracious Smiles of Heaven on our Proceedings, and experience much of the promised Presence of our Ascended Saviour and Head in the midst of us. The same we wish to you, and to all the Churches. Grace be with you, and peace to the Brethren, with Faith and Love which is in Christ Jesus : Unto whom be Glory in the Churches World without End. Amen !

THOMAS FOXCRÓFT, Pastor
In the Name
of the Chh

P. S. The Delegates are desired to meet at Mr. Foxcroft's House by nine ô clock in the Morning of said Day.]

of it, and the charge ; and that they make a report to the church as soon as conveniently may be.

II. That the same Committee consider whether this House may be conveniently enlarged, and the charge ; and make a report to the church at the same meeting.

III. That the Honble Jonathan Belcher, Major Savage, Capt. Winslow, Mr. Lewis and Mr. Prout, be a committee to manage the affair above voted.

Voted — I. That fifty Pounds be given out of the last Collection for the further support of the poor of this church and congregation with wood and other necessities of life.

II. That ten Pounds of the Collection be laid out in Bibles and other Books of piety, to be disposed of to proper objects of such a charity in this church and congregation.

III. That there be a publick collection on the Anniversary Thanksgiving next ensuing, Novr. 9, 1727. And that the money collected shall be disposed of to pious and charitable uses, as the church shall from time to time determine.

JOSEPH SEWALL

THOMAS PRINCE.

N. B. Novr. 9. 1727. Collected One Hundred and twenty two Pounds.

Between the ordering of this collection and the date of taking it, the town was startled by one of those earthquake shocks with which New England has been visited from time to time ever since its European settlement.

Oct. 29. 1727. Att better than half an hour after ten a clock att night, a very surprising Earthquake in Boston and the Towns round about. Dr. Mather had a full meeting at his church next morning ; and Mr. Sewall and Mr. Foxcroft att their churches next night by candle-light, for prayer and preaching.¹ (J. Bumstead.)

October 30 I find the Town was in a general Consternation last night. There was a publick and very numerous Assembly at the Old-North [this morning.] Dr. Mather preach'd from Micah 6. 9 The Lord's Voice crieth to the City. Several Ministers pray'd. O enable thy people to hear and obey thy Voice. The Lieut. Governor desired that there might be a Meeting at the Old at 5. So many came that it was found needfull to Divide. Accordingly there were two crowded Assemblies — the one at the Old, the other at the South. With us Mr. Prince began with Prayr. I preach'd from Ps : 4. 4. Stand in aw and Sin not. Then Mr. Williams pray'd and I concluded. We sung part of the 46 Ps : I hope God hath been graciously present

¹ [Paul Dudley, who was a member of the earthquake of October 29, 1727, the Royal Society, published an account in its *Transactions*.]

with his Ministers this Day, and the people seem to be generally affected. (J. Sewall.)

"The Thursday of the same week," says Mr. Prince, "was kept as a Day of extraordinary Fasting and Prayer in all the churches in Boston;" the earthquake was also the subject of discourse on Thanksgiving Day, a week later. Mr. Sewall's sermon of the 30th of October, the Duty of a People to stand in Awe of God, and Mr. Prince's two sermons, preached on Fast Day in the morning and on Thanksgiving Day in the afternoon, from Psalm xviii. 7, Earthquakes the Works of God, and Tokens of his Just Displeasure, were printed.¹

At a church Meeting Nov 21. 1727.

The Report of the Committee appointed last Meeting was read.

Voted:

I. That there be two committees appointed; the one, to inquire what encouragement may be given by the church and congregation, towards the Repairing of this House; the other, to inquire what encouragement may be given towards the Building a New Meeting-House; and that they make a Report to the church as soon as conveniently may be.

II. That Major Savage, Capt. Armitage and Mr. Wentworth be of the one: Capt. Winslow, Deacon Henchman and Mr. Brandon be of the other committee.²

JOSEPH SEWALL.

The Rev. Peter Thacher, youngest son of the Rev. Thomas Thacher, died December 17, 1727.³ He joined the Third Church four years after its foundation, and he had been pastor of the church at Milton forty-six years. Dr. Cotton Mather

¹ A second edition of these three sermons was printed; and, in 1755, Mr. Prince brought out another edition of his sermons with *addenda*. The earthquake of 1727 will be referred to again in a succeeding chapter.

Mr. Sewall records privately that the Thanksgiving collection of 1727 amounted to £122.

There was a "Publick Fast upon account of the Earthquake," December 21, and Mr. Sewall preached from Jer. xviii. 7, 8. "At what instant I shall speak concerning a nation, and concerning a kingdom, to pluck up, and to pull down, and to destroy it: If that nation, against whom I have pronounced, turn from their evil, I will repent of the evil that I

thought to do unto them. O spare thy people! Lord hear our Prayers."

² [Nov. "On the 21, a Church meeting att the Old South Church, and then it was voted that two Committees should be chosen, one to see what encouragement they could gett towards repairing the meeting house now standing. The other to see what encouragement they could get towards building a new house." — Jeremiah Bumstead's *Journal*.]

³ "On the 22d I accompanied my honored Father, Mr. Prince, Mr. Cooper to the funeral of the Revd Mr. Thacher — Was a bearer. . . . My Father bore the journey very well; but when going in at his Gate slip'd, and much hurt his shin." (J. Sewall.)

preached his funeral sermon, and this was the last occasion on which this eminent man officiated in public ; his own death took place Tuesday, February 13, 1727-8,¹ and his funeral sermon was preached by his colleague, Mr. Gee. At the Thursday Lecture immediately following Dr. Mather's death, Mr. Colman, who had preached his father's funeral sermon five years before, took for his text Gen. v. 24 : " And Enoch walked with God ; and he was not, for God took him." " We mourn," he said, " the decease from us of the first minister in the Town, the first in age, in gifts and in grace ; as all his brethren very readily own. I might add (it may be without offence to any) the first in the whole Province and Provinces of New England, for universal literature, and extensive services." This was generous praise on the part of Mr. Colman, and we may believe that it was just, for no man knew Cotton Mather — his excellences and his defects — better than he. He said further : —

Love to Christ and his servant commands me to draw a veil over every failing : For who is without them ? Not ascending Elijah himself ; who was a man of like passions with his brethren the prophets ; and we have his mantle left us wherewith to cover the defects and infirmities of others after their translation in spirit. These God remembers no more, and why should we ? and he blots out none of their good deeds, and no more should we.

A church meeting was notified on Sunday, February 25, to hear the reports of the committees appointed three months before in reference to the meeting-house. We can well understand that there might be, as indeed there was, a difference of opinion as to the desirableness of erecting a new building, and that there would be on the part of the older members such an attachment to their accustomed Sabbath home that they would be unable to do full justice to the considerations presented on the other side. When the foundation of the second Jewish

¹ " On the 13th between 8 and 9 a. m. Dr. Mather Expir'd. Thus hath the Sovereign God brought this very Active usefull life to an End. Lord Sanctify this awfull Rebuke, to his Family, Flock, Town and the whole Land." (J. Sewall.)

There had been a public meeting at the Old North " with regard to Dr. Mather's broken state of health " on the 31st of January ; Messrs. Colman, Thacher, Sewall, and Prince prayed, and Mr. Cooper preached.

" Feb. 19. The Rev'd Dr. Mather was buried. Bearers, the Revd Messrs. Colman, Thacher, Prince, Webb, Cooper, Sewall. A vast concourse of people. Lord sanctify thine Hand, and help us duly to lay it to heart. The Brethren of the Bereaved Flock, with their Pastor [Mr. Gee] went before the Corpse. When we return'd to the House of mourning Mr. Walter pray'd." (J. Sewall.) Mr. Sewall preached at the North Brick March 10.

temple was laid, we are told that many of the priests and Levites and chief of the fathers, who were ancient men, that had seen the first house, wept with a loud voice. Their emotions were touched in part, no doubt, by the remembrance of the architectural magnificence which could not be reproduced by their generation; but also, we may think, by the recurrence to their minds of all the happy days and scenes in their national history and national worship, which were gone never to return. "Oh, death in life, the days that are no more." To many of the members of the South Church it probably seemed that to take down the old walls where they and their fathers had worshipped, and where so many learned and saintly men had preached the gospel of Christ, and to rear new ones in their stead, which should be as bare of associations within as of weather-stains and ivy without, was to open a gulf between them and the past which their fond and tender sensibilities would be unable to traverse. Judge Sewall was one of these. Every timber in the building was dear to him. His honored father-in-law, John Hull, and other noble men of the early days had made personal and pecuniary sacrifices to erect this house of worship, and to maintain in it the ordinances of the gospel. Mary Chilton, who came over in the Mayflower, and Simon Bradstreet, who came over in the Arbella, had there lifted up their hearts and voices in prayer and praise. The Thachers, the Mathers, Samuel Willard, Solomon Stoddard, John Eliot (no doubt), and nearly all the prominent divines of the second generation had spoken from its pulpit. Here Sewall, half a century before, and, eleven years later, the wife of his youth, when she was enabled to overcome her self-distrust and sense of unworthiness, had entered into solemn covenant with God and with his church; and here their children, most of them now in heaven, had been given to Him in baptism. Here, also, Sewall had stood, with bowed head and crushed heart, to make humble confession for his share in the madness of the witchcraft delusion. With all his memories and sympathies, we can well understand why he should cling tenaciously to that which was old, and earnestly deprecate its destruction. And yet, as seems to have been his habit, he contented himself with a strong and free expression of his preferences and convictions, and then, finding himself in a decided minority, he said nothing more on the subject. Mr. Bromfield, he tells us, called and urged him to attend the meeting, and, when he declined, asked him to

write a letter, which he promised to do. This letter, for which Mr. Bromfield called again to take to the meeting, was read, but does not appear in the proceedings. It was as follows : —

To the Reverend Mr. Joseph Sewall, and to the Reverend Mr. Thomas Prince, Pastors of the South Church in Boston, and to the Brethren of said Church, assembled in a Church Meeting, on Tuesday, the seven and twentieth day of February, 1727-8.

In which Meeting Two Questions are to be Answered to wit : Whether the Old Meeting House shall be Repaired, or a New One builded.

That our Meeting House needs Repairing, is Apparent : and I apprehend that it ought to be done as soon as the Season of the year will admit.

But as for the building of a New Meeting house, it is now unseasonable. God in his holy Providence preserving this, seems plainly to advise us to the contrary. This is a very good Meeting house, and we have not convenient room to build a New one in, while this is standing. And considering the Terrible Earth-Quakes we have had, shaking all our Foundations, it behooves us to walk humbly with our God and to observe the divine Counsel given to Baruch by the Prophet Jeremiah in the forty-fifth Chapter : And to take care that we do not say in the Pride and greatness of [our] heart, We will cut down the Sycamores, and change them into Cedars, (Isaiah, 9. 10.) We ought to look not only on our own Things, but also on the things of others, (Philip. 2. 4.,) and beware that we do not unjustly and violently Oust them of what they are lawfully possessed of.

Besides I fear the Mischief is like to be distressing, for want of a place to worship God in, while the New Meeting House is setting up.

Upon these, and such like Considerations, I dissent from those Brethren, who promote the building a New Meeting House at this Time, and pray that what I have written may be entered in the Church Records.

SAML. SEWALL.

After the lapse of one hundred and sixty years we comply with the request of the noble judge, and give his letter a permanent place in the annals of the church.

At a church Meeting, Feb. 27. 1727-8.

After some considerable discourse —

This Question was put to the Brethren ;

Whether it was their mind that this House should be repaired and enlarged ; or a new Meeting House Built.

They voted by papers.

There were twenty of the Brethren for repairing and enlarging this House.

Fourty one for building a New Meeting House.

Upon which they pass'd this Vote ; viz.

The church, having judged it advisable, with submission to Providence, that a New Meeting House be built for the publick Worship of God ; Desire that the Brethren of the Congregation would give them a meeting upon that affair, next Tuesday, at half an hour past 2 a clock P. M.

Voted — That Twenty Pounds be given out of the Collection for the supply of the present necessities of the poor, according to the discretion of the Committee.

JOSEPH SEWALL.

N. B. The Church and Congregation met, and the affair above mentioned was communicated to them.

We must assume that many of the brethren of the majority who voted for a new meeting-house were as warmly attached to the old building as were the brethren of the minority. But, forecasting the future, they saw that the best prosperity of the church demanded larger and better accommodations ; that to repair and enlarge the old house would only serve as a temporary expedient ; and that the question of a new structure would be sure to present itself again at no distant day. The old walls, after all, were but as the casket to the jewel, the body to the spirit, the symbol to the thing signified. The church — vital, spiritual, permanent — was of inconceivably more importance than the enclosure of wood of which it had been making use, and which at any moment might be utterly consumed by fire. Moreover, all that was truly precious in the past history of the church — the traditions of its foundation, the teachings of its ministers, the lives of its sainted members — was its assured and imperishable possession, amid whatever surrounding conditions it might maintain the historic continuity of its Christian worship and service. The past should be always an incentive to us, never an incubus ; a lofty inspiration, not an unyielding despotism. It is entitled to our reverential regard, but our paramount duty, both in thought and action, concerns the present and the future. And the future will mature for others, softening, subduing, sanctifying influences and impressions, like those with which the past has enriched us. It would have astonished the men of the minority in 1728 if they had been told that a minority in 1872 would be as unwilling to vacate the second meeting-house of the South Church as they were to give up the first. They could not foresee that the bright new building of 1730 was destined to become the most venerated church-edifice in New England.

At a meeting of the Church March 15. 1727-8

Voted — (out of the money collected —)

1. That Twenty Pounds be delivered to Deacon Henchman for the purchasing of Bibles with the New England Psalms, at eight and three-pence pr. Bible, to be distributed to proper objects as there shall be occasion.

2. That ten Pounds be distributed in other Books of piety, at the discretion of the Trustees.

3. That twenty Pounds be given to Mr. Josiah Cotton, to encourage his settlement at Providence; provided, he accept of the call which we are informed, is given him to the work of the Ministry there.¹

4. That fifteen Pounds be given to the Revd Mr. Mathew Short of Easton for his encouragement in the work of the Ministry, part in money, and part in books, as the Trustees shall judge proper upon discoursing with him.

5. That fifteen Pounds be given to the Rev. Mr. James Hale of Ashford, for his encouragement in the work of the Ministry.

6. That fifteen Pounds be given to the Rev. Mr. Nathanael Prentice of Dunstable, for his encouragement in the work of the Ministry, to be laid out in Books, as the Trustees shall judge proper upon discoursing with him.

7. That ten Pounds be given for the further supply of the present Necessities of the poor of this church and congregation, in wood &c. at the Discretion of the Trustees.

8. That there be a publick collection for pious and charitable uses, on the Anniversary Fast next insuing March 21. 1727-8.

9. That the Trustees have their accounts fairly stated, and lay them before the church at least twice in a year, before the Anniversary Fasts and Thanksgivings.

Voted, I. That Capt. Winslow, Deacon Henchman and Mr. Brandon, of the church, and Mr. William Foye, Mr. Daniel Goffe and Mr. Samuel Holyoke of the congregation, be a committee to take subscriptions towards the building of a New Meeting-House; and make a Report to the church on the third Tuesday in April next.

Voted, II. That the Honble Jonathan Belcher, Daniel Oliver, Josiah Willard esqrs. Mr. Ezekiel Lewis, Mr. Samuel Wells, Capt. Gerrish and Mr. Francis Borland, be a committee to survey the land belonging to this church, to consider of the most convenient place to

¹ [Mr. Cotton graduated at Cambridge in 1722, and was settled over the First Congregational Church in Providence in 1728. He was dismissed at his own request in 1747. The South Church made appropriations to encourage him in his work for several years.

Oct. 1728. "On the 23d Inst. a congregational Church was publicly gather'd at Providence, and Mr. Josiah Cotton ordain'd their Pastor, the Elders and Messengers of 18 churches being present." (J. Sewall.) Mr. Prince took part in this service.]

set the House upon, to draw a Projection of the Building, and compute the Cost ; And that they make a Report to the church on the third Tuesday in April next.

JOSEPH SEWALL.

N. B. March 21. 1727-8. Collected One hundred and seventeen pounds.

March 26. Mrs. Mary [widow of John] Dafforne laid in her grave in the old Burying Place, *Æts.* 78. Bearers, Sewall, Byfield ; Oliver, Capt. Ephraim Savage ; Capt Ballentine, Deacon Marshall. It seems Mr. Moffat, who married the only daughter, belongs to the old Church ; and the Bearers were equally divided [between the First and Third churches]. She was of my Father Hull's privat Meeting, I hope a good Woman ; much Confin'd. I am griev'd I visited her no more, though hindered by my own Sickness and indisposition. (Sewall.)

At a Meeting of the Church April 16. 1728.

The Reports of the Committees were read.

There was a motion made, whether the Vote pass'd by the church, at their meeting, Febr. 27. 1727-8, For the Building a New Meeting-House, should be re-considered.

Neg.

Voted ;— I. That a reasonable consideration be made in the New Meeting-House to such as have a right to pews in this House, as the Church shall determine

II. That the committee for taking subscriptions towards the building a New Meeting-House be continued ; And that they give to the members of this church and congregation opportunity of subscribing till the end of May next ; After which, they may receive the subscriptions of others as they shall judge proper.

Voted — That Five Pounds be given out of the Collection towards the discharging Mr. Abbot's accompt relating to Providence Meeting-House.

JOSEPH SEWALL.

At a Meeting of the Church April 23. 1728.

Voted — I. That the New Meeting House be set upon that place on which the old House now standeth.

II. That the draught of the Building drawn and offered by the committee be accepted so far as concerns the Dimensions and outward form of the House ; Reserving to the committee that shall be employed for the Building, a Liberty to propose to the Church, such alterations as they shall judge convenient.

It was then proposed to the church whether the New House should be built with Wood ; but a vote was not obtained for it.

III. That there be a committee chosen to make provision for the Building, and to take the Oversight of it : The said committees to con-

sider whether it be advisable to Build with Brick or Stone, and make a Report to the church as soon as conveniently may be.

IV. That the Honble. Jonathan Belcher, Mr. Edward Winslow, Mr. Ezekiel Lewis, Mr. Samuel Wells and Mr. William Foye be of this committee.

V. That the Honble. Daniel Oliver be the Treasurer to receive the money to be collected by the committee for subscriptions towards the Building of the New Meeting-House ; and to pay out the same according to the orders of the committee for Building.

VI. That Mr. James Pemberton be added to the committee for subscriptions in the place of Capt. Winslow.

VII. That Mr. Francis Borland be added to the committee for subscriptions, in the room of Mr. William Foye.

VIII. That the Money which the Hon. Daniel Oliver hath received for the use of the church be paid by him according to the orders of the committee for Building.

JOSEPH SEWALL.

Captain Winslow and Mr. Foye were excused from serving on the committee to obtain subscriptions, because they had been placed on the building committee. A few words about the members of the building committee will be appropriate. Of the chairman, the Hon. Jonathan Belcher, we have already spoken. After spending some time abroad, he became a merchant, and soon entered upon political life. He was a member of the council, and in the spring of 1729 was sent to England as an agent of the province.¹ This must have interfered with the discharge of his duties on the building committee. Edward Winslow was son of Edward, and grandson of John and Mary (Chilton) Winslow, who came to Boston in their old age, and united with the church by letter from the Plymouth Church.² He was a goldsmith, colonel of a regiment, captain of the artillery company in 1714 and 1729, sheriff of the county of Suffolk, and shortly before his death judge of the court of common pleas. His wife, Hannah, was a daughter of the Rev. Joshua Moodey. Ezekiel Lewis was a son of William Lewis, of Farmington, Connecticut, and a grandson of Ezekiel Cheever, of Boston. He graduated at Harvard College in 1695, and taught for a time, first in Westfield, and then in Boston as an

¹ Mch 4, 1728-9. "We were at Mr. Belcher's where the afternoon was spent in Prayr, He being with his eldest Son bound for London. Lord hear! Let thy presence goe with thy Servants." (J. Sewall.)

² See *ante*, pp. 181, 182. Mr. J. Sewall

mentions the death, September 16, 1728, of Mrs. Winslow, in her eighty-ninth year, "the Eldest person of our communion and congregation, and I trust died in the Lord." We suppose her to have been the mother of Edward Winslow, the goldsmith.

assistant to his grandfather. He became a successful merchant, and was selectman and representative. His first wife was Mary Brading or Breadon, and his second, Abigail, widow of Roger Kilcup, whom he married in 1704. Samuel Welles was born in Glastonbury, Connecticut, and was a great-grandson of Governor Thomas Welles, of that colony. He graduated at Yale College in 1707, and was ordained pastor of the church in Lebanon. He became engaged to Abigail (who changed her name to Hannah) Arnold, daughter of Captain Berechiah and Abigail Arnold, and granddaughter of Theophilus Frary. As she was an only child and heiress to a large landed property, her parents were desirous that Mr. Welles should move to Boston, and he did so, much to the regret of his people in Lebanon. He became a member of the South Church in 1728, and was immediately called to serve upon important committees. He also took a prominent position in the town and province, and, in 1753, succeeded Edward Winslow on the bench.¹ William Foye was a son of Captain John Foye, who commanded vessels in the London trade, and a nephew of Jonathan Belcher; he was for many years the treasurer of the province.

April 25. I was at a Council at Linn — End. (12 churches there.) Mr. Sparrowhawk not joining in calling this Council was not free to submit the matter in Controversy to their Determination. They agreed to joyn in calling another Council of 9 Churches. (J. Sewall.)

The Rev. Nathaniel Sparhawk was settled over the north parish in Lynn, now Lynnfield, in 1720. A part of his people became dissatisfied with him, and, in 1731, on the advice of some whom he considered his friends, "he asked a dismissal, in order to produce tranquillity," and it was unexpectedly granted. Mr. Sparhawk took to his bed soon after, and is supposed to have died in consequence of his disappointment.

The latest extract we shall make from Judge Sewall's diary relates to the benevolent work of the churches: —

June 4. 1728. I holp to assist the Committee for allowing Mr. John Cleverly Ten Shillings a Sabbath for preaching at George-Town, on Arrowsick, for one year, to be paid Quarterly: petition'd for by Mr. Denny and others. I mention'd what I had read out of Isa 32. 20, Sowing by all Waters. Mr. Cooper said had sown little or nothing by these waters yet. *Laus Deo.* (Sewall.)

¹ His daughter Abigail joined the Old South in 1756, and his son Arnold, Harv. Coll. 1745, owned the covenant in 1761. Arnold Welles married Susanna, daughter of John Jones, of Bristol, England, and died in 1802.

Judge Sewall had visited Arrowsic Island on the Kennebec River in 1717, with Governor Shute, and always afterward took a deep interest in the prosperity of the settlement there.

At a church Meeting, June 26. 1728.

Voted — I. That the New Meeting House be built with Brick.

II. That the Subscribers doe each of them pay in to the Treasurer a third part of their subscriptions, on or before the 10th of July next.

III. That the Honble Daniel Oliver having desired to be excused from serving as Treasurer for the Building ;

Voted — That Capt. Osborne be the Treasurer, to receive the money to be collected towards the Building the New Meeting House ; and to pay out the same according to the orders of the committee for Building.

IV. That the committee for Building proceed to purchase such Materials as they shall judge proper to be laid in before Winter,¹ and take other methods to forward the Building, as soon as the Treasurer hath money in his hands to enable them.

Voted — That fifteen pounds be given to Joseph Secombe, out of the collection towards his support at the College.

JOSEPH SEWALL.

On the morning of Thursday, July 4, which had been set apart as a day of prayer, on account of the prevailing drought, the moral sense of the town received a shock as startling as that which had disturbed the foundations of the buildings a few months before, and even more terrible. Two young men on Wednesday evening had risen, flushed with wine, from a quarrel over a card-table in the Royal Exchange Tavern, King Street, had gone to the Common, and there, "near the water side," had fought a duel with small swords, which proved almost immediately fatal to one of them. The unhappy victim of this quarrel was Benjamin Woodbridge, son of the Hon. Dudley Woodbridge, judge advocate of the island of Barbadoes, and agent of the South Sea Company there.² He was only twenty years of age, and had just commenced business with Jonathan Sewall, a nephew of Judge Sewall. The still more unhappy youth who survived the duel was Henry Phillips, son of Samuel Phillips, a much respected bookseller.³ His mother was Hannah, daughter

¹ [Dr. Wisner mentions a tradition that all the mortar was made the autumn before it was used.]

² He was the agent of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, and Hutchinson says he was the projector of paper money in Bar-

badoes. See *Memoir of the Rev. Nath. Ward, A. M.*, by John Ward Dean, p. 193.

³ John Dunton, in his *Letters from New England*, speaks of Mr. Phillips in 1686 as an old correspondent, and describes him as "young, witty and the

of Benjamin and Hannah (Savage) Gillam. He was baptized at the South Church, of which his parents were members, February 25, 1704-5, and he graduated at Harvard College in 1724, in the same class with Adam Winthrop (third of the name), Andrew Belcher (third of the name), Andrew Oliver (Senior), Dudley Woodbridge (third of the name), Phillips Payson, and Joseph Park. He was in his twenty-fourth year, and had recently gone into partnership with his brother Gillam, to continue the business of their late father. With the help of Gillam Phillips,¹ Peter Faneuil, and John Winslow, he made his escape by getting on board a British man-of-war which was just leaving the harbor, and when the town awoke next morning to the excitement which was awaiting it he was far out at sea. He found a refuge at Rochelle, in France, and died there within a year, of grief and a broken heart.²

The high standing of the parties implicated in this duel, and of the families made desolate by it, did not prevent the ministers of the town from speaking out faithfully and solemnly against the sin itself and the evil courses which had led to it. Mr. Colman, to whose care young Woodbridge had been commended by his father on leaving home, took his text on the following Sunday from Job x. 22, "Without any order." The whole passage reads: "Before I go whence I shall not return, even to the land of darkness and the shadow of death; a land of darkness, as darkness itself; and of the shadow of death, without any order, and where the light is as darkness." The preacher in his application spoke of "a late hopeful and promising youth, who was heretofore of us, a child of great expectation, but he went out from us, and ran himself into the paths of the destroyer and an untimely death." And again: "You see, Children, what comes of leaving these Churches after an Education in them: even Duelling and Bloodshed and Flight from Country and Friends, may come of Bursting the Bonds of God asunder, and going after Strangers, and into the Manners Customs and impious Maxims of the World." Evidently Woodbridge had

most beautiful man in the whole town of Boston; he's very just and (as an effect of that) thriving." He died in 1720, at the age of fifty-eight. He was not descended from the Rev. George Phillips, Watertown.

¹ Gillam Phillips married Marie, sister of Peter Faneuil.

² July 4. 1728. "In the Evening I

visited Mrs. Ph. O Lord sanctify thine awfull Judgment to her. Give her Son a thorow Repentance."

Jan. 22. 1728-9. "Mr. Thacher, Mr. Prince and I met at Mrs. Phillip's, and Pray'd for her Son. I hope God graciously assisted. Lord pardon the hainous Sins of that young man, Convert and Heal his Soul." (J. Sewall.)

been a member of the Brattle Street congregation. The sermon was printed under the title, *Death and the Grave without any Order*. On the 18th of July, at the Thursday Lecture, Mr. Sewall preached a sermon, the subject of which was, *He that would keep God's Commandments must Renounce the Society of Evil Doers*. His text was Psalm cxix. 115: "Depart from me, ye evil-doers: for I will keep the commandments of my God." He endeavored to show the evil and danger of wicked company, and he condemned duelling as a bloody crime. Towards the close he said:—

Nor hath any word been spoken with a design to wound such as are greatly distressed. No! my heart's desire and prayer is, That they may be enabl'd to Mourn after a godly sort, and then Experience the Presence of Christ with them, giving them the oyl of joy for Mourning. May the Comforter which shou'd relieve their Souls not be far from them, And God, who can make all things work together for good, bring light to them out of this thick darkness.

The sermon was published, with a preface signed by the other Congregational ministers of the town, ten in number.

A new governor arrived at midsummer, in the person of William Burnet, a son of the famous Bishop of Salisbury. His administration was to be a brief one, but he was very heartily received and very handsomely entertained on his arrival.¹ On the Thursday following Mr. Prince preached before his Excellency and the General Court from Psalm lxxviii. 70-72: "He chose David also his servant, and took him from the sheep-folds: from following the ewes great with young, he brought him to feed Jacob his people, and Israel his inheritance. So he fed them according to the integrity of his heart, and guided them by the skilfulness of his hands." The sermon was printed; its title was, *Civil Rulers Raised up by God to Feed His People*.

August 31. We are under difficulty respecting the Admission of a Member. His admission was suspended. Lord hear my poor petitions. Shew the Church what thou wouldst have us to doe. Let thy people keep close to Scripture rules, and require nothing more than God requires. O enable us to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace. (J. Sewall.)

¹ "On the 19th Inst. Governor Burnet came to Town. The Ministers waited on him, and Mr. Colman made a short Speech to him. O Lord incline thy Servant to favour this people, in our religious and civil Privileges! Bless him Pouring out thy Spirit . . . upon him."
 "August 6. Some of the Ministers met and pray'd together for the Governor &c." (J. Sewall.)

The difficulty thus briefly referred to by Mr. Sewall seems to have led the church to define more precisely than before the qualifications upon which it would insist in those seeking admission to its membership. The question, as a practical one, may never have presented itself for settlement until now. The prayer of the pastor, of which he tells us, seems to have been answered, for the church determined, as the result of this discussion, to "keep close to Scripture rules" in this important matter, and to "require nothing more than God requires," and than was required in the apostolic age, of candidates for church membership in full communion.¹

At a Church Meeting, Sept. 1728.

Voted — That such as come into full Communion should make a publick Profession of their Repentance towards God, and Faith in our Lord Jesus Christ, of their Belief of the Scriptures as a perfect Rule of Faith and life, and of their Resolution, by the Grace of God, to walk according to them.

JOSEPH SEWALL.²

At a church Meeting, Oct. 29. 1728.

Voted — I. That sixty pounds be given out of the stock remaining of the collections for pious and charitable uses, for the supply of the Poor of this church and congregation, with Wood and other Necessaries of life.

II. That Mr. William Rand, Mr. [Joseph] Belknap, and Mr. [John] Durant, be desired to collect what is behind of the first Payment of subscriptions towards the New Meeting House, and pay it to the Treasurer.

JOSEPH SEWALL.³

¹ "The fundamental doctrines of Christianity are not the deep results of metaphysical skill or learned investigation, but those evident truths which all men of ordinary capacity and diligence may receive from a perusal of the Bible. According to the most enlightened and orthodox judgment, among Christians, 'no doctrine is a fundamental, a necessary article of a Christian's faith, but what is so plainly and distinctly revealed as that an ordinary Christian, sincere in his inquiries, cannot miss of the knowledge of it.'"

"All that," says Baxter, "without which a man cannot be a good and holy Christian, is plain and easy in itself; and Christ did choose therefore to speak to the capacity of the meanest." — White's *N. Eng. Congregationalism*, pp. 166, 167.

² ["October 28. The last week two aged pious Women of our Communion

were buried, the Widow Wheeler, about 83, and the Widow Horton, about 80 or 81." (J. Sewall.)]

³ ["Nov. 11. I understand there was about 39 pounds gather'd privately on the Lord's day, part for publick uses of piety and charity. There was £6.10.0 put into the Box directed to me, about £13.10.0, to Mr. Prince. Lord bless those who thus contribute to our maintenance, with spiritual and temporal blessings. Shew thy people their Duty, and enable us to fulfill our Ministry."]

"Dec. 15. I preach'd from 1 John 1. 7. Took occasion to thank the Congregation for the liberal Collection made the last Lord's day for our support, of which my part was £79.12.2." (J. Sewall.)

A few days after this Mr. Sewall was chosen a Fellow of Harvard College, and the choice was confirmed by the overseers January 2.]

At a church Meeting [at Mr. Sewall's house] Jany 15. 1728-9

Voted — I. That Mr. Timothy Prout be added to the Committee for Building.

II. Upon a representation made to the church by the Committee for Building, that the money paid in to the Treasurer, was near expended,

Voted, That another third part be paid in, on or before the 10th of March next; and the subscribers are desired to pay it in accordingly.

III. That a committee be chosen to take an account of the Pews in this House, and who have a right to them according to the votes of the church: That a reasonable consideration may be made to them, agreeable to a vote pass'd Febr. 27. 1727-8.

IV. That Anthony Stoddard Esq. Mr. James Pemberton and Mr. [George] Bethune, be of this committee.

V. That a committee be chosen to consider where it may be most convenient, for the church and congregation to meet on the Lord's days, after this House shall be taken down, and while the New House is in Building.

VI. That the Honble. Coll. Fitch, Daniel Oliver, Secretary Willard, Mr. Lewis, and Deacon Henschman, with the Elders [that is, the pastors] of the church, be of this committee.

Then the Meeting was Adjourned to the 28th of this Instant, January.

JOSEPH SEWALL.

At a church Meeting, Jany 21. 1728-9

Whereas through the good Providence of God there is a considerable Legacy bequeathed to this church by Mrs. Anne Mills, the Relict of Mr. Henry Mills, late of Watertown, to be improved for the Relief of the poor of this church and congregation:

Voted — That Anthony Stoddard Esq. Deacon Henschman, and Mr. James Pemberton, be a committee to receive this Legacy according to the tenour of the Will, and give proper discharges to the executors.

JOSEPH SEWALL.

Mrs. Mills became a member of the church in 1690. After making certain bequests, she provided by her will that all the rest and residue of her estate should be divided as follows: one quarter part to the Old or First Church in Boston, one quarter part to the South Church, one quarter part to the church in the east parish in Watertown, and one quarter part to the church in the west parish.¹ The South Church received as its share about £280, in securities, but we are uncertain as to how much it realized upon them.

At a church Meeting Jany. 28. 1728-9.

The Report of the committee appointed to consider where it may

¹ See *ante*, p. 408, note.

be most convenient for the church and congregation to meet &c., was read and accepted, and

Voted — I. That it will be most convenient for the church and congregation to meet on the Lord's days after the present Meeting House shall be taken down, and while the New House is building, at the Old Brick Meeting House.

II. That it will be most convenient to meet twice on each Lord's day at said Brick Meeting-House, saving on their Sacrament days.

Upon which it was agreed that a letter, then read and accepted should be sent to the Old church in a respectfull manner to ask this Privilege of them.

JOSEPH SEWALL.

Feb. 16. 1728-9. I preach'd from Eph. 4. 3. O Lord enable thy people to keep the Unity of the Spirit in the bond of Peace! Our Letter to the Old Church, and their Answer granting us the Privilege of assembling in their Meeting-House was read. (J. Sewall.)

At a church Meeting Febr. 18. 1728-9.

I. Whereas this church have determined with submission to the Providence of God, to build a New Meeting House, in the place where our present Meeting House stands, and the Materials for building are in a considerable forwardness ;

Voted — That this Meeting House be taken down.

II. That the committee for Building, viz: the Honble. Jonathan Belcher, Edward Winslow Esq. Mr. Ezekiel Lewis, Mr. Samuel Welles, Mr. Timothy Prout and Mr. William Foye, be impowered and directed to take down our present Meeting House, as soon as conveniently may be after the 24th of this Instant, February.

III. That the said committee be directed to dispose of our present Meeting House to the best advantage.

IV. Voted — That the church Propose, God willing, to begin to Assemble for publick Worship in the Old Brick Meeting House on the Lord's day which will be on the 9th of March next, at 11. A. M. and 4 P. M. ; And that the congregation be desired to assemble with them.

V. Voted — That the Pastors of this church be desired to return our hearty thanks to the Old Church, for the Liberty they have given us of Assembling in their Meeting House ; and to inform them that we purpose God Willing, to begin to meet there on the 9th of March next.

VI. That Friday come sennight, Febr. 28. be observed by this church as a day of Fasting and Prayer, to humble ourselves before God for all our unfruitfulness under the means of Grace enjoyed in this Meeting House, and to ask his Presence and Blessing upon us in the momentous affair of taking down this House, and building another for his Publick Worship ; and that the congregation be desired to join with us in this Solemnity.

VII. Whereas, Capt. Timothy Cunningham¹ in his last Will and Testament generously bequeathed to this church two hundred pounds ; and the Execution of his Will by order of his Mother, Mrs. Ruth Cunningham, falling into the Hands of his Elder and only Brother, Mr. Nathaniel Cunningham, to whom the committee of this church have made application for the said Legacy, and which he offered to pay, at the same time signifying his desire that the money should be invested in a Bell for the new House now going to be built :

Voted — That the said Money be applied to the purchasing as good a Bell as it will procure ; and that in honour and gratitude to the Memory of the Donor, there be the following Inscription cast on the Bell : viz.

THE GIFT OF
CAPT. TIMOTHY CUNNINGHAM
TO THE SOUTH CHURCH IN BOSTON ;
WHO DIED AT SEA,
SEPT. 12. 1728

JOSEPH SEWALL.

Mrs. Ruth Edwards, widow of George Edwards, joined the church in 1685. She afterward became the wife of Timothy Cunningham, and the baptism of their children, Ruth, Hannah, and Nathaniel, is recorded in 1689 and later. The baptism of their son Timothy is not recorded ; nor do we find either his name or that of his brother Nathaniel among the members of the church. Of their interest in the church, however, there can be no doubt. Nathaniel, a man of large wealth, when he died (in London) in 1748, left to it by his will sixty ounces of silver, to be made into some proper vessel for the communion table, and £500 for its poor.² His daughter Ruth and her distinguished husband, James Otis, were afterward members of the church and congregation. The bell, purchased with the bequest of Timothy Cunningham, did faithful service in the Old South tower until the autumn of 1815, when it was cracked while ringing an alarm of fire. The inscription on it, which commemorated the name and generosity of the donor for more than two generations, we now enter upon these pages, in the hope that he will continue to be held in grateful remembrance while the church endures.

¹ [Benjamin Walker in his *Diary*, September 23, 1728, says that Timothy Cunningham's sloop arrived from Antigua on that day, and that Mr. Cunningham had died on the passage. "He was a brisk likely young man."]

² Nathaniel, son of Nathaniel Cun-

ningham, married Sarah, daughter of Christopher Kilby. They had two daughters, Susannah and Sarah ; and the younger of these had a daughter, Elizabeth, who married the seventh Duke of Argyll. (See the cut at the head of this chapter.)

In accordance with the vote of the church special services were held on Friday, February 28. In the forenoon, Mr. Foxcroft offered prayer, and Mr. Prince preached from Lam. iii. 41, "Let us lift up our heart with our hands unto God in the heavens." In the afternoon Mr. Colman assisted, and Mr. Sewall preached from Psalm cxxvii. 1: "Except the Lord build the house, they labour in vain that build it: except the Lord keep the city, the watchman waketh but in vain." Mr. Sewall says in his journal: "I hope we had the Tokens of God's gracious Presence with us. The congregation generally attended, and many others with them. I hope God enabled me in, publick and private, to look earnestly to him this day. O Lord, hear, Forgive and doe as the matter may require." On Sunday, March 2, the last sermons were preached in the old building to very large congregations,¹ and on the following day, Mr. Sewall having prayed with the workmen, the process of demolition began. "On the 4th. this ancient building was taken down, about 5, P. M. No hurt done." "Several of the beams and timbers" were found to be so much "decayed" that it was "apprehended" the "crowded" assemblies on the preceding Sabbath "had a very gracious preservation." Mr. Sewall, after recording this, says: "I thank thee, O thou Preserver of men. Reconcile thy Servants who have been opposite to this Work, and let there be good Agreement among thy people in the things that are pleasing in thy sight."²

March 9. We met in the Old-Meeting-House. Mr. Prince preach'd from Ps. 119. 54. The House of my Pilgrimage. I preach'd P. M. from Isai. 12. 2. I will trust and not be afraid. O Lord enable me and thy people to put our Trust in thee!

¹ "I preach'd P. M. from Ps. 127. 1. A very great Assembly I hope God helped me. But have great Reason to be humbled under my own great Weakness, having forgot to propound three persons for full communion. Lord shew me my own frailties and infirmities." (J. Sewall.)

² March 4. "Cut the posts and pull'd house down, it fell into the meeting-house ground." (B. Walker.)

They began to lay the stone foundation for the new building March 31, "seven feet below the pavement of the street." The old building "was near 75 feet long, and near 51 wide; besides the

southern, eastern and western porches; the length of this is near 95 feet, breadth near 68, besides the western tower, and eastern and southern porches." *N. Eng. Weekly Journal*, March 31, April 28, 1729. Drake's *Hist. and Antiq.* p. 584.

August 18. 1729. "On the 15th I pray'd with the workmen who are raising the Roof of the Meeting-House, again this day. I thank thee O Thou Preserver of men, that this difficult work is so far accomplish'd and with so little hurt to any person. (Two were something hurt and others in danger.)" (J. Sewall.)

March 27. A person of our Church came to me, acknowledging he had committed a very hainous Sin. I pray'd with him. O Lord rebuke Satan! Save this miserable young man from his Pride discontent &c. I hope God hath bless'd our Endeavours with him.

May 28. Several Ministers met at my House.

May 29. Mr. Colman Preach'd the Sermon to the Ministers in Publick from 2 Thess. 3. 1. Brethren, pray for us. A considerable number of Ministers met again after dinner.¹ (J. Sewall.)

At a church Meeting [at Mr. Sewall's house] Sept. 30. 1729.

Whereas the church is determined with submission to Providence to assemble for the Worship of God in the New Meeting House before winter, there being an hopefull prospect that the House will be in a condition to receive us, tho' not compleatly finished :

Voted—That the subscribers be desired to pay in the Remainder of their subscriptions forthwith.

JOSEPH SEWALL.²

At a church Meeting, Oct. 29. 1729.

Voted—That the Treasurer be desired and impowered to borrow such a sum of money as the committee for building shall judge needfull for expediting the Building, not exceeding Eight Hundred Pounds, which sum or sums so borrowed, the Brethren of the church hereby oblige themselves to repay to said Treasurer within six moneths from the time of borrowing the Money.

Voted—That Mr. James Pemberton, Mr. Samuel Gerrish³ and Deacon Henchman be a committee to inquire of the Seaters &c. of other churches in this Town, concerning their methods relating to the tenure of their Pews ; and make a Report to this church at their next Meeting

JOSEPH SEWALL.

Upon a Report made, Voted—That the thanks of the church be

¹ [We suppose that this sermon was preached at the South meeting house, as the ministers' meetings were held at Mr. Sewall's parsonage. We have no account in Mr. Sewall's diary of the sermons in 1730 and 1731; in 1732 Mr. Colman preached again, his text being Rev. ii. 1.]

² ["Sept 30. We had a Church Meeting at my House. Lord hear our Prayers. Let the House be seasonably finish'd ; Preserve thy people, and Provide well for them in the mean time. O thou great Shepherd keep us together, Lead and Feed us! The Evening before the Pastors with two other of the Brethren (agreeable to the Church's Desire) Ad-

monish'd D of his late scandalous Sins. He expresseth a sorrow for them and a readiness to Confess them. Lord give him the sorrow which is to repentance. Recover him and others fallen. O revive a godly Discipline among us more and more." (J Sewall.)]

³ [James Pemberton was a grandson of James Pemberton, one of the founders of the church, and a nephew of its third minister. Samuel Gerrish was a son of the Rev. Joseph Gerrish of Wenham. He married, first, Mary, daughter of Judge Sewall, who died at the age of nineteen; and secondly, Sarah, daughter of John Coney. He was a bookseller, and town clerk from 1733 to 1741.]

given to Anthony Stoddard Esq. Deacon Henchman and Mr. James Pemberton, who were appointed a committee to receive the Legacy bequeathed to this church by Mrs. Anne Mills ; for their care and pains taken in that Affair.

JOSEPH SEWALL.¹

"In consideration of the danger the town and country" were "in from the small pox," the "Friday lecture [October 31] at Mr. Colman's was turned into a day of prayer." Mr. Webb preached in the morning, from the words, "Prepare to meet thy God;" and Mr. Colman, in the afternoon, from the text, "How shall I give thee up, Ephraim?"

Dec. 17. Mr. Peabody was Ordain'd to the Pastoral Office over the Church in Natick — consisting of 4 English and 3 Indians. Mr. Appleton began with Prayr. Mr. Coleman being Confined by Illness, I preach'd from Jer. 3. 15. I will give you Pastors. Mr. Baxter gave the Charge. Mr. Williams (westown) the right Hand of Fellowship and Concluded with Prayr. O Lord Bless this little Flock, and let there be added to them many of such as shall be Saved. Pour out thy Spirit on thy Servant, that he may approve himself a Pastor after thine Heart. Turn the poor Indians from darkness to light. O when shall the time to Favour them come! (J. Sewall.)

At a church Meeting Decr 30. 1729.

Voted;—I. That the last Possessors who had a right to Pews in the Old Meeting House, and desire a consideration in the New Meeting House, shall bring in their claims and desires in writing to Deacon Henchman on or before the 20th of Janry next; that there may be such allowance made to them as the church shall determine.

II. That the Honble. Coll. Fitch, and Anthony Stoddard Esq., with the committee for building, be a committee to consider and propose to the church, the tenure and conditions by which persons are to hold their Pews, and such Rules and Orders as are needfull about them; To number and value the Pews below and in the Galleries, and to propose the way and method for the Disposition of them.

III. That no person be allowed to enter and take possession of any pew before he produce to the above said committee a certificate or Receipt under the Treasurer's hand, that he hath paid the price of it.

JOSEPH SEWALL.

The new meeting-house was nearly ready for occupancy, but Judge Sewall did not live to take possession of it with his brethren. How he felt after the work of demolition and of reconstruction had been fairly entered upon, we do not know; but

¹ [Oct 29. "We had a Church Meet. Difficulties! Let the Building be speedily ing. O Lord pity us under our present finish'd may it be thy Will." (J. Sewall.)]

perhaps it was well that he should not long survive the hallowed walls within which he had worshipped for more than fifty years.



He "had served his own generation by the will of God;" and another generation had now come forward, which, with the new house of worship, would desire other new things to which he might be unable to give his approval. With a different administration, there was to be the same spirit; the inner life of the church was to be as it had been from the beginning, although some of the outer conditions and accessories would be changed. But all this Judge Sewall, if he had lived much longer, might not have been able to understand; and like Simon Bradstreet and Joshua Scottow,¹ both of

whom he had helped to lay in their peaceful graves many years before, he might have shed "old men's tears" over the degeneracy of the times. As it was, he had attained to a venerable age; he was seventeen years old when the South Church was founded, and he had sat under the preaching of its first five ministers;² he took his bachelor's degree at college under Presi-

¹ Joshua Scottow died January 20, 1698. In 1691 he wrote a pamphlet, entitled "Old Men's Tears for their own Declensions, mingled with Fears of their and Posterities further falling off from New England's Primitive Constitution. Published by some of Boston's Old Planters and some others." In 1694 he printed a larger work, "A Narrative of the planting of the Massachusetts Colony, Anno 1628," and dedicated it to Simon Bradstreet. Both publications are full of lamentations over the prevailing degeneracy from the principles and practices of the fathers.

² In the communion service of the Old South, there is a flagon, represented

above, on which the Sewall arms and the date 1730 are engraved, and which was given, no doubt, to commemorate Judge Sewall's membership in the church. The late Rev. Samuel Sewall, of Burlington, Mass., in a memoir of his ancestor printed in 1841, in the *American Quarterly Review*, said: "The arms of John Seawale, Sheriff of Essex and Hertfordshire, 1380, are thus described by Fuller: 'S. (sable) cheveron betwix three gadd-bees argent,' which are precisely the same with those handed down by painting, tradition, or otherwise among all the Sewalls now known to reside in New England and Lower Canada, as their family arms."

dent Chauncy, and his master's degree under President Hoar, and he had seen six later presidents; he had lived under twelve governors and acting governors, and had served under nine of them. He had been a member of the judiciary forty-four years, and for ten years chief justice of the province. He had seen his son installed as one of the pastors of the church in which he had labored and prayed so long, and which he loved so well. How important and how lasting a work he had done for this church, in committing so much of its early history to paper, he could not have had the faintest conception, nor have his successors in the membership understood until very recently. Had he foreseen this, he certainly would have said, in the words of Israel, what indeed he might well have said as it was, "It is enough." After "about a month's languishment," he died, on the 1st of January, 1729-30, in the seventy-eighth year of his age.

Dec 26. My Father seems to grow weaker. At different times He repeated to me the Creed and the Lord's prayer. Mention'd that text, If any man Sin, we have an advocate with the Father. When ask'd what wee should Pray for—Answer, to this Effect, that he might follow the Captain of his salvation. In general, He speaks but little.

Dec 29. I read to him 11 John 23-27 &c. My Father took notice and spake of what was read—that we were beholden to Martha. Spake of the brazen Serpent—of Looking to Jesus—He the only remedy.

Jan 1. I was call'd up about 4 cl. (or something before) found my Father dying. He seem'd to enjoy the use of his reason. I pray'd with him, then Mr. Cooper. C[ousin] Chauncy came in and Pray'd. My Honoured and dear Father Expir'd about 35 minutes after 5 A. M. Near the time in which 29 years agoe, He was so affected upon the Beginning of this Century, when he made those Verses to usher in the New Year, Once more our God vouchsafe to Shine. (J. Sewall.)

On the following Lord's day, at the Old Brick, where the congregations of the First and Third Churches were worshipping together, Mr. Chauncy preached in the morning, from John xi. 25: "He that believeth in me, though he were dead, yet shall he live;" and, says Mr. Sewall, "made an honorable mention of my father." Mr. Prince preached in the afternoon, from Isaiah lvii. 1: "The righteous perisheth." The funeral took place on Wednesday the 7th. "Bearers, the Honble Coll. Tailor, Simeon Stoddard, Judge Davenport, Coll. Fitch, Daniel Oliver. Mr. Bromfield was appointed; but being ill, Mr. Secretary Willard

stood in his Room. A fair cold Day." On Thursday, Mr. Prince preached the Lecture in Mr. Sewall's turn, and took for his text, 1 Sam. vii. 15-17: "And Samuel judged Israel all the days of his life. And he went from year to year in circuit to Bethel, and Gilgal, and Mizpeh, and judged Israel in all those places. And his return was to Ramah; for there was his house: and there he judged Israel, and there he built an altar unto the Lord." "Gave my Father a modest and true Character."¹ On Sunday the 11th, Mr. Sewall preached to the same congregations as above, from Psalm xxvii. 10: "When my father and my mother forsake me, then the Lord will take me up."

In recognition of the long and eminent services of Samuel Sewall in church and state, the members of the Old South, in 1884, placed a memorial tablet upon the walls of their present meeting-house; other commemorative tablets were erected at the same time, and appropriate addresses were made Sunday evening, October 26, which were printed.²

Stately and slow, with thoughtful air,
His black cap hiding his whitened hair,
Walks the Judge of the great Assize,
Samuel Sewall the good and wise.
His face with lines of firmness wrought,
He wears the look of a man unbought,

¹ The *News-Letter* which contains the notice of his death gives the following epitome of his character:—

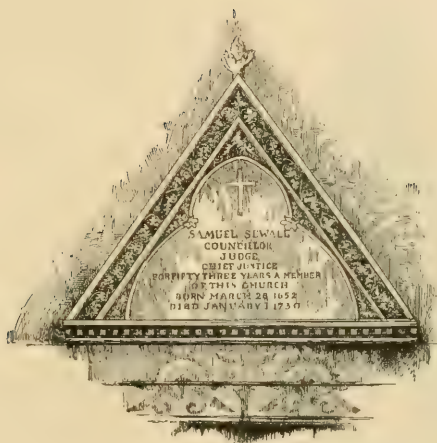
"He was universally and greatly reverenc'd, esteemed and beloved among us for his eminent Piety, Learning and Wisdom; his grave and venerable Aspect and Carriage; his instructive, affable and cheerful Conversation; his strict Integrity and regard to Justice; his extraordinary tender and compassionate Heart; his neglect of the World; his abundant Liberality; his catholic and publick Spirit; his critical Acquaintance with the Holy Scriptures in their inspir'd originals; his Zeal for the purity of instituted Worship; his constant, diligent and reverent Attendance on it, both in the Church and Family; his Love for the Churches, People and Ministers, the civil and religious Interests of this Country; his tender Concern for the aboriginal Natives; and as the Crown of all, His Moderation, Peaceableness and Humility; which being all united in the same

Person, and in an high Degree and Station, rendered Him one of the most shining Lights and Honours of the Age and Land wherein He lived; and worthy of a very distinguishing regard in the New English Histories."

Judge Sewall left no will. His sons, Samuel and Joseph, and his son-in-law, the Rev. Mr. Cooper, administered on his estate. Samuel inherited the mansion house and occupied it. He and his wife, Rebecca, had joined the South Church, May 12, 1728.

² For an appreciative and affectionate estimate of Judge Sewall's character, see the address on this occasion by the Rev. George E. Ellis, D. D., LL. D., now president of the Mass. Hist. Society. The members of the Old South are under lasting obligation to Dr. Ellis, and the other editors of the Sewall *Papers* and *Letters*, for the labor performed by them in preparing the five volumes for publication and in carrying them through the press.

Who swears to his hurt, and changes not;
Yet, touched and softened nevertheless
With the grace of Christian gentleness,
The face that a child would climb to kiss !
True and tender and brave and just,
That man might honor and woman trust.
(Whittier.)





CHAPTER IX.

1730-1740.

THE NEW MEETING-HOUSE. —
COLLECTIONS FOR CHARITA-
BLE USES.

THE new meeting-house was not finished as soon as had been expected, but twelve or thirteen months does not seem a very long time in which to remove an old building and erect a new one, such as this was, in its place. The various questions relating to the pews, old and new, required much thought and care, but they were at length satisfac-

torily adjusted, and principles were agreed upon to regulate the tenure and transfer of pew property.¹

At a church Meeting [at Mr. Sewall's house] Febr. 3. 1729-30.

Voted — That the committee for disposing of the collection for pious and charitable uses, are desired to expend such a part of the stock as they shall judge proper for the supply of the present necessities of the poor of this church and congregation.

JOSEPH SEWALL.

Feb. 3. We have the joy full News that Mr. Belcher is appointed our Governor. O Lord! Pour thy Spirit on thy Servant, and bring him in safety and make him a great Blessing to us. (J. Sewall.)

At a church Meeting Febr. 9. 1729-30.

Pursuant to a vote of Febr. 27. 1727-8, There was an allowance made to such possessors of Pews in the Old Meeting-House as did not see cause to resign their claims.

JOSEPH SEWALL.

[No date.]

Voted — That the two Pews at the right and left hand of the Deacons' Seat, fronting on the broad Alley, be set apart for the use of the Ministry.

[No date.]

These proposalls were offer'd to the church by the committee appointed to consider the tenure and conditions upon which Persons are to hold their Pews &c: And after they had been distinctly read and considered, were voted as follows.

Voted — I. That a committee be appointed, and from time to time continued, to order and regulate the Pews and Seats in the Meeting-House, and other matters relating to said House.

II. That all persons keep the seats and places assigned them by the said committee, and remove not to any other seat or place, without their appointment or approbation; that so good order and decency may be observed.

III. That no Pew shall be appropriated to any particular Person or

¹ The following receipt shows the conditions upon which pew property was owned in Brattle Street Church when it was founded: —

BOSTON 30 April 1700

Received then of Mr. John Pitts the summe of fifteen pound for a pew in the New Church in Brattle Street, No 22, being that next the West dore on the left hand as one enters said Church; To have and enjoy the said pew to him and his heirs, so long as he or they shall con-

stantly come to said Church, and contribute thereto; in default thereof, to resign up said pew unto the Committee for said Church for the time being, they allowing said Pitts or his heirs what he now gives for the same, I say received for the use and behoof of said Church

p THO. BRATTLE
Treasurer of said Church.

See Pitts MSS. in the possession of Mr. Daniel Goodwin, Jr., of Chicago.

Family, but such as at present are, or hereafter shall be of the constant Auditory, and Contributors to the support of the Ministry.

IV. That every Person to whom a Pew or part of a pew is or shall be assigned, shall be obliged in proportion to the Privilege they enjoy, to contribute for the Honourable support of the worship of God, as well as other necessary charges.

V. That every Proprietor and their Heirs, shall hold their respective Pews so long as they shall comply with the aforesaid conditions of their Tenure ; and in default thereof, that such Pews revert to the church upon their paying the original cost to said Proprietors, their Executors or Administrators.

VI. That no seat or Pew appropriated to any Person shall be transferr'd or disposed of by such person to another without the approbation and allowance of the committee for the time being first had for the same.

VII. Upon the death or removal of any Proprietor, such Pew shall be in the disposition of the committee, upon their paying to such persons, his Executor, or Administrators, the first cost and charge by him disbursed for it ; but if the church shall refuse to pay for the same, for the space of two months after an offer thereof made them, the Owner may dispose of it to some other Person that shall be acceptable to the committee.

VIII. Altho' Pews may not be accounted an Estate in Fee, absolutely, yet it is but equal that they descend to children ; but if during their minority they are not able to perform what is incumbent upon them, the seaters may place others with them in such Pews, untill such time as they arrive to full age or shall contribute as aforesaid.

IX. That all vacancies in the seats be filled from time to time, by the committee or seaters for the time being.

X. It is justly expected that every Person or family that enjoy a whole Pew below, should not contribute less than five Pounds, four shillings per annum and proportionably for a part ; and those in the Gallery, in proportion to the value or cost of them. But withall, it is desired and expected that such as are in superior circumstances, will not confine themselves to that sum ; but will manifest their Liberality agreeable to their condition.

XI. If at any time the right or property of any Pew, or a part of one, should by descent or otherwise, Be vested in, or claimed by any person that enjoys a whole Pew, it shall be in the power of the committee to dispose of it to any other suitable person, paying the cost thereof to him to whom of right it belongs.

JOSEPH SEWALL
THOMAS PRINCE.

At a church Meeting March 20 1729-30.

The Valuation of the Pews on the Floor and in the Galleries of the New Meeting House, was accepted and voted.

Severall Articles reported by the committee for seating, relating to the Disposal of the Pews on the Floor and in the Galleries of the New Meeting House were distinctly considered and accepted: And the said committee are impowered to dispose of the Pews accordingly.

The said committee are also desired and impowered to Dispose of the Seats in the New Meeting House.

These particulars were voted.

JOSEPH SEWALL.¹

Lord's Day April 19. 1730.

The church voted that they would Assemble for publick Worship in the New Meeting House, God willing, the next Lord's Day.

And the congregation was notified accordingly, P. M.

After the Congregation was dismissed, a letter was read to the church and accepted, in which this church gave their thankful acknowledgments to our Brethren of the Old Church, for the Privilege granted us of Assembling in their Meeting-House for the time in which our house was building.

JOSEPH SEWALL.

The pastor added in his diary: "Lord bountifully reward the kindness shew'd us by this Church, and be graciously present with us in our Remove to our New House."

There were no special services of dedication for this house of worship, which was to receive its consecration, week by week, for a century and a half to come, from the prayers and praises of God's people within its walls. On the first Sunday of its occupancy sermons appropriate to the occasion were preached by the two pastors. Mr. Sewall's text in the morning was Hag-gai ii. 9. "The glory of this latter house shall be greater than of the former, saith the Lord of Hosts: and in this place will I give peace, saith the Lord of Hosts."² Mr. Prince's text in

¹ [March 20. "We had a Church-Meeting to determine the way in which the Subscribers are to Choose their Pews. O Lord govern this matter in mercy; keep us in Peace. Mr. Prince and I had prayd together with an especial regard to this Affair; And this day I again commended it to God."

comfortable Expressions of resentment from several) and it is said there is a more general Satisfaction in the Choice than could almost have been expected." (J. Sewall.)]

March 24. 26. 27. 28. "The Difficult and Critical Affair of the Choice of Pews (on the Floor) was manag'd. Considerable offence was given about the 3 Divisions in the Choice. However all or the most chose (tho' not without un-

² Mr. Sewall preached again from this text on the next Lord's Day, particularly dwelling on the words "And in this place will I give peace." "O Lord," he wrote, "I thank thee for the peace we enjoy." The disturbed feeling attending the choice of seats seems to have subsided very speedily.

Among those who joined the South

the afternoon was Psalm v. 7: "But as for me, I will come into thy house in the multitude of thy mercy; and in thy fear will I worship toward thy holy temple."

These pastors and their people had been encouraged by the promise: "He shall bring forth the headstone thereof with shoutings, crying, Grace, grace unto it," and now one of them, Mr. Sewall, hastened to record the consummation of their work upon the church's book.

Lord's Day April 26. 1730.

We Assembled the first time for religious Worship in the New Meeting House.

LAUS DEO.

Mr. Sewall also wrote in his diary at the close of the day: "O Lord I thank thee that thou hast enabled thy people to build such an House, and hast granted us this Opportunity of Meeting with so much Peace to offer up our Prayers and Praises, and to hear thy Word. O give us the especial Presence of Jesus Christ with us that we may be built up a Spiritual House. O help thy people to make the Offering to thee, and accept them in thy beloved Son. And let thy people and their offspring for a long time here worship God in spirit and in truth, and enjoy the fulness of the Blessing of the Gospel of Christ."

We are all familiar with the exterior of this meeting-house, which, except in the color of the walls, looks to-day almost exactly as it did when it was first completed.¹ Richard Grant White has left us the following description:—

It is the perfect model of a New England "meeting-house" of the highest style in the olden time. Bare of the beauty of architectural detail, it delights the eye by its fine symmetrical proportion; and its

Church in 1730 were Henry Gibbs, John Hunt, Jonathan Loring, Thomas Hubbard, and Joseph Prince, who transferred their membership from the First Church; Thomas Cushing, from Brattle Street; Daniel Loring and Nathaniel Goodwin, from the North Church; and John Smibert, the painter, who married a daughter of the Rev. Nathaniel Williams.

Henry Gibbs, Harvard College, 1726, married a daughter of Josiah Willard.

The first person to be admitted to membership in the new meeting-house was Rebecca Walker, May 10.

¹ In the southwest corner of the building, just above the sidewalk, there is a stone bearing the letters N. E. and the date March 31, 1729. (See the cut at the end of this chapter.) Dr. Wisner mentions another stone, in the northwest corner, on the west side, inscribed with the letters S. S.; and another, in the northeast corner, on the east side, inscribed L. B. 1729. The letters S. S. probably stand for Samuel Sewall (see *ante*, p. 360, note); but we are unable to explain those on the other stones. Robert Twelves is said to have been the builder.

octagonal spire, springing from an airy, eight-arched loggia, is one of the finest of its kind, not only in this country, but in the world. Nothing more light and elegant and graceful can be found, unless in the finest Gothic work. Not a "Wren" spire (indeed an architect would scout the notion) it yet suggests Wren to the unprofessional eye; but I have never seen a spire of Sir Christopher's which equalled it in grace and lightness. A peculiar interest attaches to it because it is of home growth. It is not a copy nor an imitation of anything else. It is the conception of a Yankee architect—the outgrowth and development of the steeple-belfry of the New-England meeting-house. New England may well be proud of it. . . . The interiors of these old meeting-houses, it must be admitted, are devoid of all semblance of beauty. In them the hard, utilitarian, unsentimental spirit of the old New England life and the old New England Puritanism was fully expressed, but intuitively, and without purpose. There no charm of color, there no grace of form, there no monuments of departed notability were allowed to divert the eye and mind from religious business. They were bare, galleried halls, in which mass meetings were held for worship.¹

Of the interior, Dr. Wisner said in 1830:—

It was finished with two galleries as at present; and the pulpit in the same position as now, but larger and higher than this, with a sounding-board projecting from the wall above the casing of the window; and with two seats directly in front, one somewhat elevated for the deacons, and one still more elevated for the elders. On each side of the middle aisle, and nearest the pulpit, were a number of long seats for aged people; and the rest of the floor, except the aisles and several narrow passages, was covered with square pews.

Mr. Prince preached the election sermon May 27, and took occasion to commemorate the landing at Salem and the settlement of Boston a hundred years before.² His subject was: The People of New England Put in Mind of the Righteous Acts of the Lord to Them and their Fathers. He showed how extremely proper it was, "upon the close of the first century of our settlement in this chief part of the land, which will now within a few weeks expire, to look back to the beginning of this remarkable transaction." Mr. Foxcroft and Mr. Sewall preached centennial discourses, at the First Church, three months later.³

¹ [*The Century*, March, 1884.]

² His text was 1 Sam. xii. 6, 7: "And Samuel said unto the people, It is the Lord that advanced Moses and Aaron, and that brought your fathers up out of the land of Egypt. Now therefore

stand still, that I may reason with you before the Lord of all the righteous acts of the Lord, which he did to you and to your fathers."

³ "It has been generally said that owing to the small pox the expiration of the

At a Meeting of the South Church in their Brick Meeting House Augt 5. 1730.

It being represented to the church that the Salleries allow'd our Rev'd Pastors have not been sufficient for the support of their Families, so that they are brought considerably in arrears ;

Voted — That it be recommended to the congregation to have a collection to make good the deficiencies of former Salaries allowed them for their support.

And it being further considered that the Sallaries allowed our Ministers have not as aforesaid of late provided for their support by reason of the low value of the Bills of Credit,

Voted, — That for the space of one year from this date, and untill the further determination of this church, There be allowed and paid to each of our Rev'd Pastors, viz. to Mr. Joseph Sewall and Mr. Thomas Prince, Six Pounds pr. week, for their honourable support in the work of the Ministry ; And that the congregation be desired to enlarge their contributions accordingly, the present contributions not being sufficient to raise the allowance now made them &c.

A true copy

THOMAS FITCH Moderator

JOSEPH SEWALL.¹

century was not observed in Boston. It does not appear that the government of the town did take any action for its celebration or observance." Mr. Foxcroft's sermon was preached August 23, and was entitled "Observations on the Rise and Primitive State of New England. With special Reference to the first Church in Boston." See Drake's *Hist. and Antiq.*, p. 587.

August 27. "I preached the Lecture from 2 Pet. 3. 15. Account that the long-suffering of our Lord is Salvation. N. B. It is this day 100 years since the first Church in this Town was gather'd at Charles Town. I hope God enabled me to cry earnestly to him for these Churches." (J. Sewall.)

¹ [Mr. Sewall writes: Aug 17. "On the Lords Day [the 16th] the Congregation had a collection for the Support of the Gospel. The Deacons bro't me 88£. Lord I thank thee for inclining and spiring thy people to contribute so liberally for the support of the Gospel. (The Church hath also rais'd our Salaries to 6£ pr. week)" The salaries,

since July, 1725, had been £4.5.0 a week. They were advanced May, 1740, to £9.0.0 a week.

Dr. Robbins says, in his *History of the Second Church* (pp. 118, 119): "Such votes as the following are of not infrequent occurrence: '18 Nov. 1729. Voted, that, in consideration of the dear-ness of all necessaries of life, there be a present of sixty pounds now made to the Rev. Joshua Gee, our pastor, out of the money in the church's stock. Also voted, that an addition of five shillings per week be made to Mr. Gee's salary, so as to make it up four pounds ten shillings per week. Also voted, that an addition of ten pounds be made to the thirty pounds formerly allowed to provide Mr. Gee with fire-wood, for the year current, beginning the first of May last.' His salary was afterwards increased to eight pounds a week; and, when he was alone in the care of the church, three pounds were allowed him weekly, to supply his pulpit, as he might feel it to be necessary for his relief."]

[No date.]

Voted — That fifteen pounds out of the money collected for pious and charitable uses be given to the Revd Mr. Josiah Cotton, for his encouragement to continue Preaching the Gospel at Providence.

Voted — That the Deacons be desired to procure some suitable Person to take the oversight of the children and servants in the Galleries, to take care that good order be maintained in time of divine worship ; and that a sufficient reward be allowed for the encouragement of such a Person.

JOSEPH SEWALL.

Jonathan Belcher arrived in Boston this summer, in a ship of war, with the royal commission as governor of Massachusetts and New Hampshire, and he was warmly welcomed, especially by the religious community of which he was a conspicuous member.¹ Dr. Allen thus speaks of him as a public man, and of his personal character : —

He obeyed the royal instructions on the one hand, and exhibited a real regard to the liberties and happiness of the people on the other. He was distinguished by his unshaken integrity, by his zeal for justice, and care to have it equally distributed. Neither the claims of interest nor the solicitations of friends could move him from what appeared to be his duty. He seems to have possessed, in addition to his other accomplishments, that piety whose lustre is eternal. His religion was not a mere personal thing, which he received from tradition, or professed in conformity to the custom of the country in which he lived ; but it impressed his heart and governed his life.²

Although Governor Belcher attended at King's Chapel occasionally, and occupied the official pew there, his religious home

¹ The announcement of Mr. Belcher's appointment was received by the non-conformists in England with the greatest satisfaction. Dr. Watts wrote a beautiful ode on the eve of the governor's embarkation, of which we quote the closing stanza. Its strain of panegyric seems to us extravagant ; but it should be remembered that in those days addresses of this kind to persons in high station were almost always adulatory in the extreme.

Go, Belcher, go assume thy glorious sway ;
Faction expires, and Boston longs to obey.
Beneath thy rule may Truth and Virtue spread,
Divine Religion raise aloft her head
And deal her blessings round. Let India hear
That Jesus reigns, and her wild tribes prepare
For heavenly joys. Thy power shall rule by love ;
So reigns our Jesus in the realms above.
Illustrious pattern ! Let him fix thine eye,

And guide thy hand. He from the worlds on high
Came once an Envoy and return'd a King ;
The sons of light in throngs their homage bring,
While glory, life, and joy beneath his sceptre
spring.

² [*American Biographical Dictionary*. Hutchinson says : " By great freedom in conversation and an unreserved censure of persons whose principles or conduct he disapproved, he made himself many enemies. In a private person this may often pass with little notice, but from a governor it is very hardly forgot, and some never ceased pursuing revenge until they saw him displaced." *Hist. of Mass.*, vol. iii. p. 332.

Dr. Palfrey's estimate of Governor Belcher as a public man is a disparaging one.]

continued to be at the South Church, when he was living in the town. At Milton, where he had a country seat, he identified



J. Belcher

himself with the Congregational church, of which the Rev. John Taylor was minister. He was afterward charged in England, in an anonymous letter addressed to Mr. Samuel Holden, one of the most influential non-conformists in that country, with being concerned with the Episcopal interest in Boston in intrigues against the established order; but there is abundant evidence that he sincerely as well as steadfastly adhered to the religion of his father and of his own youth to the end of his days.¹

The new governor arrived at Castle William Saturday night, August 8, attended divine service there on Sunday, and came up to the town on Monday morning. He was escorted by a large number of soldiers and civilians from Long Wharf to the State House; thence "to a splendid entertainment at the Bunch of Grapes, and after dinner, to his own pleasant and beautiful seat."

¹ "Mr. Belcher some time since married a daughter to one Mr. Lloyd, a churchman, and obliged him to promise he would never more go to the Church of England, saying he would rather cut off his daughter's legs than marry her to a man of that church. This is a fact which he cannot deny." Letter of David Dunbar to the Duke of Newcastle, Feb. 4, 1730. See Palfrey's *History*, vol. iv. pp. 567, 568.

Mr. Belcher's daughter Mary married Byfield Lyde, and their daughter, Mary Belcher Lyde, joined the South Church July 24, 1768.

Jonathan Belcher, Jr., became a member February 13, 1763. He graduated at Harvard in 1728, and in 1731 went to England. "On the 24th [May]," says Mr. Sewall, "we met at the Governours, upon the account of His Son, Mr. Jonathan Belcher bound out for Great Britain. I began, Mr. Colman concluded with Prayr. Mr. Prince Preachd from Prov. 3. 6. ['In all thy ways acknowledge him, and he shall direct thy paths.']" His father wrote of him to the Duke of Newcastle, November 7, 1731, that "after spending the last seven years at our little University in Cam-

August 10. Governour Belcher landed about eleven a Clock A. M. The Ministers saluted Him near the Town House. O Lord Pour out thy Spirit upon thy Servant, and make him a great Blessing to us!

August 12. The united Ministers of the Town waited on the Governour, and Mr. Coleman made a Speech to him in their Name.

August 13. Mr. Coleman preach'd the Lecture from 1 Sam. 2. 8. The Pillars of the earth are the Lord's. Lord make thy Servant truly such, under God our strength and glory.

August 16. Lord's day. Mr. Prince preached A. M. from Psal. 89. 19-21. ["Then thou spakest in vision to thy Holy One, and saidst, I have laid help upon one that is mighty; I have exalted one chosen out of the people. I have found David my servant; with my holy oil have I anointed him: With whom my hand shall be established; mine arm also shall strengthen him."] I preach'd P. M. from 2 Sam. 22. 24. I was also upright before him. The Governour was at meeting both parts of the day. O Lord enable thy Servant to feed and lead this people with an upright heart and skilfull hand.

Sept. 15. Yesterday the workmen began to raise the Spire. Mr. Prince and I pray'd together that God wou'd direct assist and preserve them in this difficult work. O Lord hear! Pardon thy people if they are too ambitious of an outward shew, and too much conform'd to the Vanities of the World. O let us not be high minded, but fear. (J. Sewall.)

Sept. 17. They raised the vane or wether cock. Shem Drown, tinman, made it. (B. Walker.)

Octo. 19. Mrs. Vryling was buried (ob. 16) aged 47. She was of our Communion, a notable, and I hope, pious Woman.

Octo. 20. This day S[imeon] Stoddard Esq. was buried. He died 15th aged 80. Was also of our Communion; but of late attended at Mr. Colman's.

Nov. 3. The Church met: There was a very thin meeting; however They Voted a public Collection for the Poor on the Thanksgiving. (J. Sewall.)

At a church Meeting Novr. 3. 1730.

Voted — That there be a publick collection on the Anniversary Thanksgiving next insuing Novr. 12. current, for Relieving the Necessities of the Poor of this church and congregation.

JOSEPH SEWALL.

N. B. The collection amounted to about one hundred twenty-four Pounds.

bridge," he was then studying in the Temple; and that he needed indulgence, for he "was but the new production of the wilds in America." He took his Master's degree at Cambridge in England.

He repeatedly appeared before the Board of Trade in his father's behalf. At his death in 1776, he was lieutenant-governor and chief-justice of Nova Scotia.

Nov. 14. On the 10th Evening, Several of the Committee came to me, signifying that the Governour shew'd a Liking to my Pew; The next day I went and offer'd it him, He thank'd me. Now I understand that Madam Belcher purposeth to goe into it to morrow, and we take the Pew shee chose by the West Door. Lord enable me and thine Handmaid chearfully to deny ourselves; graciously reward us by granting us more evident Tokens of thy Presence in thy House. The Church and Congregation gather'd about 124 pounds on the Thanksgiving, principally for the Poor. Lord I praise thee. When the matter was consider'd and voted, it labor'd of Discouragements, by reason of the very thin Meeting &c.; but God hath inclin'd and enabl'd his people to offer beyond my Expectation.

Nov. 15. Thanks were return'd for the wonderfull Preservation of 5 of the Wentworths (3 Brothers). The Ship was foundred, they were taken up in their Boat by a Ship that had Spent her Mast or masts.

Nov. 29. Messrs. Ellery, Prince and Johnson return'd Thanks for God's Preservations of them in their difficult and dangerous Voyages.

Dec. 18 The Governour had a Thanksgiving at his House to Praise God for his Preservations abroad, safe return &c. Mr. Colman began with Prayer, Mr. Cooper concluded. I preach'd from Exod. 15. 2. The Lord is my strength and song, and he is become my salvation: he is my God, and I will prepare him an habitation; my father's God, and I will exalt him. The Governour read the Psalm in Dr. Watt's Version. O Lord hear the Prayers put up for thy Servant and his Family, Pour out thy Spirit upon him, his Yokefellow, Children, and make him a great Blessing to thy People.

March 2. Capt. E. Savage was buried, aged 86. I suppose the Eldest Brother of our Church.¹ (J. Sewall.)

As the pew set apart for the use of the governors in King's Chapel was canopied, it was thought proper to distinguish the official pew in the South meeting-house in the same way.

At a church Meeting April 5. 1731.

Voted—1. That in Honour to His Excellency our Governour, there be a decent canopy erected over his Pew, and the charge born out of the Church stock.

2. That the committee for building be desired to take care of this affair, and see it accomplished as soon as conveniently may be.

3. Whereas the Honble Coll. Fitch hath obliged this church with a new set of Flaggons; voted,

¹ [Ephraim Savage, son of Major Thomas Savage, graduated at Harvard College in 1662, became a member of the church in 1672, was captain of the artillery company in 1683, was in Philip's War and the expedition of 1690 against Quebec, served for several years as town clerk, and was a representative. At the time of his death, Mr. Savage was not only the oldest male member of the South Church, but the oldest graduate of Harvard College.]

That three of the Flaggons formerly used, be given to the church in Hopkinton as a Token of our brotherly respect and Love.

JOSEPH SEWALL.

May 26. Mr. Fisk preached the [Election] Sermon from Psal. 101. 6. Mine Eyes shall be upon the Faithfull of the Land. Lord Bless the Labors of thy Servant, and give us Faithfull men to Rule over us. The Ministers met at my House, chose Mr. Colman Moderator.

May 27. Met again. Mr. Colman is chosen to receive what may be Collected for Providence. And I am to receive what may be Collected for Kingston. Lord help me to manage that Affair. O Let the Gospel be settled and prevail in those Places! There was a Subscription for Providence.

July 8. Mr. Edwards of Northampton preached the Lecture from 1 Cor 1. 29-31. Lord bless the labors of thy Servant.

Sept. 13. On the 10th Inst. Three Indians, that are come hither from the Eastward, visited me: I endeavour'd, by the help of Capt. Gyles, to speak to them about the great matters of religion. Lord turn these poor people from darkness to light.

Sept. 15. The Indians were at my House again with some that came more lately. Mr. Prince and I spake to them about religion. O Lord save them, and bring them to the knowledge of the Truth. In the Evening, one of them, (Sam) wou'd needs ride — the Horse ran away with him and threw him so that he died presently.

Sept. 17. Dean Berkley visited the College. Coll. Hutchinson and I overtook him at Mr. Brindley's.¹

Oct. 2. This Day the Bell was rais'd. Lord I thank thee for this Gift. Let thy people rejoice to hear the joyfull Sound calling them to thy public Worship.² (J. Sewall.)

¹ [Dean Berkeley, afterward Bishop of Cloyne, preached at King's Chapel on Sunday, September 12, from 1 Tim. iii. 16. "And, without controversy, great is the mystery of godliness, etc." He sailed for England September 21.]

² [Benjamin Walker writes, October 2, 1731, "they hang'd their new great bell," at the South meeting-house. "Weighs 1000." This bell was first used for town purposes in 1736. At a meeting of the selectmen, Aug. 27, 1736: "Mr. Sendall Williams having signified his readiness to resign the Care of Ringing the Old Church Bell at 9. 5 & 11 o'clock, as Entered the 14th July last, And his Quarter now Expiring, And Whereas Mr. John Chambers, the Sexton of the South Church appears and offers to Undertake that Service Praying that he may be Em-

ploied therein, The Select men also Approving of him, as a Suitable Person, it was

"Voted, That the Care and Charge of Ringing the said Bell be, and hereby is Committed to the said John Chambers; Who is accordingly Directed and ordered Constantly and Carefully to attend that Service as Usual, at the Hours of Nine, Five, and Eleven, as aforesaid, For which he is to be paid after the Rate of Eighteen pounds p annum agreeable to a Vote of the Town, as Entred may 21, 1735. to be paid Quarterly, Commencing on Wednesday the first of September next." — *Town Records*.

"The evening and the morning" then made the day; hence the order in which the hours are here given: 9 P. M., 5 A. M., 11 A. M. John Chambers joined the

At a church Meeting Oct. 19. 1731

Voted — That there be a publick collection on the Anniversary Thanksgiving next insuing Octr 28 current ; The money collected to be disposed of to pious and charitable uses as this church shall from time to time determine.

Collected 128. 14. 2

JOSEPH SEWALL.

Nov. 1. I waited on the Governour to Cambridge to an Overseer's Meeting. Messrs. Colman and Prince were also in the Coach. There was a Committee chosen to Consider the State of the College, and make a report. O Lord pour out thy Spirit on this Society, and reform whatever is amiss. Towards the close, the Governour gave to the Rev. Mr. Colman and myself Diplomas from the University of Glasgow for Doctors in Divinity.¹

Nov. 8. The Society for propagating Christian Knowledge at Edinburgh have sent a Deputation to his Excellency and several others, wherein they are empower'd to Act for them here, partly to appoint three Missionaries to carry the Gospel to the Indians, who are to be allow'd twenty pounds sterling, each of them. O Lord smile on this good Work ! Give thy gracious direction and assistance to thy Servants, and bless their Endeavours that Christ's Kingdom may be enlarged. (J. Sewall.)

At a church Meeting Febr. 7. 1731-2

Voted — I. That there be given out of the collection for pious and charitable uses, a sum not exceeding Sixty pounds, to supply the Poor of this church and congregation with Wood and other Necessaries.

II. That there be allowed out of the collection to Mr. Joseph Torrey, the sum of eighteen pounds for his support and encouragement in preaching the Gospel at South Kingston, in Narraganset.

III. That a letter be written by our Rev'd Pastors to Francis Wilkes Esq., expressing our grateful sense of his generous Kindness in presenting a large Bible to this church.²

church February 18, 1727-8. William Dinsdall rang the South Church bell before Chambers. Bumstead records his death, October 5, 1723.]

¹ [Dr. Colman wrote to the vice-chancellor, November 7, 1731 :—

“It will be mine and my Brother Sewall's Ambition, to tread in the steps of so worthy a Predecessor [as Dr. Cotton Mather], and by our Services to the Interest of Religion and Learning, to render ourselves worthy of the Regards you have shown us. Nor will it be a small Service, I judge, to the Churches of this flourishing City and Province, if your renowned University please from

Age to Age to select and dignify an eminent Pastor or two with your highest academical Honours ; That in Character and Style, they may appear equal to the assuming gentlemen of the Episcopal Profession who are growing on us, while in Labours and Humility as well as Learning, I trust they will not be content to be merely Equal.” — Turell's *Life*, p. 160.]

² [Mr. Wilkes, afterward Sir Francis Wilkes, was a merchant in London, for several years the agent of the province, and a warm personal friend of Governor Belcher. See the action of the church April 24, 1737.]

IV. That two of the Flaggons formerly used, be presented to the Indian church of which the Revd. Mr. Experience Mayhew is Pastor, as a Token of our brotherly Respect and Love.

JOSEPH SEWALL.

At a church Meeting March 28. 1732.

Voted — I. That there be a publick collection on the Anniversary Fast next insuing, April 6 ; The money collected to be disposed of to pious and charitable uses as this church shall determine.

II. That the Congregation be notified of this vote ; and be desired to concur with the church in the said collection.

JOSEPH SEWALL.

Mr. Samuel Mather was ordained as colleague pastor at the Second Church with Mr. Gee, June 21, about four years after the death of his father, Dr. Cotton Mather. "He was recommended to the church, not only by their respect for the ancient family, but by his own character for diligence, zeal and learning, of which he certainly possessed an uncommon share. He had already made himself known at home and abroad by several publications."¹ Mr. Mather preached from 2 Cor. v. 20. Mr. Gee and Dr. Sewall prayed ; Dr. Colman gave the charge, and Mr. Cheever the right hand of fellowship.

The Hon. Daniel Oliver, a brother-in-law of Governor Belcher, died July 23.² He was a member of the council, and "one of the most considerable merchants of this place." He joined the South Church in 1689, and took an active interest in its affairs. He was distinguished for "eminent piety, humility, and charity," and he made a large bequest for the Christian education of poor children.³ Mr. Prince preached his funeral sermon at the

¹ *Two Discourses*, 1821, by the Rev. Henry Ware, Jr., pp. 22, 23. Mr. Mather was chosen January 28, 1732: "Mr. Mather 69 votes, Mr. B. 40." Three days before, the church observed a day of prayer and fasting ; Mr. Prince preached a sermon in the forenoon, entitled *The Dying Prayer of Christ*, which was printed. Dr. Colman preached in the afternoon.

² June 28. "On the 18 of this Instant the aged Mr. Manley of our Communion was buried. On the 21, Mrs. Margaret Davis."

June 29. "Mrs. Alford, and Mrs. Hannah Davis were buried. Lord Sanctify to this Flock the repeated strokes of thine Hand."

July 2. "Several of our Communion having died of late I preached from Eccles. 8. 8."

July 20. "I visited Mr. Oliver, who last night was seised with the Palsy. He lies in a sort of stupor."

July 23. "I visited Mr. Oliver early. About Noon He died. . . . I have lost a good Friend."

July 26. "This day were Buried, Mrs. Elisabeth Green, only daughter of Mrs. Eliz. Brattle aet. 24, A pious young woman — After her, the Honble. Dan. Oliver Esq. a person eminent for his piety and charity."

³ His will was signed December 17, 1731, and proved August 7, 1732. It provides: "*Imprimis*, I give and be-

Thursday lecture. Five years before, his son Daniel Oliver — baptized by Mr. Pemberton, January 16, 1703-4, graduated at Harvard College, 1722, M. A. 1725 — died of small-pox in London “as he was finishing his travels and returning to his friends and country.” He was a young man of much promise, and Mr. Prince preached and published a discourse suggested by his early death, entitled: *Young Abel Dead yet Speaketh*. Another son, Andrew Oliver (Harvard College, 1724), married a daughter of Colonel Thomas Fitch, and became prominent in public life.

At a church Meeting Octr. 17. 1732.

Voted — I. That there be given out of the collection for charitable and pious uses, a sum not exceeding fifty Pounds, to supply the Poor of this church and congregation from time to time, with Wood and other Necessaries.

II. That there be allowed out of the collection to the Revd. Mr. Josiah Cotton the sum of ten pounds towards his support and encouragement in Preaching the Gospel at Providence.

III. That there be allowed out of the collection to Mr. White the sum of ten Pounds towards his support and encouragement in preaching the Gospel at Nantucket.¹

IV. That there be allowed out of the collection to the Revd. Mr. Joseph Torrey, the sum of ten Pounds towards his support and encouragement in Preaching the Gospel at South Kingston in Narraganset.

queath my house adjoining to Barton's Rope-Walk, called Spinning House, with the Lands as now fenced in, — about fifty feet square, — with all the profits and incomes of it, as it now stands in my books (since built), for ever to be improved for learning poor children of the town of Boston to read the Word of God, and to write if need be, or any other work of charity for the public good, according to the discretion of my executors and executrix, hereafter mentioned, with the advice of the ministers of the brick South Meeting-house and their successors; and at the decease of my said executors and executrix, to be put into the hands of the selectmen or overseers of the poor of the town of Boston, as the minister or ministers of the said South Brick Meeting-house shall advise, to improve said charity for said public use.” The property devised had cost Mr. Oliver about £600. See Drake's *Hist. and Antiq.*, pp. 560, 561,

591; *Memorial History of Boston*, vol. ii. p. 539. Mrs. Oliver died May 21, 1735, and her funeral sermon, by Mr. Prince, is in the Prince Library.

¹ [“Boston, April 18. 1728, at the House of William Welsteed Esqr.

“Upon Consideration had of the Introduction of Mr. Timothy White into the stated Preaching of the Gospel on the Island of Nantucket: And having received from him a serious Declaration, and Assurance of his Willingness to enter also upon the Service of the Souls of the Indians on said Island; Voted that Fifty Pounds of the Money put into our Hands by the Reverend Mr. Thomas Cotton of Hamstead near London, be advanced to Mr. Timothy White for his encouragement and Support in that Service.

SAML SEWALL

WM WELSTEED

BENJA COLMAN.”

Sewall's *Letter Book*, vol. ii. p. 240.]

V. That the Remainder, being about six Pounds, be allowed to Mr. John Cleverly, for his preaching the Gospel at Freetown.

VI. That the committee for building the Meeting-House, be desired to lay their accounts before the church at their next Meeting.

VII. That there be a committee to survey the Ministerial Houses which are out of Repair, and make a Report to the church at their next Meeting. That Mr. Pemberton, Mr. Cushing, Mr. Durant, and Mr. Foster be of this committee.

VIII. Whereas the church stock is not sufficient to bear the charges of paying for the Ministers' wood, and necessary Repairs of the Ministers' Houses ; Voted —

That there be a publick collection on the Lord's Day, 29th of this Instant.

JOSEPH SEWALL.

The South Church took much interest in the gathering of Hollis Street Church, which was formed November 14. Governor Belcher gave the land on which the meeting-house had been built ;¹ Dr. Sewall drew up the form of covenant ; and the following members of the church and congregation joined the new organization : John Clough, Caleb Eddy, John Bennett, Henry Gibbon, Joseph Payson, and Isaac Loring. Mather Byles, grandson of Increase Mather, was ordained as its first minister, December 20.²

Mr. Joseph Maylem died January 29, 1733, in the seventy-fifth year of his age. He had kept a private house of entertainment in School Street. By his will, he left five pounds to each of the ministers, and twenty pounds to the poor of the South Church.³ His widow, "a very discreet, industrious woman," died a few weeks later, March 6.

¹ "Governor Belcher resided [or had a residence] in Orange Street in 1732. Shav. says he resided in King Street, and that the State Bank occupied the site of his residence. I locate him by the selectmen's books, in which they record, January 12, that 'His Excellency Governor Belcher had liberty granted him to dig up the pavement to carry a drain from his house in Orange Street'" etc. — Drake's *Hist. and Antiq. of Boston*, p. 585.

² July 6. 1731. "I pray'd with the men who this Day Raise the New-Meeting House at the South End. Lord overrule that Affair for the Advancement of Christ's Kingdom in the Town: Let Him Increase."

Nov. 14. 1732. "This day was kept as a Day of Prayer by the New Society at the South. Mr. Checkly began, then Mr. Cooper prayd. Dr. Colman preach'd from 2 Cor. 8. 5. Then Mr. Webb prayd. Thirteen of the Brethren entred into Covenant, forming a distinct Church. I read the Covenant to them and then Pray'd."

Dec. 20. "Mr. Byles was ordain'd Pastor to the New Church. Mr. Prince began, with Prayr. Mr. Byles preach'd from 2 Tim 3. 17. Then Mr. Walter pray'd. I gave the Charge. (Dr. Colman was chosen, but declin'd it,) and Dr. Colman the right Hand of Fellowship." (J. Sewall.)

³ Neither his name, nor that of his

At a church Meeting March 20. 1733.

Voted — I. That there be a publick collection on the Anniversary Fast next ensuing, March 29; the money collected to be disposed of to charitable and pious uses as this church shall determine.

II. That the congregation be notified of this vote, and be desired to concur with the church in the said collection.

III. That the Deacons be desired in the best manner they can, to procure two Velvet Palls, one for grown persons and the other for children, out of the money collected at the communion, for the benefit of the Poor of this church.

JOSEPH SEWALL.

Collected 87. 10. 3

For Mr. Hale 5£.

Deacon Bartholomew Green had died December 28, 1732, "a pious worthy man," says Dr. Sewall. We have already quoted from a notice of him in the *News-Letter*, the paper which he printed for nearly thirty years, and of which he had been the proprietor since 1722. He was a son of Samuel Green, "the famous printer of Cambridge," who came to New England with Governor Winthrop in 1630. The church chose as the successor of Deacon Green, Jonathan Simpson, "a noted shopkeeper" of the town, who lived to a venerable age. He had been admitted to the membership in 1707. His name appears on a petition with the names of Samuel Adams, Thomas Peck and others, in 1715, for leave to erect a meeting-house in Summer Street; but if at that time he thought of assisting in this new religious enterprise, he afterward changed his mind.

At a church Meeting Augt. 7. 1733.

Mr. Jonathan Simpson was chosen into the Deacon's office; And the Pastors and Deacons of the church were appointed to acquaint him with the choice the church hath made, and to beg his acceptance of it.

Voted — That the House in which our Rev'd. Pastor, Mr. Thomas

wife Hannah, is on the list of members, but Dr. Sewall, in recording their deaths in his diary, says that they were "of our communion. Seven of their children were baptized at the South Church between 1689 and 1703. Drake thinks that Joseph Maylem may have been a son of "John Mylam," one of the signers of the paper urging the building of the new meeting house of the First Church in 1639, on the Green. See *ante*, pp. 135-139.

John Maylem was baptized January 20, 1694-5, and graduated at Harvard College, with Samuel Checkley (the third), in 1715. He wrote two poems entitled respectively, *The Conquest of Louisburg*, and *Gallic Perfidy*, for which see Tyler's *Hist. of Am. Literature*, vol. ii. p. 54. Of the first, the critic says that it is "tumultuous, gory and gigantesque." Children of John and Ann Maylem were baptized at the South Church between 1734 and 1739.

Prince dwells, be new shingled so soon as conveniently may be ; And that the committee appointed to survey the Ministerial Houses, be a committee to manage this affair.

JOSEPH SEWALL.

At a church Meeting Augt 14. 1733.

The account of the committee for repairing the Ministerial Houses was read and accepted ; And the thanks of the church given for their care and pains in this affair.

Voted — I. That the Honble. Thomas Fitch, Anthony Stoddard Esqrs. Messrs. Hugh Vans, Thomas Cushing junr. and John Hunt be a committee to examine the accounts of the committee for building and of the Treasurer ; and make a Report to the church on Wednesday the 29th of this Instant.

Any Three of them to have power to act.

II. That the Committee for building take care that the weight of the Tongue of our Bell be increased according to their best Discretion.

JOSEPH SEWALL.

At a church Meeting Sepr. 5. 1733

Whereas by the Report of a committee specially appointed by the church Augt. 14. 1733, it appears necessary to raise very speedily 469. 12. 7. viz.

To defray the charge of repairing the Ministerial Houses	150.	0.	0.
To pay for wood for our Rev'd Pastors	116.	0.	0.
To defray the charge of Paving, Posts &c. about the Meeting House	59.	18.	9.
To pay the balance due for building the Meeting House	143.	13.	10.

£469. 12. 7.

Therefore voted, that Messrs. Jonathan Loring, Samuel Rand, Daniel Goffe and John Trail be a committee to take subscriptions for raising the said sum, and to pay it to the Treasurer for the Purposes above said.

Voted, That the Honble. Thomas Fitch, Anthony Stoddard and George Bethune Esqrs. be added to the committee for increasing the weight of the Tongue of our Bell.

JOSEPH SEWALL.

In 1709 the Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge was chartered under the great seal of Scotland. Its primary object had been to carry the gospel to destitute places in the highlands and islands of Scotland ; but before many years it directed its attention to North America. In 1730 Governor Belcher, Dr. Colman, Dr. Sewall, and others,

were commissioned to be its correspondents and agents, and were authorized to select and employ missionaries in New England. On the 12th of December, 1733, three young men, recent graduates of Harvard College, Stephen Parker, Ebenezer Hinsdell, and Joseph Seccombe,¹ were solemnly set apart to missionary labors among the Indians. Dr. Colman was moderator of the ordaining council, and gave the charge; Dr. Sewall preached the sermon, and Mr. Prince gave the right hand of fellowship. Dr. Sewall's text was Acts xxvi. 16-19; and his subject, Christ Victorious over the Powers of Darkness, by the Light of His Preached Gospel. In urging the claims of the mission upon his audience, he said:—

Give me leave then humbly to recommend to you this pious Charity, which hath such a direct tendency to promote the glory of God and best interests of men. Blessed be God for what hath been done this way more privately, and by our worshipping assemblies in their collections. I wish that excellent proposal might be generally accepted, viz. The having publick collections for pious and charitable uses on our anniversary Fasts and Thanksgivings. In this way we might honour God with our substance, and give our helping hand towards propagating Christian Knowledge among our own people and the aboriginal natives: And certainly the generous compassion express'd towards this poor people by the Honourable Societies in South and North Britain, should provoke us to an holy emulation; especially considering God hath given us the possession of this good land which their ancestors once inhabited; and that this was the professed intention of our pious progenitors, the first planters of this country.²

¹ Mr. Parker and Mr. Hinsdell graduated in 1727, and Mr. Seccombe in 1731.

Ebenezer Hinsdell was baptized at the South Church under peculiarly affecting circumstances. Judge Sewall, writing to the Rev. John Williams, August 22, 1706, of a party of captives who had recently arrived in Boston, probably from Canada, on their way home to central Massachusetts, said:—

"As you prayd earnestly for those that returned last; so you will be glad to hear, that they Landed well here the 2d Instant. I took the widow Hoit into my House. It was a great pleasure, to see Mr. Willard baptise Ebenezer Hinsdal, and Sea-born Burt, two little Sons born in the passage. The Captives most of them, began their journey homeward

the 12th Instant. I spake with one today, who met them well at Plainfield."

Mr. Seccombe joined the South Church before he went to college. In the Mass. Archives there is a memorial, addressed by him, September 22, 1737, to Governor Belcher, asking for a grant of £100 for "his Essays as Missionary to the Indians, for above five Years, at the Garrison on St. George's River, agreeable to an Act of the General Assembly."

² [Such a collection as Dr. Sewall here recommended had been regularly taken in the South Church since March, 1726.

Gookin, writing in 1671, said that "for this Charity [the propagation of the Gospel among the Indians] New England people had done not less, but far

In addressing the candidates for ordination, Dr. Sewall gave the following "Compendium or Summary of Christian Religion agreeable to the Scriptures," to be often inculcated among the natives, which, for its practical good sense, it would be difficult for those who give instructions to Christian missionaries to-day to improve upon :—

Declare to them the only true and living God, who made Heaven and Earth, and all things in them ; and that He made Man upright, in His own Image. Shew them their vile and miserable State by the Fall. Declare to them that this God, who is the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost, hath contriv'd a way in which they may be deliver'd from their Sin and Misery. That in order to this, the Eternal Son of God hath taken our Nature, and became Man ; that he was obedient to Death, the Death of the Cross, rose again from the Dead, and lives in Heaven to intercede for his People. Declare to them that this Jesus is the only Mediator between God and Man ; and that they must pray to God in His Name only. Shew them the necessity of turning from all Sin to God in true Repentance ; and of receiving the Lord Jesus Christ by Faith, and depending on His Righteousness for Pardon and Justification. Declare to them that God alone hath power to forgive Sins. Shew them the nature and use of the holy Sacraments, and that those which Christ hath instituted are only two, Baptism and the Lord's Supper ; and labour to maintain in them an high esteem of them. Shew them that they must be taught the Principles of the Christian Religion, and subject themselves to the Authority and Laws of Christ, before these may be administered to them : That if they would receive saving benefit by Baptism, they must also seek the washing of Regeneration, and renewing of the Holy Ghost, for themselves and their Offspring, that being born of Water and of the Spirit they may enter into the Kingdom of God. Teach them that the Lord's Supper must be receiv'd by the Communicants in both Elements, Bread and Wine ; and that tis contrary to Sense Reason and Scripture, to imagine, that these are turn'd into the very Body and Blood of Christ ; and therefore that Christ, who is spiritually present with his People, must be apprehended and received by faith, if they would partake in the saving virtues of his Death. And take

more in proportion, than their countrymen in England." — Palfrey's *History*, vol. ii. p. 332.

The Rev. Dr. Treat said at a meeting of the American Board at Salem, in 1871: "The colonies of Plymouth and Massachusetts, let us never forget, had a missionary purpose. Their charters were, in some degree, missionary char-

ters. That seal, so unique in the annals of our race, — an Indian uttering the Macedonian cry, — expressed the thoughts of many hearts. Hence those laws, passed from time to time, which might have been indexed 'Missionary laws.' Hence that early yearning to 'preach among the Gentiles the unsearchable riches of Christ.'"]

heed you never prostitute these Sacred Mysteries of our holy Religion, by administering them to any under Heathen Ignorance, under Romish Idolatry, or that live and allow themselves in open and scandalous Immoralities. Declare to them the Commandments of the Moral Law. That God only is the Object of Prayer, and all religious Worship. Tell them, forasmuch as we are the Offspring of God, we are not to think that the God-Head is like unto Gold, or Silver or Stone, graven by art, and Man's device : that it is a most hainous crime to worship God by Images ; and that He who is a jealous God, threatens to punish this Iniquity upon Parents and their Children, unto the third and fourth Generation. Teach them to Sanctify the Sabbath Day ; and in a word, the necessity of a sober righteous and godly Life : In particular, do all you can to convince them of the great Evil of that Sin which most easily besets them, and to keep them from it ; lest they wholly forget God's Law, and quench every good motion of His Spirit : Solemnly warn them of the Destruction they are bringing upon themselves by it, and how they are consuming away under the deadly influence of it. Declare to them that God alone can change their Hearts, enable them to hate Sin and love his Law ; and then direct them to ask of God His Holy Spirit, to sanctify them, and create them in Christ Jesus unto good Works. And shew them that when they have done all, they must Trust in the Merits of Jesus Christ and not presume to think that they can merit by their good Works.¹

At a church Meeting Febr. 1. 1733-4

Voted, 1. That there be given out of the Collection for charitable and pious uses, a sum not exceeding fifty Pounds, including ten pounds already dispos'd of, to supply the poor of this Church and Congregation with Wood and other Necessaries.

2. That there be allow'd out of the Collection —, to the Rev. Mr. Joseph Torrey, the sum of ten pounds towards his support and encouragement in Preaching the Gospel at South-Kingston in Narraganset.

3. That there be allow'd out of the Collection, to the Rev. Mr. Josiah Cotton, the sum of five pounds towards his support and encouragement in Preaching the Gospel at Providence.

4. That there be allow'd out of the Collection to Mr. White, the sum of five pounds, towards his support and encouragement in Preaching the Gospel at Nantucket.

¹ [These doctrines, as set forth by Dr. Sewall, were evidently intended to counteract the teachings of the Roman Catholic missionaries. Dr. Chauncy, preaching the ordination sermon of the Rev. Joseph Bowman, August 31, 1762, said of the three ministers ordained twenty-nine years before : —

“They were separated to their work, and commended to the grace of God, in this house, in the presence of a great multitude of pious good people. But, upon trial, they found themselves unable to serve the ends of the gospel among these Indians ; as they had been previously corrupted by popish priests.”]

5. The Account of the Committee for New Shingling the Rev'd Mr. Prince's House was read and accepted ; And the Thanks of the Church given to the Committee for their care and pains taken in that Affair.

6. That the Treasurer for building, be directed to Pay to the Committee for repairing the Ministerial Houses, their several Accounts, so soon as may be.

JOSEPH SEWALL.

At a Church Meeting March 27. 1734.

Voted ; 1. Whereas the Subscriptions towards defraying the Charges of repairing the Ministerial Houses and paying for our Rev'd Pastors Wood, are deficient about one hundred Pounds ;

Voted, that there be a public Collection on the Anniversary Fast next insuing, April 4. to make up this Deficiency.

2. That there be given out of the Church-Stock, the Sum of ten Pounds to Mrs. Jane Green, Relict of Mr. Bartholomew Green, late Deacon of this Church, in Consideration of her Loss sustain'd by Fire.¹

3. That the Residue of the Collection for charitable and pious uses, be laid out in Bibles, Catechisms, and other Books of piety, to be dispos'd of by the Pastors to proper Objects of such a Charity.

JOSEPH SEWALL.

At a Church Meeting April 14. 1734.

Upon reading a Letter from the Second Church of Christ in Boston &c.

Voted ; That this Church will join with and assist the 2d Church in this Town in their Proceeding in the 3d way of Communion with respect to the first Church in Salem, and Second their Charitable Admonition given by them to said Church, if upon due Enquiry there shall appear just Cause for their so doing.

Josiah Willard Esq. Deacon Henchman, Mr. Edward Bromfield junr, and Mr. Thomas Cushing, junr. were join'd with the Pastors as the Delegates of the church in this Affair.

JOSEPH SEWALL.

The Hon. Edward Bromfield died on Sunday, June 2, and, says Drake, his loss was as severely felt in the town as almost any which had occurred since its settlement. He was in his eighty-sixth year, and he had been a member of the South Church thirty-six years. He was born at Hayward House, near the New Forest, in Hampshire, was bred a merchant in London,

¹ [On the 30th of January, 1734, the "Printing House belonging to the widow and children of the late Deacon Green at the South End" was burned. In it two printing-presses were destroyed and

a large quantity of type. Very little was saved. The fire took place at or near midnight. — Drake's *Hist. and Antiq.*, p. 592. Mrs. Green was a cousin of Dr. Sewall.]

went to Jamaica, came from thence to Boston in 1675, "and, being a pious Puritan, decided to spend his days here." He was prominent in all religious and charitable efforts,¹ and his son, of the same name, was equally consecrated with him in heart and life. He was buried on the 6th; and on the 9th Dr. Sewall preached from Isai. lvii. 1, "The righteous is taken away from the evil to come," making "a respectful mention" of his deceased parishioner. Mrs. Bromfield died on the 7th of October of the same year, — "a worthy, pious gentlewoman," says Dr. Sewall.

At a Church Meeting, June 9, 1734.

The Report of the Elders and Messengers of the Churches, (viz. the 3d Church in Boston, the Church in Rumny-Marsh, the first Church in Gloucester, united with the 2d Church in this Town,) who have given the 2d Admonition to the 1st Church in Salem for their neglecting the means of peace under Scandalous Divisions, was read; In which Letter the Delegates of said Churches declare that (after waiting above a moneth), They find that things remain in the same deplorable condition at Salem, the said Church there refusing to hearken to their Charitable Admonition; and accordingly deliver it as their unanimous opinion that the Churches concerned ought to proceed to meet by their Delegates at Salem, July 16, and make use of the help of a Council of neighbour Churches for their Conviction.

Upon which the Draft of a Letter propos'd to be Sent to twenty-seven churches was read and voted.

JOSEPH SEWALL.

In July the governor went on a cruise to the eastward, taking with him Mr. Prince and two of the prominent members of the South Church. They were absent sixteen days. The object of the trip is given in the Weekly News-Letter of July 18, in the following announcement: —

On Monday last [July 15], about 6 o'clock in the Afternoon, the Rev. Mr. Thomas Prince Sailed from Boston for the Eastward, in his Majesty's Ship Scarborough, Capt. Durell, in company with Governor Belcher, Hon. Josiah Willard, Esq. and Edward Winslow, Esq. Sheriff of the County of Suffolk and Colonel of a Regiment of Foot in this town — They go to take a further view of that spacious Country, and as we hear, to have an interview with some of the Indian Tribes, to continue and strengthen their friendship with us.

¹ His mansion was in Rawson's Lane, now Bromfield Street. It is said that in order to find retirement from worldly noise and business, "he turned the pasture behind his house into a very shady grove, where, in the midst, he built an

oratory, into which he used to retire several times a day, in his most flourishing circumstances and heights of business," for meditation and prayer. See Drake's *Hist. and Antiq. of Boston*, p. 598.

An account of the voyage, probably from the pen of Mr. Prince, appeared in a later number of the News-Letter.

[At a church Meeting] Augt 4. 1734,

The Church was desir'd to stay, and, Voted, That the 20th of this Instant should (God Willing) be Observed by us as a Day of Prayer with Fasting, to Humble ourselves before God for our unfruitfulness under the means of Grace, and to ask the Effusion of His Spirit, to revive the Power of Godliness among us ; And that the Congregation be desir'd to join with us in this Solemnity. JOSEPH SEWALL.

Three months previously, on the 14th of May, such a day as was proposed by this vote had been observed by the Brattle Street Church, and, says Dr. Sewall, "such days are, God willing, to be observed in our Congregations successively, to ask of God the Revival of Religion among us."

Aug. 20. This Day was observ'd as a Day of Pray'r with Fasting by the South Church and Congregation to ask of God the Effusion of his Spirit to revive the Pow'r of Godliness among us. A. M. Mr. Chauncy began with Prayer, Mr. Prince preach'd and concluded with Prayer. text 2 Chron. xv. 2 ["The Lord is with you, while ye be with him : and if ye seek him, he will be found of you : but if ye forsake him, he will forsake you."] P. M. Mr. Webb began with Pray'r. I preached from Rev. 2. 4. 5. ["Nevertheless I have somewhat against thee, because thou hast left thy first love," etc.] I hope we had God's gracious presence with us. (J. Sewall.)

Octr. 27. 1734.

The Brethren of the church staid, and Voted — That there be a publick collection on the Anniversary Thanksgiving, the 7th of Nov'r next ; The money collected to be disposed of to charitable and pious uses, as this church shall determine ;

And that the congregation be notified of this vote, and be desired to concur with the church in the said collection.

JOSEPH SEWALL.

Collected 99*l.* 7. 0.
of which is appropriated 4*l.*

At a church Meeting Febr. 4. 1734-5.

The Narrative of the Proceedings of the Ecclesiastical Council convened at Salem in 1734 — was read, and after some discourse upon it, the brethren voted that they would defer the further consideration of that affair, to the first Tuesday in March next.

Voted — I. That there be given out of the collection for charitable and pious uses a sum not exceeding fifty pounds, to supply the poor of this church and congregation with wood and other Necessaries.

II. That there be allowed out of the collection, to the Rev. Mr. Josiah Cotton, the sum of ten pounds towards his support and encouragement in preaching the Gospel at Providence.

III. That there be allowed to the Rev'd Mr. Joseph Torrey the sum of ten pounds towards his support and encouragement in preaching the Gospel at South Kingston in Narraganset.

IV. That the sum of five pounds be laid out in Books of piety to be distributed by the Pastors to proper objects of such a charity.

JOSEPH SEWALL.

At a church Meeting March 4 1734-5.

Voted — I. That our Brethren, the Hon. Ezekiel Lewis, Anthony Stoddard, Saml. Welles Esqrs. the Revd Mr. Nathl. Williams, and Mr. Thomas Cushing jr. be joined with our Pastors as a Committee to Prepare a Vote relating to the affair of the first church in Salem, to be laid before this church the next Lord's Day Evening.

II. That five pounds be given out of the Church stock towards defraying the charge of Printing the Narrative of the Proceedings of the late Ecclesiastical Council convened at Salem 1734.

III. That the charge of Sawing our Pastors' Wood, be paid by the Deacons out of the church Stock.

JOSEPH SEWALL.

At a church Meeting, Lord's Day Evening. March 9. 1734-5.

This church having taken into further consideration the unhappy and sorrowful state of the first church in Salem,

Voted as follows, viz.

Although we are greatly grieved and offended at the divisions and contentions of the first church in Salem, and their scandalous refusing of proper methods of healing ; (which appears by a printed Narrative of the Proceedings of an Ecclesiastical Council convened at Salem in the year 1734.) yet from our great concern and affection for that neighboring church, we conclude to suspend the determination of this church's withdrawing communion from said offending church, till the first Monday in April next ; to give them a further opportunity of considering and retracting their disorderly conduct.

JOSEPH SEWALL.

The Rev. Samuel Fisk, whom some of the brethren thought of calling to the South Church at the time of Mr. Prince's settlement, and who, soon after, was ordained over the First Church, Salem, became very arbitrary in his methods, "having high thoughts of church authority," and departed in many important respects "from the practice of his predecessors, and in such manner as to produce great uneasiness and disaffection among his people. He appears to have dispensed entirely with church

meetings, excepting when he stayed the Church after religious exercises for some particular purpose." At length ten of the aggrieved members withdrew from the communion of the church, and, having exhausted all expedients for pacification, they called an *ex parte* council, at the suggestion of the Boston ministers, to advise them as to their duty. This council, consisting of the representatives of ten churches, assembled in Salem on the 17th of July, 1733, and after much consideration, earnestly besought the church and its pastor to retrace their steps and put an end to the scandal, at the same time advising the aggrieved members, on their continued failure to obtain satisfaction by any other method, to seek relief through the Third Way of Communion, as laid down in the Cambridge Platform. Mr. Fisk and the majority showing no disposition to yield, twenty-one of the brethren, on the 20th of December, wrote a letter to the Second Church of Boston, asking it to come to their relief. This church responded to the appeal, and sent eight delegates to Salem, "to dispense an admonition" in its name, "if the case should appear to call for it." Mr. Fisk refused to receive the delegation, and would not allow it to meet his church. The Second Church then notified Mr. Fisk that if it should not hear from him in a month, it would proceed further; and three or four months having passed without bringing a reply, it took another step in the matter, and invited two or three other churches to join with it in seconding its "charitable admonition." This was the invitation which the South Church accepted on the 14th of April, 1734. On the 23d of the same month, representatives of the South Church, the Church in Rumney Marsh, and the First Church of Gloucester¹ met the representatives of the Second Church of Boston in Salem, and together they solemnly urged the First Church there to repent of its sinful course, and to call a council for the settlement of all difficulties, also warning it that if it refused to act upon this advice, its sister churches would proceed to call a council for its "conviction," that is to say, for the purpose of convincing it, if possible, of its wrong-doing. Mr. Fisk declined to meet a committee of this council, or to receive its documents, and a majority of the church would not consent to a church meeting to talk matters over. A month later, the four churches above mentioned called a council of twenty-seven churches, to convene at Salem on the 16th of July. Nineteen churches responded to

¹ The church in Ipswich was invited also, but did not attend.

this call, but four of them withdrew, after the council had organized, because it declined to take into consideration certain proposals made by Mr. Fisk to the aggrieved brethren. The council addressed a solemn letter of admonition and advice to Mr. Fisk, and then adjourned for three months to await results. Reassembling on the 15th of October, it was informed that Mr. Fisk had refused to receive its letter, "but spake as if he esteemed it a nuisance." After further examination of the case, it agreed by unanimous vote upon the terms of a final letter to Mr. Fisk and the brethren who sustained him, in which it was said: "The whole of your conduct in this affair appears to us to be very offensive, and which, if persisted in, will expose you to such a censure as we hope and earnestly desire you will use your utmost endeavors to prevent; it being no less than a deprivation of the privilege of communion with these churches." This missive had no more effect upon those to whom it was sent than had the letters which preceded it, and at length, the churches, one by one, passed the threatened vote of non-communion.¹ The South Church, as we shall see, did not take this final action until June 9, 1735.

¹ Mr. Fisk was "voted out" of the pastorate March 10, 1735, and he and his adherents formed the Third Church in Salem. The First Church was reorganized in 1736, and the Rev. John Sparhawk was settled as its pastor. See *Diary of Benj. Lynde, Jr.*, pp. 140-144; White's *New Eng. Congregationalism*, pp. 112-116.

We print here, for convenience of reference, all the entries in Dr. Sewall's diary relating to the Salem troubles.

[1733] July 17. I went to the Council at Salem. There were the Elders and Messengers of 10 Churches.

July 20. I return'd safe with D. Henchman. Lord command thy Blessing on the Endeavours of thy Servants to restore Peace to the first Church in Salem.

[1734] May 6. On the 23d of last moneth I set out for Salem with Mr. Prince. Our Church the Church in Rumny-Marsh, the 1st Church in Gloucester met. After Consideration of the request of the 2d Church in Boston, they united with them. And having in vain Endeavour'd to confer with Mr. Fisk and

his Church they seconded the Admonition given by the 2d Church in Boston. O Lord pity this Flock, and Restore Peace with truth and holiness to them. We return'd safe 25. April.

[1734] May 30. I preach'd to the Reverend Ministers from Luk. 24. 49. And behold, I send the Promise of my Father. P. M. The Council met, agreed to send 27 Churches.

July 15. I set out for Salem with Deacon Henchman.

July 16. There were the Delegates of 19 Churches.

July 17. The Delegates of the 4 Churches which call'd this Council had a public Hearing in the Meeting-House.

July 18. 19. The Council declar'd their Approbation of the Proceedings of the Delegates of the 4 Churches, and desir'd that these would Unite with them in further prosecuting this Affair. A Letter of Advice to the 1st Church in Salem was drawn up, and after some Debate Voted unanimously by the Delegates of 15 of the 19 Churches. Mr. Fisk and the Brethren with him refus'd to appear, save one of them, who on fryday

On the 7th of April the church met, and adjourned to the Lord's Day Evening next, April 13, 1735. JOSEPH SEWALL.

April 13. 1735. The church further adjourned to the 27th of this Instant.

April 27. 1735 P. M. The Church deferr the further consideration of the Salem affair to this time Five Weeks. THOMAS PRINCE.¹

June 1. 1735. The church determin'd to meet on Monday the 9th of this Instant, further to consider the affair of Salem.

JOSEPH SEWALL.

At a church Meeting June 9. 1735.

After prayer to God as usual,

Voted — I. We approve and accept the Judgment and Advice of the late Ecclesiastical Council convened in Salem at the Desire of this and other churches, given in their Result dated Salem October 18. 1734.

II. Agreeable to the advice of the said Council, We declare the Sentence of Non-Communion concerning the Rev'd Mr. Samuel Fiske, and his Brethren of the first church in Salem, until they shall betake

P. M. brought in the Proposals Mr. Fisk made to the aggriev'd Brethren. N. B. The greater part of the Elders and some of the other Delegates withdrew.

Oct. 15. I went to the Council at Salem with Mr. Prince. About 16 Churches met by their Delegates. They made remarks on Mr. Fisk's Proposals. Neither He nor his Brethren that stand with him would receive anything from the Council; On Fryday these remarks were read in the Meeting-House, then a result was drawn up and accepted, in which the 1st Church in Salem is declar'd to be obstinate — 3 months time are given, and the Churches are advis'd if they doe not by that time manifest repentance, to withdraw Communion.

1735. Feb 4. The Narrative relating to the 1st Church in Salem was read at a Church Meeting. The further Consideration is put off to the 4. March.

¹ [May 18. I preach'd from John 14 16-18. I will pray the Father, and He shall give you another Comforter. Mention'd the account we have of the remarkable concern there appears in great numbers at N. hampton and several other Towns near, about their Soul's Salvation.

May 24. Mrs. Eliz. Oliver was buried, a worthy Gentlewoman of our Communion.

May 25. Mr. Prince preach'd a funeral Sermon from Ps. 116. 15. ["Precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of his saints."] I preach'd again from John 14. 16-18, and endeavoured to improve the afflicting Providence from the 18 v. ["I will not leave you comfortless: I will come to you."]

May 28. Mr. Prentice preach'd [the Election Sermon] from 2 Chron. 17. 3-6.

May 29. Mr. Hancock to the Ministers from Rom. 1. 1. After Sermon they chose Mr. S. F. which hath given just matter of offence. O Lord I bewail the disorders and confusions found among us. O Pardon, Pour out thy Spirit and save us. (J. Sewall.)

The Convention questioned the right of Mr. Fisk's church to dismiss him from the pastorate, and showed its favor towards him by choosing him as preacher for 1736. He did not, however, fulfil the appointment, Dr. Colman preaching in his place. The Legislature, by a large majority, censured the Convention for its action.]

themselves to the use of proper means of peace and healing ; excepting those who are by name exempted in the Result abovesaid.

JOSEPH SEWALL
THOMAS PRINCE.

N. B. A Letter was sent to the Rev'd Mr. Fiske in the Name of this church to inform him and his Brethren of the votes above written, and further to Exhort them to use the means of Peace.

JOSEPH SEWALL.

At a Meeting of the church Augt 5. 1735.

Voted — That this Meeting be adjourned to Monday next at eight o'clock in the morning for considering of some proper method for the better support of the Ministry among us ; and that it be desired that such persons of the congregation as doe usually contribute to the support of the ministry would then meet with us in order to their assisting with their advice on this important occasion.

JOSEPH SEWALL.

Augt. 11. The church and congregation met, and their votes are recorded at the end of this Book.

From this time forward, when the church and congregation met together for business, their action was recorded apart from the proceedings of the church, at the other end of the volume. We shall not keep up this separation in our history, but shall give the proceedings at the meetings of the church and of the church and congregation, in the exact order of time in which they took place.

August 11. 1735. The Brethren of the church and congregation met, and Voted as follows ; scil.

Whereas it appears that the Allowance made by this church and congregation to their Rev'd Ministers hath of late through the sinking of the value of the bills of credit fallen short of what is necessary for their honourable support,

Voted,

I. That there be a collection made on the next Lords Day come se'nnight for raising such a sum of money as may be needful for making up such Deficiency in the support of the Ministers of this church ; And that the church and congregation be desired to make their contributions accordingly, the money that shall be so collected to be distributed to the Rev'd Ministers in equal proportion.

II. That Ezekiel Lewis, Anthony Stoddard, Samuel Welles Esqrs, Mr. Thomas Cushing, Mr. Thomas Hubbard, William Foy Esq. Mr. Nathaniel Cunningham, Mr. Francis Borland, and Capt. Daniel Goffe, or any seven of them, be a committee to consider of some proper

method for the more certain and equal support of the Revd. Ministers of this church for the future ; to make report as soon as may be convenient, not exceeding the space of two months.

JOSEPH SEWALL.

At a Meeting of the Church and Congregation Octr 1. 1735.

They adjourned to the 3rd of October. Then met, and Voted,

I. Their acceptance of the Report of the Committee.

II. That the church and congregation have two meetings annually viz. on the first Monday of April, and on the first Monday of October, at ten of the clock A. M. to consider what may be further necessary to be done for the support of our Revd Pastors.

JOSEPH SEWALL.

Nov. 2. 1735. The Brethren of the church staid, and

Voted — That there be a publick collection on the Anniversary Thanksgiving, the 13th of this Instant.

The money collected to be disposed of to charitable and pious uses ; And that the congregation be notified of this vote, and be desired to concur with the church in the said collection.

JOSEPH SEWALL.

Novr. 13. Collected 95/.

[1735-6] Jan. 14. This Day George Bethune Esq. of our Communion died very suddenly at his Ware-House. I visited the House of Mourning. O Lord Sanctify this awful Dispensation to the Widow and Children. Support and Comfort them. O awaken me, thy people, that we may be also ready! The last Sermon which the Deceas'd heard was from Luk. 12. 40. ["Be ye therefore ready also," etc. Mr. Gee preached this sermon at the South Church, three days before, in exchange with Dr. Sewall.]

Jan. 25. Yesterday died Mr. Robert Butcher in the 92d year of his Age, who was the eldest Brother of our Church. (J. Sewall.)

Febry 1. 1735-6. The Brethren of the church stay'd and

Voted ; — I. That there be given out of the collection for charitable and pious uses a sum not exceeding fifty pounds to support the poor of this church and congregation with wood and other Necessaries.

II. That there be allowed out of the collection, to the Rev'd Mr. Josiah Cotton, the sum of ten pounds towards his support and encouragement in preaching the Gospel at Providence.

III. That there be allowed out of the collection to Rev'd Mr. Joseph Torrey, the sum of ten pounds towards his support and encouragement in preaching the Gospel at South Kingston in Narraganset.

JOSEPH SEWALL.

March 21. 1735-6. The Brethren of the church stay'd, and

Voted — I. That there be a publick collection on the Anniversary

Fast, the 1st of April next ; the money collected to be disposed of to charitable and pious uses ; And that the congregation be notified of this vote, and be desired to concur with the church in the said collection.

II. That there be given out of the last collection for charitable and pious uses, five pounds to supply the poor of this church and congregation with Books of piety ; and the remaining twenty pounds to supply them with Wood and other Necessaries.

JOSEPH SEWALL.
THOMAS PRINCE.

April 1. 1736. Collected 92*l.* 10*s.* 0.

At a Meeting of the church and congregation April 5. 1736.

Voted, I. That the sum of fifty-three pounds, now in the hands of the Deacons be forthwith equally distributed to our Revd Pastors.

II. That this meeting be adjourned to the first Monday of May next at 10 o'clock A. M.

May 3.

Voted, I. That the committee for building be desired to draw on Mr. Treasurer Osborne, for the ballance now in his hands, and pay the same to the Deacons.

II. That the Deacons, so soon as may be, pay to each of our Revd Pastors the sum of 73. 10. 0, which with 26. 10. given them at the last meeting, makes to each of them one hundred Pounds.

JOSEPH SEWALL.

May 26. The Revd Mr. Holyoke preached [the Election Sermon] from Neh. 7. 2. The Ministers met, agreed to have a Sermon to morrow, and a Collection with an especial regard to Providence and S. Kingston.

May 27. Dr. Colman preach'd from 1 Chron. 29. 14. All things come of Thee. There was Collected after Sermon 97*l.* 1. 0. Appropriated 2. 10. 0. The rest was equally divided between Mr. Cotton of Providence and Mr. Torrey of S. Kingston. (J. Sewall.)

Thomas Fitch, one of the most prominent members of the church, and equally prominent in public affairs, died June 23, 1736. He was colonel of the Boston regiment, three times captain of the artillery company, representative and councillor for nearly twenty years. He was married by the Rev. Mr. Willard, April 12, 1694, to Abiel, or Abiah, daughter of the Rev. Samuel Danforth, of Roxbury,¹ and had sons, Thomas, Samuel, and John, all of whom died before him.² His daughter

¹ "1674. 11th mo. 31st day," baptized: "Abiel, daughter of Mr. Samuel Danforth, borne after her father's decease." — *Roxbury Church Records*.

² John Fitch, aged twenty-six, was buried July 15, 1735. Dr. Sewall speaks of him as an only son. He graduated at Harvard College in 1727.

Mary was the first wife of Andrew Oliver. Mrs. Fitch's older sister Mary was second wife of the first Edward Bromfield.

June 23. The honble Coll. Fitch died æt. 68.

June 27. Mr. P. preach'd. Ps : 73. 26. ["My flesh and my heart faileth : but God is the strength of my heart, and my portion for ever."] P. M. I preach'd from Gen. 47. 9. ["Few and evil have the days of the years of my life been," etc.]

June 28. Coll. Fitch was buried. Regiment in Arms. I was sent for to the House of Mourning after the funeral, and pray'd with the Mourners. (J. Sewall.)

A conference was held by Governor Belcher with several Indian chiefs at Deerfield, on the 27th of August, 1735, and four following days ; and on Sunday, the 31st, Mr. John Sergeant was set apart and ordained to the work of the ministry among the Housatonics, in the presence of the governor, as representing one of the societies for the propagation of the gospel. Several clergymen took part in the services, Mr. Appleton, of Cambridge, preaching the sermon. Mr. Sergeant labored faithfully as a missionary in the western part of Massachusetts for a quarter of a century. It was said at the time of his death that he had baptized one hundred and twenty-nine Indians, and that forty-two were then communicants.

[1736] Aug. 1. Mr. Sergeant preach'd for me P. M. There were a Number of the Housatonnick Indians, to whom he is a Missionary, present and behav'd with gravity. There's an hopeful prospect of considerable success. Several have already been instructed and baptis'd. (J. Sewall.)

At a Meeting of the Church and congregation Octr 4. 1736.

It being represented by the Deacons that there is in their hands of the weekly contribution 55^l more than the weekly charge, and for half the year's Wood to our Rev'd Pastors ;

Voted, — That the said sum of 55^l. be equally divided between our Rev'd Pastors to encourage them in their work among us.

JOSEPH SEWALL.

Mrs. Belcher, wife of the governor, and daughter of Lieutenant-Governor Partridge, of New Hampshire, died October 6.¹ The funeral pageant recalls to us the procession when Lady Andros was buried, half a century before ; but it will be observed that on this occasion there were no services in the meeting-house.

¹ Jonathan Belcher married, secondly, Emily Teal, who survived him, — "a lady September 9, 1748, Mrs. Mary Louisa of great merit and a handsome fortune."

The Rev. Dr. Sewall made a very suitable prayer at his Excellency's house just before the funeral. The coffin was covered with black velvet and richly adorned. The pall was supported by the Honourable Spencer Phipps Esq. our Lieut. Governor; William Dummer Esq. formerly Lieut. Governor and Commander in Chief of this Province; Benjamin Lynde Esq. Thomas Hutchinson Esq. Edmund Quincy Esq. Adam Winthrop Esq. His Excellency with the children and family followed the corpse, all in deep mourning; next went the several relatives according to their respective degrees, who were followed by a great many of the principal gentlewomen in town; after whom went the gentlemen of His Majesty's Council, the reverend ministers of this and the neighbouring towns; the reverend President and Fellows of Harvard College; a great number of officers both of the civil and military order, with a multitude of other gentlemen. His Excellency's coach drawn by four horses was covered with black cloth and adorned with escutcheons of the coats of arms both of his Excellency and of his deceased Lady. All the bells in town were tolled; and during the time of the procession, the half-minute guns begun, first at His Majesty's Castle William, which were followed by those on board His Majesty's ship "Squirrel" and many other ships in the harbour, their colours being all day raised to the height usual on such occasions.¹

His Excellency's pew at the South Church, and the pulpit, "were put into mourning, and richly adorned with escutcheons;" and on the following Sunday funeral discourses were preached by the pastors. Mr. Prince's text was 2 Tim. i. 10: "The appearing of our Saviour Jesus Christ, who hath abolished death, and hath brought life and immortality to light through the gospel." In closing, Mr. Prince drew an admirable sketch of the deceased lady, but we will only quote what he said upon her relations to this church:—

In the midst of all the Sprightliness of Youth, she was not ashamed of the Gospel; but soon after her entering the married State, she made an open Profession of her Faith in Christ and Subjection to Him, and join'd to our Communion. She always set a fair Example of Gravity and Attention in the Publick Worship. And I am assured by her nearest Relative, that she daily read the Holy Scriptures; and with great Reverence and Fear, even to a faulty Degree of Trembling, was ever wont to receive the Elements of the Holy Supper.²

¹ [*News-Letter*, October 14, 1736.]

² ["An Epistle in Verse" was addressed to the governor by his nephew, the Rev. Mather Byles, minister of the church in Hollis Street, from which we quote a few lines:—

To you O Fav'rite Man, the Pow'r supream
Gives wealth, and titles, and extent of fame;
Joys from beneath, and blessings from above;
Thy Monarch's plaudit; and thy peoples love:
The same high Pow'r, unbounded, and alone,
Resumes his gifts, and puts your mourning on.
His Edict issues, and his Vassal, Death,

Oct 31, 1736. The Brethren of the church stay'd and

Voted — I. That there be given out of the collection for charitable and pious uses, the sum of sixty pounds to supply the poor of this church and Congregation with Wood and other Necessaries.

II. That fifteen pounds be given out of said collection, to supply the poor of this Church and congregation with Bibles and other Books of piety.

III. That there be a publick collection on the Anniversary Thanksgiving the 11th of Novr next; the money collected to be disposed of to charitable and pious uses; And that the congregation be notified of this vote and be desired to concur with the church in the said collection.

JOSEPH SEWALL.

Novr. 11. Collected one hundred and two pounds; 6/ of which were appropriated.

Mr. Prince published the first volume of his *New England Chronology* this winter. It was dedicated to Governor Belcher, Lieutenant-Governor Phips, and the Honourable Council and House of Representatives of the province. The journal of the House, January 12, 1736–7, records the formal presentation by the author of copies of the work to the House and the speaker: —

The House being informed the Rev. Mr. Thomas Prince was at the Door and desired admittance, Ordered, that Mr. Prince be admitted into the House, and coming up to the Table, he addressed himself to Mr. Speaker and the House in the following manner, viz.

Mr. Speaker, I most humbly present to your Honour and this Honourable House, the first Volume of my *Chronological History of New England*, which at no small Expense and Pains I have composed and published for the Instruction and good of my Country.

And then he made a Compliment of one of the Books to Mr. Speaker by presenting it to him, and another he presented to and for the use of the Members of the House of Representatives, and laid it on the Table, and then withdrew.

Of this work it has been said, that it was too great “for the period in which it appeared; few could appreciate its extraordinary merits, and fewer still, probably, wished to read a work written for a far higher object than merely to amuse the reader. Hence on the appearance of the first volume a disappointment seems to have fallen upon the community, and very little, if any,

Require's your Consort's — or Your flying breath.
Still be your glory at his feet to bend,
Kiss thou the Son, and own his Sov'reign hand;
For his high honours all thy pow'rs exert,

The gifts of Nature, and the charms of Art:
So, over Death, the conquest shall be giv'n,
Your Name shall live on earth, your Soul in
heav'n.]

encouragement was proffered the author to continue the work. But conscious that it would be appreciated in no very distant day, he continued to labor upon it, and from time to time issued a part of a second volume in pamphlet form. This consisted of three numbers, of thirty-two pages each, which brought the history of New England to near the close of the year 1633." The same authority says: "It embraces, however, the most obscure and difficult period of our history, namely, the first settlement of the Plymouth and Massachusetts colonies; and for that period it is the most complete, exact, and satisfactory history extant."¹

The Rev. Mr. Wadsworth, president of Harvard College, died at Cambridge March 16, and was buried a week later. "He was eminently pious and faithful," says Dr. Sewall, "and enjoy'd the peace of the upright in his death." On Sunday, March 27, Dr. Sewall preached at Cambridge from the text, "Help, Lord, for the godly man ceaseth." On the 4th of May, "the overseers met and join'd with the corporation in prayer to God for direction in the choice of a president." "The corporation endcavoured to come to a choice twice, but were equally divided between Mr. Holyoke and Mr. Gee. Desired more time." On the 20th, Mr. Cooper, of Brattle Street Church, was chosen, but declined a few days later. Mr. Holyoke was then chosen, and was inducted into office on the 28th of September.

[Lord's day] March 20. 1736-7.

The Brethren of the church stay'd, and

Voted — I. That there be given out, of the last collection for charitable and pious uses, the sum of sixty pounds. to supply the poor of this church and congregation with wood and other Necessaries.

II. That there be allowed out of the collection to the Rev'd Mr. Josiah Cotton, the sum of ten pounds towards his support and encouragement in preaching the Gospel at Providence.

III. To the Rev'd Mr. Joseph Torrey the sum of ten pounds towards his support and encouragement in preaching the Gospel at South Kingston in Narraganset.

IV. To Mr. Ezra Carpenter, the sum of ten pounds towards his support and encouragement in preaching the Gospel at Hull.

V. That there be a public collection on the Anniversary Fast, March 31.; the money collected to be disposed of to charitable and

¹ See the *Memoir*, by Samuel G. the *New England Chronology*, published Drake, prefixed to the third edition of in 1852.

pious uses ; And that the congregation be notified of this vote, and be desired to concur with the church in the said collection.

JOSEPH SEWALL.

March 31, 1737. Collected one hundred and four pounds, twelve and eight pence ;

Three pounds of which sum are appropriated.

At a Meeting of the church and congregation, April 4. 1737.

It being represented by the Deacons that there's in their Hands of the weekly contribution about 20 or 30^s more than the weekly charge has demanded ;

Voted — That the said Ballance now in the Deacons' Hands, together with half a year's rent of the cellar, as soon as may be, be equally distributed to our Revd. Pastors to encourage them in their labors among us.

JOSEPH SEWALL.

[Lord's day] April 24. 1737.

The Brethren of the church stay'd, and

Voted, — That the Holy Scriptures be read in Public after the first Prayer in the morning and Afternoon : And that it be left to the discretion of the Pastors ; what parts of Scripture to read, and what to expound.

JOSEPH SEWALL.

May 1. We began the Public Reading of the Scriptures. I read 1 chap. Genesis. Mr. Prince 1 Chap. Matthew. I spake a few words by way of Exposition and Exhortation. Then Preach'd from 1 Thess. 5. 27. ["I charge you by the Lord, that this epistle be read unto all the holy brethren."] ¹ (J. Sewall.)

Elizabeth, wife of the Rev. Charles Chauncy, died May 13, "after several weeks sickness," in her thirty-first year. Says Dr. Sewall : "Shee was prudent, modest, courteous, and I believe truly pious. The second Daughter of my beloved Sister Hirst ; and after her Mother's and then her Father's death, shee dwelt in my Family about ten years." ² Dr. Sewall preached at the First Church on the next Lord's day from the words, "For if we believe that Jesus died and rose again, even so them also which sleep in Jesus will God bring with him."

Mr. William Hooper was ordained pastor of the West Church May 18. This church had been gathered in the preceding January, when the covenant was subscribed by seventeen persons,

¹ [When the First Church of Salem was reorganized, it voted, Dec. 27, 1736, "that the Scriptures be read as part of public worship."]

² Mrs. Chauncy left a son and two daughters. Her sister Jane, Mrs. Davenport, died four months afterward, September 6, in her twenty-eighth year.

"after solemn prayer and preaching, in presence of Thomas Prince, pastor of the South church, and Thomas Foxcroft, pastor of the Old, or first church." Among the original members, William Stoddard and Hugh Hall came from the South Church, and they were followed later by John Smibert, the portrait-painter, Story Dawes, and Ebenezer Messenger. All the Congregational churches in the town were invited to assist in the ordination, and the French Church, of which Mr. Le Mercier, the successor of Mr. Daillé, was minister. "All the parts," says the Rev. Charles Lowell, "in the solemnities of the occasion were assigned by the church, except one. It is stated in the records that the ministers and delegates claimed 'a right in the election of the person to give the right hand of fellowship.'" ¹ Mr. Hooper preached the sermon from 2 Cor. iv. 7. Mr. Foxcroft and Dr. Sewall offered prayer, Mr. Prince read the covenant and gave the charge, and Dr. Colman welcomed the new pastor to the fellowship of the churches. Mr. Hooper continued with the church about nine years, "when he resigned, or rather abdicated, without a formal resignation," his pastoral office, and went to England to receive Episcopal ordination. On his return he became minister of Trinity Church, and so continued until his death in 1767.

At a Meeting of the Church and Congregation, Octr. 3, 1737.

Whereas there was a committee chosen Augt. 14. 1733, to examine the accounts of the committee for building, and of Mr. Treasurer Osborne, and report thereon; which hitherto has not been complied with:

Voted, — That said committee be desired to pursue their design, and report to the next meeting thereon: Also to consider and report what method they may think proper to come into for the more certain and effectual support of our Revd. Pastors. And that Mr. Joseph Brandon be added to said committee in the Room of the Hon. Thomas Fitch deceased.

A motion was made to choose new Seaters, and to turn the Women's foreseat into three Pews.

Voted, — That this Meeting be adjourned to Monday 24th Instant, at 10 o'clock A. M.

JOSEPH SEWALL.

Oct. 17. I sat out for Concord with D. Henchman. rain'd. Lodg'd at Mr. Hancock's. Next day got to Concord; visited Mr. W. Mr. Hancock was chosen Moderator. Council Voted Mr. W. un-

¹ See Discourse by the Rev. Charles Lowell, delivered December 31, 1720, pp. 11, 24.

worthy to be a Minister of the Gospel, and Advised the Church to remove him from his Office. After, a public-hearing at which Mr. W. would not be present, as he had before refus'd to submit matters to the Council. The Crime — Intemperance. 21 day. The Result was read in the Meeting-House. I pray'd. I hope God helped me. The Church (who before Voted a Concurrence with the Brethren that called the Council) then met, and Voted agreeable to the Advice of the Rev'd Council, 83 Yeas, 11 Nô's. My B[rother] Cooper was their Moderator.

Oct 23. I preach'd at Concord. A. M. from Eph. 5. 18. Be not drunk with wine &c. Endeavoured to bear Testimony against the Sin committed. P. M. from 1 Tim. 4. 7.¹

Oct. 24. I return'd safe. (J. Sewall.)

[Lord's day] October 23. 1737.

The committee for examining the accounts of the committee for Building &c. not being able to prepare and finish their Report; the Brethren of the church and congregation adjourned their Meeting from Munday 24th Instant, to Munday the 14th of November next at 10 o'clock a. m.

THOMAS PRINCE.

Novr. 14. 1737. At a meeting of the Brethren of the South Church and Congregation.

The committee for examining the accounts of the committee for Building &c. made their report, as follows

The committee appointed to examine the accounts of the committee for Building, and also of Mr. Treasurer Osborne &c. have attended that service; and as to the accounts of the committee for Building, they not having been as yet fully exhibited to us, we are not able with any certainty to report the state of them.

As to the account of Mr. Treasurer Osborne, we find it right cast

¹ ["Some objections were brought against Mr. Whiting in the latter part of his ministry, and several councils were called to investigate them. In March, 1737, the deacons were chosen a committee 'to treat with the Rev. Mr. Whiting, to see whether he would join with the town in calling another minister.' He approved of this proposition. On presenting their report, on the 16th of May following, the town voted, 41 to 33, 'to call and settle another minister with Mr. Whiting.' On the 18th of October an ecclesiastical council was convened here, of which the Rev. John Hancock, of Lexington, was moderator, which, after a public examination of the charges,

advised the church to dismiss Mr. Whiting. The result was read on the 21st, and the church accepted it, 83 yeas and 11 nays, and voted, that the pastoral relation it held to Mr. Whiting should be dissolved. The town concurred on the 6th of March following, 'nemine contradicente.'" — Shattuck's *History of the Town of Concord*, p. 165.

Mr. Whiting graduated at Harvard College in 1700, and died in 1752. He is described in his epitaph as "a gentleman of singular hospitality and generosity, who never detracted from the character of any man, and was a universal lover of mankind." Dr. Allen says that he was "learned, benevolent and rich."]

and well vouched ; that he has received of sundry persons at several times the sum of £13 029. 18. 9
 of which he has paid out the sum of 12 987. 7. 8
 So that there remains in the said Treasurer's hands

the sum of 42. 11. 1

And the committee are of opinion that upon his paying said Balance to the orders of the church and congregation, He ought to be so far discharged.

The committee also find that Captain Henchman has received Thirty Pounds of Mr. Williams for cellar Rent, one year, ending the 3d May last, and that it is in the church stock.

We also find that the three Pews in the Gallery, No 16. 24 and 26 remain unappropriated.

As to the affair of our Revd Pastors support which we were directed to take under consideration ;

The committee are humbly of opinion that it would not be convenient at present to make any alteration as to the method of our Publick contribution, but that there be now a further grant made to them, of £39. 10. 1, which sum, together with 160. 9. 11, allow'd in April last, and since paid to them by the deacons, will make £100. to each of said Revd Pastors, for the space of one year ending in October last, over and above their weekly salary.

All which is honorably submitted

ANTHONY STODDARD
 JOHN HUNT
 THOMAS CUSHING JUN.
 JOS. BRANDON
 HUGH VANS.

Boston November 14. 1737.

Voted — I. That the committee's Report respecting Mr. Treasurer Osborne be accepted.

II. That their Report respecting our Revd. Pastors be accepted — and therefore,

Voted III. That the Deacons pay said sum of £39. 10. 1. to our Revd Pastors, to be equally divided between them.

IV. As to the first article of their Report,

Voted, that said committee be desired as soon as may be, to consider and report on that affair ; and the Building committee to lay their accounts before them.

V. That Deacon Henchman, upon the receipt of the Ballance now in Mr. Treasurer Osborne's hand, pay to each of our Revd Pastors Ten Pounds, on account of the extraordinary price of Provisions &c, for the current year.

VI. That Thirty Pounds pr Annum be for the future allowed to John Chambers, our Sexton.

VII. Ten Pounds of the last publick collection for charitable and pious uses, be laid out and disposed of at the discretion of the Pastors in Bibles Catechisms and other Books of piety, for the Poor of this church and congregation; and that the remaining Ballance of all the past Publick Collections for said uses, be disposed of at the discretion of the Deacons, to supply the Poor of the said church and congregation with wood and other necessities from time to time between this and the spring.

VIII. That there be another publick collection for charitable and pious uses, on the Anniversary Thanksgiving, on the 17th Current; and that the rest of the congregation be notified of this vote at the end of the forenoon exercise of the said day, and desired to concur in the said Collection.

IX. That the choice of new Seaters, and the time of their standing, as also the affair of Turning the women's fore seat into Pews, be referred to the next meeting of the church and congregation.

THOMAS PRINCE.

Nov. 17, 1737. On this day of the Anniversary Thanksgiving, the 7th and 8th votes above were accordingly read in Publick at the end of the Forenoon exercise; and in the afternoon were collected for said uses —

For Mr. Bass	£1. 0. 0
Cotton	3. 0. 0
Torrey	4. 10. 0
Unappropriated	105. 8. 9
	<hr/>
	113. 18. 9

The Rev. Nathaniel Williams, third of the name, died January 10, 1738, in his sixty-third year. His father had been deacon of the church twenty-one years, and he had preached for it occasionally. "At fourteen years of age," said Mr. Prince in his funeral sermon, "he entered the School of the Prophets. He was ordained an Evangelist in the College Hall, for one of the West India Islands, but the climate not agreeing with his constitution he soon returned to this his native city." From being a private teacher, he went into the "Public and Free Grammar School of this great town, the principal school of the British Colonies, if not of all America. In this school, [now called the Latin School,] he continued about thirty years. He also studied and practised physic." He was master of the school from 1703 to 1734, succeeding Ezekiel Cheever and followed by John Lovell. He was "greatly beloved by the scholars for an agree-

able mixture of majesty and sweetness, both in his voice and countenance." ¹

At a Meeting of the Brethren of the South Church and Congregation April 3, 1738

Voted —

I. That the Report of the committee for examining the Building Committee's accounts be accepted; and that the Building Committee be discharged accordingly, with Thanks to them and Mr. Treasurer Osborne for their care and labour in the service of this Society.

II. That there be a Committee of seven chosen to serve one year; to have the direction and ordering of affairs relating to the Pews and Seats in the Meeting House.

Votes were brought in accordingly, and there were chosen for that service, the Hon. Ezekiel Lewis, Edward Winslow, Francis Borland Esqrs. Mr. Timothy Prout, Joshua Winslow Esq. Mr. Thomas Cushing junr. and Mr. Edward Bromfield.

Proposed, whether it be convenient at this time to turn the women's fore seat into Pews. Neg.

III. That above the weekly allowance, the Deacons pay to each of our Revd Pastors forty Pounds, for their further encouragement in their labors among us.

IV. That there be another Publick Collection for charitable and pious uses on the Anniversary Fast, April 13th Current; And that the rest of the congregation be notified of this Vote next Lord's Day and desired to concur in the said collection.

And then the Meeting was adjourned to the first Monday in May next, at 10 o'clock.

JOSEPH SEWALL.

April 13, Collected 90*l*.

Of which were appropriated

To the Revd. Mr. Bass	1. 0. 0
Mr. Carpenter	1. 0. 0
Mr. Torrey	1. 0. 0
Mr. Callender's widow	6. 0. 0
	<hr/>
	9. 0. 0.

At a Meeting of the Brethren of the South Church and Congregation May 1. 1738.

Whereas there hath been a Proposal made, that some part of the money which is or may be collected for charitable and pious uses, should, as we shall find ourselves able from time to time, be made a stated fund, the income of it to be improved for said uses as the

¹ The master of the Latin School at Coll. 1856, Ph. D., Amherst 1880, is an the present time, Moses Merrill, Harv. active member of the Old South Church.

Brethren of this church and congregation shall from time to time determine ;

Voted — That a Committee be chosen to consider of said Proposal, and make Report to this Meeting on Monday, the 15th of this Instant, at 10 a'clock A. M.

Voted — That the Honble. Ezekiel Lewis, Josiah Willard, Anthony Stoddard, Samuel Welles Esqrs. Coll. Edward Winslow, Esq. Mr. Cushing, Mr. Thomas Hubbard, William Foye, Joshua Winslow Esqrs. and Mr. Nathaniel Cunningham, with the Deacons ; be of this Committee.

J. SEWALL.

June 1. The Rev. Mr. Barnard of Marblehead preach'd to the Ministers from Col. 2. 19. Not holding the Head. Collected about 207£.

June 5. Dr. Colman preached to the Hon. Artillery Company (who enter upon their second Century this Day) from Isai. 11. 10. which shall stand for an Ensign. (J. Sewall.)

On the 27th of September, 1738, Mr. Ellis Gray, a graduate at Cambridge in the class of 1734, was ordained as colleague of Mr. Welsteed, at the New Brick Church. Mr. Welsteed offered prayer, Mr. Gray preached the sermon from Isai. vi. 5-8, Mr. Webb prayed after the sermon, Dr. Colman gave the charge, and Dr. Sewall the right hand of fellowship. "The part taken by Mr. Webb is the earliest notice we have of a reconciliation with the New North Church."¹

There were several adjournments to the first Monday in October.

At a Meeting of the Brethren of the South Church and Congregation Oct 2. 1738.

Voted, That the Deacons pay to our Revd. Pastors equally the sum of fifty six Pounds now in their hands together with 30^l. one half year's rent of the cellar as soon as may be.

Voted, That there be a collection the next Lords Day come se'n-night, the whole of it to be equally divided to our Revd. Pastors. The congregation to be notified the next Lord's Day.

Voted, That fifty Pounds, now in the Deacons' hands of the former Collection be distributed to the poor of this Church and Congregation, to enable them the better to prepare for the approaching winter.

It being also proposed that a certain Fund be established for the support of the Widows and Fatherless Children of the Pastors of the said South Church, from time to time ;

Voted — That the committee to consider the proposal of a Fund for charitable and pious uses, take this also into their consideration, and

¹ *Historical Discourses* by the Rev. Henry Ware, delivered May 20, 1821, p. 57.

make their Report at the next Meeting. And that Messrs. Andrew Oliver and Benjamin Hallowell be added to the said committee.

JOSEPH SEWALL.

At a Meeting of the Brethren of the South Church and Congregation, Novr. 13. 1738.

Voted — That fifty Pounds be given out of the collections for charitable and Pious uses to the Poor of this church and congregation, to supply them with Wood and other necessities.

Voted — That Ten pounds be given out of said collection to the Revd. Mr. Josiah Cotton towards his support in Preaching the Gospel at Providence.

Voted — That Ten Pounds be also given of said collection to the Revd. Mr. Joseph Torrey, towards his support in preaching the gospel in South Kingston, in Narraganset.

Voted — That there be a publick collection for charitable and pious uses, on the Anniversary Thanksgiving, 23rd current; And that the rest of the Congregation be notified of this vote, and desired to concur in the said collection.

And then the Meeting was adjourned to Monday 27th of this Instant, at 10 aclock A. M.

JOSEPH SEWALL.

Novr. 23. Collected	95. 7. 3.
Of which were appropriated,	
To the Ministers Widows and Children . . .	10. 0. 0
Towards defraying the charge of defending the	
Ministerial Lands in Kingston, in Narraganset,	33. 12. 0
	<hr/>
	43. 12. 0

This last appropriation, and others for the same object, made afterward, are explained by the following extract from the records of the New Brick Church:—

There was a collection, I remember, in many of the congregational churches in 1739 to defend a lawsuit unjustly brought against Mr. Torrey, the minister of South Kingston, in order to recover the parsonage estate possessed by Mr. Torrey. The estate was left by a gentleman for the support of an orthodox minister of said Kingston; and, as I remember, one Dr. McSparrow, a church minister, took it into his head that *no minister was orthodox unless he was ordained by a bishop* &c. &c.; so, by the help of some no better than himself, he brought an action to recover the estate for himself and successors; but he failed in his unjust prosecution.¹

¹ [Robbins's *History*, p. 318. The record quoted was made by Deacon John Tudor, and the receipt preserved shows that the contribution from the New Brick congregation, for the use of Mr. Torrey in this suit, was £35. 10. 0.]

The lands in question were "granted in 1668 by the Proprietors of Petaquamscut Purchase, now in South Kingston in Narraganset, to be laid out and forever set apart for the use of an orthodox person that should be obtained to preach God's word to the inhabitants. These grantors were five, who all brought up their children in the Congregational way, and three of them were members in full communion in our churches." There being no preacher there, a Mr. George Mumford gained possession of the lands, but when Mr. Torrey was ordained, he brought an action for them, and his case being carried on appeal before the King in Council, judgment was rendered in his favor. A year or two later, the Rev. James McSparran, who had gone over from Presbyterianism to Episcopacy, and who was preaching in the Narraganset country, brought suit against Mr. Torrey for the possession of the lands, on the ground that no minister could be denominated "orthodox" who was not of the Church of England. This case, also, was carried up to the King in Council, and was at length, in 1752, decided in favor of Mr. Torrey, who was declared to be "the first incumbent of ordination." The suit against Mr. Torrey was carried on by the united vestries of Christ Church and King's Chapel. Dr. Cutler, the minister of the former, who had been a Congregational clergyman, spoke, in a letter, of these lands granted by Congregationalists for Congregational purposes, as a tract "claimed by the Church of England, in opposition to the saints here, who would inherit the earth." The Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Herring, "steadfastly asserted the justice of Mr. Torrey's claim." Mr. Samuel Holden, then at the head of the Bank of England, at Dr. Colman's request, managed the affair in London for the South Kingston Church and the New England Congregationalists.¹

. At a Meeting of the Brethren by Adjournment Nov. 27 1738.

Voted,

I. That there be given out of the last collection, the sum of 26. 8. 0. towards defraying the charge of defending the cause of the Ministerial Lands in South Kingston, which being added to what was then appropriated to said use, makes the sum of Sixty Pounds.

II. That there be allowed out of the collection, to the Rev. Mr. Ezra Carpenter, the sum of ten pounds towards his support and encouragement in preaching the Gospel at Hull.

¹ Foote's *Annals of King's Chapel*, suits, which are known respectively as vol. i. pp. 466, 467. The Prince Library contains the documents in both these *Torrey vs. Gardner*, and *McSparran vs. Hazzard*.

III. That the sum of ten pounds be laid out in Books of Piety, to be distributed by the Pastors to proper objects of such a charity.

And then the Meeting was adjourned to Monday, the 18th of December next.

JOSEPH SEWALL.

Decr 18. 1738. At a Meeting of the Brethren, —

Voted,

That the Report of the Committee appointed by the Brethren of this church and congregation to consider of the Proposals to establish a fund for charitable and pious uses, be Accepted, and recommended to the South Church, in order, if they see cause, to its being voted and established.¹

JOSEPH SEWALL.

March 18. 1738-9. Lord's Day P. M,

The Brethren of the Church and Congregation stay'd, and

Voted,

That there be another publick collection for charitable and pious uses, on the Anniversary Fast, March 29th Current; And that the rest of the Congregation be notified of this vote, next Lord's Day, and be desired to concur in the said collection. JOSEPH SEWALL.

¹ [The following has been preserved, which we suppose to be the draft of the report referred to in the above entry:—

Whereas there has been a Proposal made at a stated Half Yearly Meeting of the Brethren of the South or 3d Church and Congregation in Boston that some Part of the Unappropriated moneies which are or may be collected or Given for Charitable and Pious uses, should as we find ourselves able from time to time be made a stated Fund, the Income whereof to be Improved for said uses as the said Brethren and their successors shall from Time to Time determin;

Voted, That the said General Proposal be accepted: and that 20^l in Bills of the new Tenour or equivalent to them be now Granted out of the monies already collected for the said uses and settled as the Fundation or Beginning of the Fund aforesaid, and for the further establishment and security of the said Fund for the said uses, It is more Particularly voted as follows

1. That there be 5 of the said Church and Congregation i. e. constant attendants with said Church and Congregation in their Publick worship, chosen by the

said Brethren as their Trustees of the said Fund for the said uses in behalf of the said Brethren, to continue in the said Trust till the said Brethren or their successors shall see cause to chuse others in their Room, and to be accountable to the said Brethren and their successors or their committees from Time to Time.

2. That the Principal of said Fund together with all additions that shall be made thereto by charitably or Piously disposed Persons, shall be kept perpetually intire, without being broken in upon on any occasion: But shall be either constantly Let out to Interest on double security, or Laid out in some Real Estate bringing in some Income, or building on or improving the Real Estate belonging to the said Church or to the said church and congregation, as the said Brethren and their [successors] shall from time to Time determin.

3. That the Bonds for monies let out to Interest by the said Trustees, be made Payable to the said Trustees, or to the Major Part of them.

4. That whenever one or more of the said Trustees shall be disabled or remove his constant attendance from worshipping with the said Church and Congrega-

March 29. 1739. General Fast. Collected for charitable and pious uses,

Unappropriated,	£83. 2. 2
Appropriated, towards the Fund for Ministers'	
Widows &c	5. 10. 0
To the Fund for pious and char. uses,	5. 0. 0
To Revd. Messrs Bass,	1. 0. 0
Torrey,	1. 0. 0
To Nurse Kinney	1. 0. 0
Towards defraying the charge of defending the	
Ministerial Lands at Kingston	1. 0. 0
	14. 10. 0
Total	£97. 12. 2

At a Meeting of the Church and Congregation April 2. 1739.

It being represented by the Deacons that there is in their hands about Eighty Pounds ;

Voted — That the said sum be equally given to our Revd. Pastors to encourage them in their labors among us.

Voted — That the Hon. Samuel Welles, Esq. Capt. Armitage and Mr. Thomas Foster be a committee to view the House where the Rev. Dr. Sewall dwells, to consider and report what is necessary to repair it, with an estimate of the cost.

Voted — That said committee consider and report whether it be necessary and proper to make a cellar in the front of said House at the East End, and the Cost. The Report to be made on next Monday.

Voted — That for the time to come, these stated Meetings be on the 2d Mondays of October and April.

The Meeting was adjourned to next Monday, at 12 a'clock.

JOSEPH SEWALL.

Deacon Samuel Checkley died, December 27, 1738, in his

tion or be removed by Death or Otherwise that the said Brethren will proceed to chuse another or others in their Room, as soon as may be conveniently, not exceeding a 12 month.

5. That at the stated meetings of the said Brethren in every spring annually they shall chuse a committee to stand for the year ensuing to examin into the state of the said Fund, both as to Principal and Interest, consider what addition may be made thereto, and how to dispose of the said Incomes for the said uses and make their Report to the said Brethren at their stated Half Yearly Meetings, both in the Fall and Spring

ensuing, for the said Brethren to consider and vote upon, as they shall judg proper.

Unanimously voted
by the com'tee

T. PRINCE

May, 3. 1738.

Present

Honbl E. Lewis

J. Willard Dr. Sewall

A. Stoddard T. Prince

S. Wells

E. Winslow } Esqs

J. Winslow }

D. Henschman

T. Hubbard

eighty-sixth year.¹ Nearly twenty-five years before, Mr. Pemberton had called the attention of Judge Sewall to the broken condition of his health, when suggesting that there should be one or more additional deacons chosen, but he survived that pastor twenty-two years. He had filled many responsible positions in the town and province, — selectman, representative, justice of the peace, county treasurer, town clerk. "In all which Places," says the *News-Letter*, "He behav'd Himself with such Prudence, Meekness and Fidelity as to gain the general Esteem and Love of all acquainted with Him." It was said of him further: "His greatest Honour, and for which his memory is Blessed, was his eminent, unaffected and vital Piety." For fifty-three years he was a member of the South Church. His wife, Mary, daughter of Joshua Scottow, died seventeen years before him. Of their eleven children, only two survived their parents, Richard and Samuel, the latter being pastor of the New South Church. There were now only two deacons in the Old South, Daniel Henchman and Jonathan Simpson; and Thomas Hubbard was chosen to fill the vacancy. Mr. Hubbard joined the church in 1730, and had already served on important committees. He was born in Boston in 1702, and graduated at Harvard College in 1721, in the same class with Charles Chauncy, Ebenezer Pemberton, Josiah Winslow, Stephen Sewall and others. We shall have occasion to speak of his public services when we come to the mention of his death in 1773.

At a church Meeting April 9. 1739.

Thomas Hubbard Esq. was chosen into the Deacon's office; And the Pastors and Deacons were appointed a Committee to desire his acceptance of said office.

And, Whereas Decr 18 1738, At a Meeting of the Brethren of the South Church and Congregation, there was a Report relating to a Fund for charitable and pious uses agreed upon, and Recommended to the said South Church, in order if they see cause, to its being voted and established; said Report was Read, Voted, and Established accordingly, and is as follows,

¹ 1738. Dec 26. "Died Col. S. Checkley, Esq., at Boston, my wife's grandfather, and was buried 1st. January in the tomb, our burying Place by Common. May these instances of mortality put us on preparing for our own great change!"

1739. Jan. 1. "Fair cold day. Col. Checkley buried, æt. 84 years; after

funeral I went to, Dr. Checkley's." — *Lynde Diaries*, p. 154.

The younger Judge Lynde married Mary Bowles, of Roxbury, a granddaughter of Samuel Checkley, and a great-granddaughter of Joshua Scottow. She was also descended from the Rev. John Eliot.

At a Meeting of the Committee of the Brethren of the South or Third Church and Congregation in Boston, of which Messrs Sewall and Prince are Pastors, to consider of the Proposals to establish a certain stated Fund for charitable and pious uses, as well as for the support of the Widows and Fatherless Children of the Pastors of said Church from time to time, as other uses of a Charitable and pious nature.

The said Committee after diverse consultations, propose that the said Fund be begun, continued and established under the following Regulations.

I. As diverse Brethren of the said Church and Congregation have declared that they contributed at the last general collection for such uses, with a view to put their monies into the said Fund which had been a little before moved ; The committee Propose that twenty ounces of Silver be purchas'd with part of the monies then collected, and be appropriated and settled as the beginning of said Fund for said uses ; But that no addition shall be made to said Fund out of the public collections for time to come, but by the particular Appropriations of persons inclin'd to encourage the same, express'd by writing annexed to their monies appropriated.

II. That the Pastors and Deacons of the said church, for the time being, be the Trustees of said Fund, to manage the same in behalf of the said church ; the major part of said Trustees to have Power of acting, and all and each of them to be accountable to the said church, or their committees from time to time.

III. That the principal Stock of said Fund, together with all Additions that shall be made to said Principal, by Persons disposed thereto, either by Contributions, Presents, Deeds, Wills, or otherwise, shall be kept perpetually intire, without being broken in upon on any occasion : But the principal monies shall be either constantly let out to Interest or laid out in some real Estate bringing in some Income, or building on, or improving the real Estate which shall belong to said Church, as the said Church shall at their Half Yearly Meetings from time to time determine.

IV. That in the Bonds for monies belonging to said Fund, let out to Interest by the said Trustees, the Principal and Interest shall be expressed by ounces of silver, and be made payable to the Major Part of the said Trustees ; the Borrower and two sufficient sureties, to be bound both jointly and severally for the same ; and neither the Borrower nor either of the sureties to be of the said church or Congregation.

V. That while there shall be no widow or Fatherless child of any of the Pastors of the said church, the Interest and Incomes of that part of the Fund raised for them shall be added to the principal stock, not to be divided again ; But when there shall be a Widow or fatherless child or more, of said Pastors, it shall be left to the said church

to judge and order how much of the Interest and Income shall be disposed of for their support from time to time ; and when to cease supporting them : But of all other parts of said Fund, it shall be left to the said church at their half yearly Meetings to dispose both of the Interest and Incomes, to any kind of charitable and pious use whatever, as they shall think adviseable.

VI. That there shall be a stated half yearly meeting of the Brethren of said church, viz. one in the Spring, and another in the Fall annually ; that at their said Meeting in the Spring they shall chuse a committee which shall consist of members as well of the said congregation as of the said church, to stand for the year ensuing, and continue till others shall be chosen in their room, to examine into the state of the said Fund, both as to principal Stock and Incomes ; consider how to order the same according to the preceeding Articles, and make their Report to the said Brethren at their stated half yearly Meetings, both in the Fall and Spring ensuing, for the said Brethren to consider and vote upon as they shall judge proper.

VII and lastly, Whereas there are stated half yearly Meetings of the Brethren both of the said South Church and also of the congregation with them ; For the preservation of mutual Harmony and good Agreement, it is yet further proposed that the said committees shall also at the said half yearly Meetings last mentioned, from time to time lay their aforesaid Reports before the said Brethren ; that the said Brethren may express their minds thereupon, and give their advice when they see cause, to the said church accordingly.

October 18. 1738. Unanimously agreed to by the said Committee present, to be offered as their Report to the Brethren of the said South Church and Congregation at their next Meeting, in order to its being agreed upon and Recommended, if they see cause, to the said South Church, to be voted and established.

EZE. LEWIS

Pr. order of the Committee.

December 18. 1738. At a Meeting of the Brethren of the said South Church and Congregation this Report was agreed upon and Recommended to the said South Church, in order if they see cause, to its being voted and established.

Voted and established by the said church at their Meeting April 9 1739.

JOSEPH SEWALL

THOMAS PRINCE.

We have abundant evidence that from its earliest days the South Church, as a church, met in a generous spirit the various claims which were made upon its Christian liberality, and that it felt its responsibility for the advancement of religion beyond its own parish limits, as it might have opportunity. Soon

after the settlement of Mr. Prince in the co-pastorate with Mr. Sewall, its liberality took on a more systematic and definite form. It voted, March 13, 1725-6, "that there be a publick collection on our anniversary Fasts and Thanksgivings, to be bestowed on pious uses, and for the advancement of Christ's Kingdom," and it appointed trustees for the "evangelical treasury" thus established.¹ This action was so far modified the following year, that a special vote was required for each semi-annual collection, as the occasions came round, and the church held in its own hands the distribution of the money. The votes thus made necessary we have given and shall continue to give, as they are recorded. To some of our readers they may seem monotonous; but we cannot help thinking them very suggestive. The members of the church were brought face to face with the necessities of the poor among themselves, and with the struggles of other churches and their ministers in outlying and destitute neighborhoods. The officers must have had plenty to do in carrying out the wishes of the brethren as expressed by the many votes appropriating money, in addition to what devolved upon them in the administration of the ordinary temporalities. The day for the combination of churches in organized societies was not yet come. There were the three Propagation societies in Great Britain, which were represented here by commissioners, and with which the churches were more or less affiliated; but with this exception, each local church was a society by itself, for charitable and missionary work. The final adoption by the South Church, April 9, 1739, of the Report of Mr. Ezekiel Lewis and his committee, was a renewed recognition of the responsibilities at home and abroad, which it had already been endeavoring faithfully to meet, and was a step forward in the attainment of steadiness and directness in aim and plan.

May 24 Mr. Edwards of Northampton preach'd my Lecture from 1 Tim. 2. 5. Lord bless the labors of thy Servant, and confirm his health.

May 31. Revd Mr. Eels preach'd to the Rev'd Convention.² 1 Sam. 4. 13. Collected about 173£.

Aug. 12. We had a Collection towards defraying the charge of the cause relating to the ministerial Land at Kingston.³

Sept 2. I preach'd again from Deut. 5. 12-14 [the fourth command-

¹ See *ante*, p. 418.

³ [See *ante*, pp. 488, 489. This collection is not mentioned in the records of

² [This is the first time Dr. Sewall speaks of the Convention by that name.] the church.]

ment]. Then read the Proclamation for preventing Disorders on the Lord's day. Deliver'd a word or two after reading it.

Oct 3. The Rev. Mr. T. Prentice (dismiss'd from the Church in Arundel) receiv'd the Charge of the Church at Charlestown as a Colleague Pastor to the Revd Mr. Abbot. Mr. Abbot began with Prayr. Mr. Prentice preach'd from 2 Cor. 6. 1. I gave the Charge, (Hands were not imposed,) Rev. Mr. Appleton, the Right Hand of Fellowship. I had a difficulty in my own mind about this affair ; however I engaged in it. O Lord govern it in mercy. Make thy Servant a Blessing to this Flock.¹ (J. Sewall.)

At a Meeting of the South Church and Congregation, Octr 8. 1739.

It being represented by the Deacons, that there is now in their hands about seventy two Pounds, arising from the rents of the cellar and the weekly contribution,

Voted — That the said sum of 72*l*. be equally given to our Revd Pastors, further to encourage them in their labors among us.

And whereas, there has been laid out in repairing the Ministerial Houses more than one hundred Pounds, and the allowance made to our Revd Pastors hitherto, has been represented by them as insufficient for the necessary support of their Families, therefore,

Voted, That there be a collection on Lord's Day the 21st Instant, to answer these occasions ; and that next Lord's Day the Deacons be desired to acquaint the Church and Congregation what may be necessary for said uses.

JOSEPH SEWALL.

Novr. 11. 1739. The Brethren of the Church and Congregation stay'd and Voted as follows,

Whereas, not long time since there was a publick Collection, both to discharge the late repairs of the Church's Houses, and for the necessary support of the Pastors' Families ; but the said collection amounted to no more than was sufficient to discharge the said repairs ; whereby there was nothing left as was intended, for the support of their Families ; and whereas the stock for charitable and pious uses is like to suffice for the relief of the poor through the following winter ;

Therefore, Voted, that there be a publick collection for our Revd Pastors, on the next General Thanksgiving Day Novr. 29, and the rest of the Church and Congregation are desired to concur, and assist therein.

Novr. 29. 1739. Collected £93. 18. 2

JOSEPH SEWALL.

¹ [The Rev. Thomas Prentice, Harv. Coll. 1726, was pastor of the church in Arundel, Maine, until 1737, when it was dispersed during the Indian wars, and he had since been living in Cambridge. He continued in the pastorate at Charles-

town until after the Revolution. We do not know what caused the difficulty in Dr. Sewall's mind, on the occasion of his settlement. It may have had reference to his removal from Arundel ; or the call may not have been unanimous.]

March 16. 1739-40. The Brethren of the Church and Congregation stay'd and Voted,

I. That there be given out of the stock for charitable and pious uses, ten Pounds to the Revd Mr. Nathani [? Ebenezer] Goold, and ten Pounds to the Revd Mr. Daniel Elmer, in consideration of the loss of their Houses by fire, and to encourage them in Preaching the Gospel.¹

II. That there be another Publick Collection for charitable and pious uses on the Anniversary Fast March 27. Current; and that the Rest of the Congregation be notified of this Vote next Lord's Day, and be desired to assist in the said collection. JOSEPH SEWALL.

March 27. 1740. General Fast.

Collected for charitable and pious uses

Unappropriated £76. 9. 5

Appropriated

To the Fund for char. and pious uses, . . . £ 5. 0. 0

To the Fund for Ministers' Widows . . . £ 3. 0. 0

To the Revd Mr. Daniel Elmer . . . £12. 0. 0

To Revd Messrs Bass . . . £ 1. 0. 0

Carpenter . . . £ 1. 0. 0

Torrey . . . £ 1. 0. 0

£23. 0. 0

Total £99. 9. 5

At a Meeting of the Brethren of the Church and Congregation, April 14. 1740.

Forasmuch as there are considerable deficiencies in our weekly contributions for the support of our Revd Pastors, and our frequent Meetings about the same are judged inconvenient and not reputable; Therefore,

Voted, That Josiah Willard and Samuel Welles Esqrs. and Mr. Thomas Cushing, be a Committee to find out some proper method for raising a sufficient allowance for our Revd Ministers.

Voted, That £26. 11. 4 now remaining in the hands of the Deacons be given equally to our Revd Pastors.

Voted, That £50. of the late collections for charitable and pious uses, be disposed of by the Deacons in Wood and other Necessaries for the Poor of this Church and Congregation. Adjourned.

¹ [The Rev. *Ebenezer* Goold or Gould, Yale College, 1723, was settled at Greenwich, near Fairfield, New Jersey. Professor Dexter says that his parsonage was burnt, with all its furniture, about this time. The Rev. Daniel Elmer, Yale College, 1713, was ordained over

the church in Fairfield in 1728. Both these clergymen were settled over Presbyterian churches, but their sympathies were largely with New England Congregationalism. Mr. Goold was settled afterward at Middletown, Conn. See *Yale Biographies*, pp. 110, 282.]

After several Adjournments the Brethren met May 5th 1740, and Voted as follows ;

I. Inasmuch as it is universally acknowledged by us that a decent and honourable support is justly due to our Revd Pastors, who labor in the Word and Doctrine among us, and it is apprehended that the most likely method to obtain a sufficient sum for that end is to come into a new subscription, what each one is willing to allow weekly, especially as our circumstances since our last subscription are so much altered by the death of some, and removal of others from us ; that so there may be raised with more certainty, a sufficient sum for this and all other necessary charges, and that the stated Meetings twice a year to consider of this affair, may be superceeded, and laid aside ;

Therefore Voted,

That there be a new subscription taken of the members of the church and congregation as soon as conveniently may be, that so we may allow to each of our Revd Ministers nine Pounds pr week in the present Currency of Bills of Credit, compared with silver at 29 sh. pr ounce, besides their Wood and Houses ; and in order thereunto, it is thought necessary that the weekly contribution should arise to £22. pr week, or thereabout ; and therefore it is hoped and desired that all persons as they are favour'd with Estate and Income, will be liberal and enlarge their contribution and subscription, that so there may be no room for any complaints for the future.

II. That Mr. Benjamin Clark, Capt Nathaniel Vyal, Mr. John Kneeland and Mr. John Simpson, be a Committee to take a new subscription of the members of the church and congregation who doe not now subscribe, as soon as may be

ANTHONY STODDARD

Modr.

Mr. Joseph Gardner, Harvard College 1732, was ordained at Newport, May 14, as co-pastor with the Rev. Nathaniel Clap, over the First Congregational Church in that town. Several of the Boston ministers took part in the services, and Mr. Gee preached the sermon.

May 9. I set out with Mr. Hubbard for Newport. Lodg'd at Carpenter's.

May 10. Got into Newport before Sunset, lodge at Mr. Dehane's.

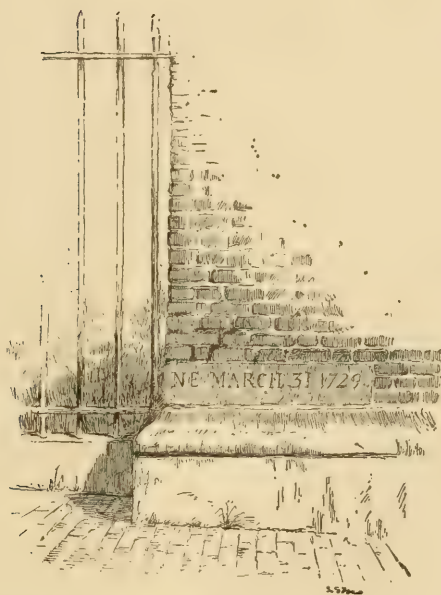
May 11. I preach'd for Mr. Gardner, A. M. from 1 Pet. 2. 7. Mr. Clap from Phil. 1. 27. P. M.

May 14. Mr. Joseph Gardner was ordain'd. I began with Prayr. Mr. Gee preached from John 10. 11. Mr. Webb pray'd before and after the Charge which was given by Mr. Clap. Mr. Serring¹ gave the

¹ [The Rev. James Searing, Yale College, Congregational Church, Newport. The Rev. Ezra Stiles was his successor.]

Right Hand of Fellowship. The People, among whom were several Quakers, seem'd to attend with seriousness. O Lord Bless this Flock, and in the United Labors of thy Servants, grant them the fulness of the Blessing of the Gospel. 15. We set out for Boston, lodg'd at Doggit's. Got well home 16. about sun-set, having experienc'd much of God's Goodness.

May 29. Revd Mr. Prince preach'd the Convention-Sermon from Isai. 9. 7. Collected 232. 9. 3 (J. Sewall.)



CHAPTER X.

1740-1744.

MR. WHITEFIELD'S FIRST VISIT. — THE REVIVAL PERIOD.

THE period to which we have come is known in our religious annals as that of the Great Awakening. During the time covered by the last chapter, there were revivals of religion of great power and interest in the central part of Massachusetts and in Connecticut, one of the most memorable being that which took place at Northampton under the ministry of the Rev. Jonathan Edwards. In 1739, George Whitefield, who had spent four months in Georgia, and who had returned to England for full ordination as a presbyter in the Established Church there, came again to these shores, and after preaching to immense congregations in Philadelphia and New York, went to Savannah, to enter upon the living to which he had been presented by the Trustees of Georgia. The pastors of Boston were greatly impressed by what they heard of his remarkable endowments and great success as a preacher of the gospel, and were anxious that he should visit New England; and Dr. Colman and Mr. Cooper, the ministers of Brattle Street Church, endeavored to prepare the way for his coming by warmest commendation of himself and his work in a preface written by them to a sermon on the Character and Preaching of Mr. Whitefield, by the Rev. Josiah Smith, of Charleston, South Carolina.¹ In this preface it was said: As to the person referred to and named, "he is the wonder of the age; and no one man more employs the pens, and fills up the conversation of people, than he does at this day: none more admired and applauded by some, contemned and reproached by others: the common lot of the most excellent men the world has ever had to show!" Of his coming to Boston, and of the religious condition of the town at that time and during the twenty years immediately preceding,

¹ Mr. Smith preached a sermon in principles — which was printed in Boston in 1742 — Jesus Persecuted in His Dis- 1745.

we have an account by Mr. Prince, the substance of which we shall give, for the most part in his words.¹

Going back to the time of his return from Europe in 1717, Mr. Prince says: "On my said return, there were five congregational churches settled with pastors in this town, though now they are increased to five more. The pastors were Dr. Increase and Cotton Mather of the North Church; Mr. Wadsworth with Mr. Foxcroft chosen his colleague of the Old Church; Mr. Colman and Cooper of the Church in Brattle Street; Mr. Sewall of the South Church; and Mr. Webb of the New North: All most happily agreeing in the Doctrines of Grace, as laid down in the shorter and larger Catechisms and Confession of Faith, drawn out of Scripture by the venerable Assembly of Divines at Westminster, as well as the Confession of Faith agreed to by our New England Synods, and almost the same with the other. And this Town and Country were in great tranquility both civil and religious. But though there were many bright examples of piety in every seat and order; yet there was a general complaint among the pious and elderly persons, of the great decay of Godliness in the lives and conversations of people both in the town and land, from what they had seen in the days of their fathers. There was scarce a prayer made in public by the elder ministers without some heavy lamentation of this decay: In their sermons also they frequently mourned it: And the younger ministers commonly followed their example therein."

"In the spring of 1721, the eight ministers who carried on the public Lecture, taking into consideration the lamentable defect of piety among our young people, agreed to preach a course of sermons at the Lecture to them. The audiences were considerably crowded: And while the Word of God was loudly sounding, he lifted up his awful Rod, by sending the small-pox into the town, which began to spread to our general consternation: Scarce a quarter of the people being thought to have had it; and none of the numerous youth under eighteen years of age, it being so many years since that fatal pestilence had prevailed among us. The sermons were quickly printed, with another

¹ This narrative appears in the second volume of the *Christian History*, published in 1743 and 1744, "containing accounts of the revival and propagation of religion in Great Britain, America,"

etc. The idea of the publication originated with the Rev. Jonathan Edwards. The form was probably suggested by the *Weekly History of the Progress of the Gospel*, printed in London.

added by the venerable Dr. Increase Mather, for further benefit. Many of the younger people especially were then greatly awakened: And many hundreds of them quickly after swept into eternity.

"In the spring of 1722, the distemper left us: But so little reformed were the surviving youth, that at the end of the summer the pastors agreed to move their churches to keep in each successively a Day of Prayer and Fasting to ask of God the effusion of his Holy Spirit, particularly on the rising generation. And the churches readily received the motion. But though a solemnity appeared on many, yet it pleased the holy God to humble us and sparingly to give the blessing.

"And though in the spring of 1726, in an awakening view of the deplorable decay of Family-Religion, as a principal source of all other decays, the pastors went into a course of public lectures on that important subject; yet they had the further sorrow to see those lectures too thinly attended to expect much benefit from them.¹

"But after all our endeavours, both our security and degeneracy seemed in general to grow, 'till the night after the Lord's Day, October 29. 1727; when the glorious God arose and fearfully shook the earth through all these countries. By terrible things in righteousness he began to answer us, as the God of our Salvation.

"On the next morning a very full assembly met at the North Church for the proper exercises on so extraordinary an occasion. At five in the evening a crowded concourse assembled at the Old Church; and multitudes unable to get in, immediately flowed to the South, and in a few minutes filled that also. At Lieutenant Governor Dummer's motion, who was then our Commander in Chief, the Thursday of the same week was kept as a Day of extraordinary Fasting and Prayer in all the churches in Boston; not merely to intreat for sparing mercy, but also to implore the Grace and Spirit of God to come down and help us

¹ The several subjects in this course of lectures were these: Dr. Cotton Mather, Job viii. 6, on Household Piety in general; Mr. Colman, 2 Sam. vi. 20, on Family Worship; Mr. Thacher, Gen. xviii. 19, on Family Instruction; Mr. Sewall, 1 Sam. iii. 13, on Family Government; Mr. Prince, Lev. xxiii. 3, on Family Sabbatizing; Mr. Webb, Psalm ci. 2, on Family Example; Mr. Cooper,

Ezek. xvi. 20, on Improving the Covenant relating to Children; Mr. Foxcroft, Col. iii. 18, 19, on Conjugal Duties; Mr. Checkley, Col. iii. 20, 22-24, on the Duties of Children and Servants; Mr. Waldron, Prov. xiv. 11, on the Character and Doom of Wicked Houses; Mr. Gee, Eccl. vii. 14, on Family Providences, especially afflictive, Improved. Mr. Sewall's sermon was preached May 12.

to a sincere repentance and returning to him. And as the Houses of public Worship were greatly crowded, the people were very attentive.

“The ministers endeavoured to set in with this extraordinary and awakening Work of God in Nature, and to preach his Word in the most awakening manner; to show the people the vast difference between conviction and conversion, between a forced reformation either in acts of piety, justice, charity, or sobriety, by the mere power of fear, and a genuine change of the very frame and relish of the heart by the supernatural efficacy of the Holy Spirit; to lead them on to true conversion and unfeigned faith in Christ, and to guard them against deceiving themselves.

“In all our congregations, many seemed to be awakened and reformed: And professing repentance of their sins and faith in Christ, entered into solemn covenant with God, and came into full communion with our several churches. In ours, within eight months after, were about eighty added to our communicants. But then comparatively few of these applied to me to discourse about their souls, ’till they came to offer themselves to the Communion, or afterwards: The most of those who came to me seemed to have passed through their convictions before their coming to converse with me about approaching to the Lord’s Table: though I doubt not but considerable numbers were at that time savingly converted.”¹

This awakened interest in spiritual concerns, however, did not long continue, and “a spiritual slumber seemed soon to seize the generality, even the wise as well as foolish virgins.” During the next three or four years there was a greater declension than ever, and so dissatisfied were the pastors of the town with the condition of things, that in the summer of 1734 they agreed to propose another course of days of prayer and fasting among their several congregations, to humble themselves before God for their unfruitfulness under the means of grace, and to ask the effusion of his Spirit to revive the power of Godliness among them, which the people “readily complied with and observed.”

The 20th of August was the day set apart for the purpose by the South Church;² “And though the sovereign God,” says Mr. Prince, “was pleased to give us now and then a sprinkling,

¹ Among those who joined the South Church at this time were the pastor’s daughter, Deborah Prince, and members of the families of Dawes, Kneeland, Alden, Green, Oliver, Franklin, Fleet, and Morse.

² See *ante*, p. 469. Both the pastors preached.

for which his Name be praised, yet the parching drought continued, and he made us wait for a larger effusion."

The pastors who were thus anxious and well-nigh discouraged about the spiritual life of their churches heard with the deepest interest of the work of grace "in the westerly parts of the country," — at Northampton and the adjacent towns, and in "the neighbouring colony of Connecticut." "The solemn rumour of that surprizing Work of God resounding through the country, was a special means of exciting great thoughtfulness of heart in many irreligious people; and great joy in others, both in the view of what the mighty power and grace of God had wrought, and in the hopeful prospect that this blessed Work begun would go on and spread throughout the land. And as this excited the extraordinary prayers of many, so it seemed to prepare the way in divers places for that more extensive revival of religion which in five years after followed." In the mean time, however, the general decay of piety in the town seemed to go on. At the South Church, while some applied for membership, a few only came to their ministers in concern about their souls; and it was the same in the other congregations.

But from the year 1738 the pastors had "received accounts of the Rev. Mr. Whitefield, as a very pious young minister of the Church of England, rising up in the spirit of the reformers, and preaching their doctrines first in England and then in America, with surprizing power and success," and there was a general desire that he should visit New England. He accepted, as soon as he was able, the invitation to come hither, and on Thursday evening, September 18, 1740, he arrived in Boston.

We learn from his journals that he was met four miles from the town, on the road to Bristol and Newport, by one of Governor Belcher's sons and other gentlemen, by whom he was conducted to the house of Mr. Staniford,¹ a brother-in-law of Dr. Colman. At the request of several ministers and others who had called upon him, he led their united devotions in thanksgiving for his safe arrival and prayer for a blessing on his labors. Among those who called the next morning was Mr. Josiah Willard, the secretary of the province, with whom he

¹ We suppose this to have been John Staniford, who owned five or six acres of land bounded by Bowdoin Square, Green Street, Chambers Street, and Cambridge Street, and an estate on what is now Tremont Row, near Howard Street. See the "*Gleaner*" Articles by N. I. Bowditch.

had been in correspondence for some time. Governor Belcher received him with the utmost respect, and requested frequent visits from him. He attended service at King's Chapel, and afterward had an interview with four or five ministers of the Church of England, who began to discourse, not on the moral and religious condition of the town, but on the validity of Presbyterian ordination, and to question him on some of the doctrines which he preached. He did not give them an opportunity to deny him their pulpits; it should be said, however, that they treated him with more civility than he had received from other ministers of his own church.¹ In the afternoon of the same day, as Mr. Prince tells us, Dr. Sewall and he made him a visit; "found several ministers and other gentlemen of the town with him, and that Dr. Colman and Mr. Cooper had engaged him to preach this afternoon in their House of public Worship: and in about an hour we went to the place which quickly crowded with two or three thousand people. He began with a short and fervent prayer: and after singing, took his text from John xvii. 2. ("As thou hast given him power over all flesh, that he should give eternal life to as many as thou hast given him.") Gave us a plain, weighty regular discourse: representing that all our learning and morality will

¹ For an account of Mr. Whitefield's visit to New England from an Episcopalian point of view, see Foote's *Annals of King's Chapel*, vol. i. pp. 503-514. The letters of Dr. Cutler, of Christ Church, could have been written only by one who had been born, brought up, and ordained in the Congregational body, and then had gone over to another denomination. Mr. Commissary Price's sermon on Mr. Whitefield was not unlike the generality of the preaching about him in the English Church at home at the time. On the other hand, Mr. Foote points out that when Mr. Whitefield came to Boston in 1747, he visited Mr. Isaac Royall, a worshipper at King's Chapel, at his residence in Charlestown; and that when he died at Newburyport, in 1770, the Rev. Edward Bass, afterward bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Massachusetts, was one of the pall-bearers.

The journals show that in 1740 Mr. Whitefield passed a night (October 10) at Mr. Royall's, "a young rich man,"

This was at the mansion in Medford, then a part of Charlestown, which Mr. Royall had just inherited, with a large fortune, from his father. In 1740 he was about twenty-one years of age. On his mother's side he was a descendant of Jacob Eliot, one of the founders and first deacons of the South Church. His grandfather, Asaph Eliot, owned the covenant there in 1679, and his mother, Elizabeth Royall, became a member in 1707. He was a man of high character and devout spirit. He was perplexed as to his duty at the time of the Revolution, but was prevailed upon to adhere to the cause of the Crown, and he left the country, to which he was much attached, never to return. "While he was known to have much in common with the little band of loyalists who were gathered about Boston and Cambridge, yet he was still faithful to the people's church, and most of his family ties held him to the popular cause." — *The New England Royalls*, by Edw. D. Harris, p. 23.

never save us ; and without an experimental knowledge of God in Christ we must perish in hell forever. He spake as became the Oracles of God, in demonstration of the Spirit and of power. And especially when he came to his application, he addressed himself to the audience in such a tender, earnest and moving manner, exciting us to come and be acquainted with the dear Redeemer, as melted the assembly into tears.

"Next morning, at Dr. Sewall's and my desire," continues Mr. Prince, "he preached at the South Church to further acceptance. He spake with a mighty sense of God, eternity, the immortality and preciousness of the souls of his hearers, of their original corruption, and of the extreme danger the unregenerate are in ; with the nature and absolute necessity of regeneration by the Holy Ghost ; and of believing in Christ, in order to our pardon, justification, yielding an acceptable obedience and obtaining salvation from hell and an entrance into heaven. His doctrine was plainly that of the reformers : Declaring against putting our good works or morality in the room of Christ's Righteousness, or their having any hand in our justification, or being indeed pleasing to God while we are totally unsanctified, acting from corrupt principles, and unreconciled enemies to him : which occasioned some to mistake him as if he opposed morality. But he insisted on it, that the tree of the heart is by original sin exceedingly corrupted, and must be made good by regeneration, that so the fruits proceeding from it may be good likewise ; that where the heart is renewed, it ought and will be careful to maintain good works ; that if any be not habitually so careful, who think themselves renewed, they deceive their own souls ; and even the most improved in holiness, as well as others, must entirely depend on the Righteousness of Christ for the acceptance of their persons and services. And though now and then he dropped some expressions that were not so accurate and guarded as we should expect from aged and long studied ministers ; yet I had the satisfaction to observe his readiness with great modesty and thankfulness to receive correction as soon as offered."

On Sunday morning Mr. Whitefield attended service at Brattle Street and listened to Dr. Colman. In the afternoon he preached "to a very thronged auditory, and with great and visible effect, at Mr. Foxcroft's meeting house." Immediately after, he addressed twelve or fifteen thousand people on the Common. On Monday morning he preached at the New North,

Mr. Webb's; and in the afternoon he went to the New South, Mr. Checkley's, but a panic had struck the great congregation there, and when he arrived he found it in terrible confusion. There was no real cause for alarm; but in their haste to escape from the building some threw themselves from the windows, others from the galleries, many were trodden upon, and five persons were killed.¹ Mr. Whitefield adjourned the service to the Common, where, although the weather was wet, several thousands listened to him. On Tuesday he went to Roxbury, accompanied by Dr. Colman and Mr. Secretary Willard, to see Mr. Walter, the colleague and successor of John Eliot;² on his return he dined with the secretary, and preached in the Second Church, Mr. Gee's, "but not to a very crowded auditory," because the people were in doubt as to where he was to preach; later he had "a thronged auditory" at the South Church, and after this he exhorted and prayed, as he did every day, at his lodgings.

Wednesday was spent at Cambridge, "the Chief college for training up the sons of the prophets in all New England." The record of this visit led to important results, and we give the account as first written and published by Mr. Whitefield: "It is scarce as big as one of our least colleges at Oxford; and, as far as I could gather from some who well knew the state of it, not far superior to our universities in piety and true godliness. Tutors neglect to pray with and examine the hearts of their pupils. Discipline is at a low ebb. Bad books are becoming fashionable among them. Tillotson and Clark are read, instead of Shepard, Stoddard, and such like evangelical writers; and, therefore, I chose to preach from those words — 'We are not as many, who corrupt the word of God;' and, in the conclusion of my sermon, I made a close application to tutors and students. A great number of neighbouring ministers attended, as indeed they do at all other times, and God gave me great freedom and boldness of speech. The President of the College [Mr. Holyoke³] and minister of the parish [Mr. Appleton] treated me

¹ Dr. Sewall says: "There was a vast Assembly at Mr. Checkley's, to hear him; but were thrown into great Confusion from a groundless imagination that the Gallery gave way. Several were trod to death as the Crowd press'd out of the House, 3 died almost presently, 2 since of their Wounds. I think a Lad jump'd

out of the Window, and was kill'd by the Fall. Others were grievously wounded."

² Mr. Walter met him afterward at the governor's table, and complimented him by calling one of his sermons *Puritanismus redivivus*.

³ President Holyoke, in his Convention sermon, May 28, 1741, said: "And

very civilly. In the afternoon I preached again in the College Yard with particular application to the students. I believe there were seven thousand hearers. The Holy Spirit melted many hearts." While at Cambridge he paid his respects to the lieutenant-governor, Spencer Phips.

On Thursday Mr. Whitefield preached the lecture in Dr. Sewall's place at the First Church, and afterward dined at the governor's with most of the Boston pastors. His journal says: "Before dinner, the governor sent for me up into his chamber. He wept, wished me good success in the name of the Lord, and recommended himself, ministers and people, to my prayers. Immediately after dinner, at the governor's motion, I prayed explicitly for them all." The governor sent him in his carriage to the ferry at the north end of the town, where he crossed to Charlestown and preached there. On Friday he preached at Roxbury, and later in the day spoke from a scaffold erected outside Mr. Byles's meeting-house in Hollis Street.¹ On Saturday he preached in the morning at Mr. Welstead's, and in the afternoon on the Common, both times with very great effect. He dined this day with Colonel Wendell.

On Sunday morning he preached at the South Church, on the story of Zaccheus, "to a very crowded auditory, with almost as much power and visible appearance of God among us as yesterday in the afternoon," and collected about five hundred and fifty pounds currency for his orphan house in Georgia. He was

though religion is still in fashion with us, yet it is evident that the power of it is greatly decayed. Indeed, those two pious and valuable men of God, [Mr. Whitefield and Mr. Tennent,] who have been labouring more abundantly among us, have been greatly instrumental, in the hands of God, to revive this blessed work; and many, no doubt, have been savingly converted from the error of their ways, many more have been convicted, and all have been in some measure roused from their lethargy. But the power of religion had been greatly weakened, and hath for a long time been too much in show and profession only." Referring to criticisms upon the college, he said: "I can, from my own examination of things, assure this venerable assembly that that society hath not deserved the aspersions which have of late

been made upon it, either as to the principles there prevalent, or the books there read; and though such as have given out a disadvantageous report of us in these respects, I doubt not, have done it in a godly jealousy for the Churches of Christ, that are to be supplied from us, yet, blessed be God, they are at least mistaken herein; nor has that society been in so happy a state as to these things, from the time that I was first acquainted with the principles there, which must be allowed to be the space of four or five and thirty years at least, as it is at this day."

¹ In his journal he says that he spent Friday evening with several ministers at Mr. H——n's. This was probably at Mr. Henchman's; he was one of the deacons of the South Church, and lived in Court Street, near Tremont.

taken very ill after dinner, but was able to preach at Brattle Street, where he collected four hundred and seventy pounds. "In both places, all things were carried, on with great decency and order. People went slowly out, as though they had not a mind to escape giving; and Dr. Colman said it was the pleasantest time he had ever enjoyed in that meeting-house through the whole course of his life." After sermon he felt refreshed, supped early, had an affectionate visit from the governor, preached to a great number of negroes, at their request, and with great effect, on the story of the Ethiopian eunuch, and on his return to his lodgings exhorted the crowd which was awaiting his arrival.

Early on Monday morning, September 29, he left Boston on an excursion to the eastward. He preached at Marblehead, Salem, Ipswich, Newbury, Hampton, Portsmouth, and York. At the last-named place he saw the venerable Samuel Moody, whom he had been anxious to meet. On his return, he spent the Sunday at Salem, where he preached twice, and in the Episcopal church read prayers and assisted at the sacrament. On Tuesday he preached "with much power," both morning and evening, at Brattle Street, and on Wednesday, morning and evening, at the New North. Here "there was more of the presence of God through the whole ministration than ever he had known at one time through the whole course of his life." On Thursday he preached the lecture at the South Church.¹ He had chosen another text, but it was much impressed on his heart that he should preach from our Lord's conference with Nicodemus. A great number of ministers were present; and when he came to the words "Art thou a master in Israel, and knowest not these things?" he says: "The Lord enabled me to open my mouth boldly against unconverted ministers; to caution tutors to take care of their pupils; and also to advise ministers particularly to examine into the experiences of candidates for ordination. For I am verily persuaded the generality of preachers talk of an unknown and unfelt Christ; and the reason why congregations have been so dead is, because they have had dead men preaching to them."² In the afternoon he ad-

¹ On this Thursday there were two services; Mr. Webb preached at the usual place, and Mr. Whitefield at the South Church. Dr. Sewall says: Oct. 7. "Mr. Whitefield preached . . . in our meeting-house, while Mr. Webb,

whose was the Lecture, preach'd in the Old, So great were the Numbers. P. M. in the Common."

² He dined again this day with the governor, who told one of the ministers present, who had lately begun to preach

dressed another immense audience on the Common. On Friday he preached at Charlestown and at Reading, and on Saturday at Cambridge, from the meeting-house steps, to a great body of people, who stood very attentively, though it rained, and at the latter part of the sermon were much affected. The subject was "Noah, the eighth person, a preacher of righteousness."¹

The morning of Sunday, October 12, was spent in conversing with those who came for spiritual advice. He then preached with great power and affection at the South Church, which was so exceedingly thronged that he was obliged to enter at one of the windows. His text was Jer. xxxiii. 6, "And this is his name whereby he shall be called, The Lord our Righteousness."² "He dined with the governor, who came to him after dinner, weeping, and desired his prayers. He heard Dr. Sewall in the afternoon [on Isai. xlvi. 17, 18]. He was sick during and after the exercises, but went with the governor in his coach, and preached his farewell sermon on the Common to near thirty thousand people. Great numbers melted into tears when he spoke of leaving them. The governor then went with him to his lodgings. He stood in the passage and spoke to a great company, both within and without the doors; but they were so deeply affected, and cried out so loud, that he was obliged to

extempore, that he was very glad he had found out a way to save his eyes.

¹ Mr. Secretary Willard wrote to him soon after: "Mr. Webb tells me that divers young men in this town, who are candidates for the ministry, have been brought under deep convictions by your preaching, and (as he hopes) are carried off from the foundation of their false hopes (their own righteousness) to rest only on Christ for salvation." Dr. Colman wrote: "At Cambridge the College is a new creature; the students full of God, and like to come out blessings in their generations, and to be so now to each other."

² "Nor was it so much the theology of the sermons as the spirit of the preacher which won the people's ear and heart. Love is more than theology, both with God and man, and that was never absent from any sermon of Whitefield. Congregations had no time to settle down upon his theological mistakes, and find

fault with them. Before the questioner had well begun to consider what hope of acceptance with God any one durst cherish, if the atonement was only for the elect, his soul was called to repent and believe; for Whitefield was too wise at winning souls to leave his 'application' to the last: he would put an application to every paragraph rather than fail in getting practical results. In his sermon on 'The Lord our Righteousness' he rushes straight in among his hearers' doubts and troubles—doubts and troubles which his own rebukes and pleadings have created, and exclaims, 'Who knows but the Lord may have mercy on, nay, abundantly pardon you? Beg of God to give you faith; and, if the Lord gives you that, you will by it receive Christ with His righteousness and His all. You need not fear the greatness or the number of your sins.'"—Gledstone's *Life and Travels of George Whitefield*, pp. 346, 347.

leave off praying. The governor was highly pleased to see the power of God. The remainder of the evening was mostly spent in conversation with inquirers." It was at the close of the record of this memorable day that the great preacher summed up in his journal his general impressions of Boston : —

Boston is a large populous place, very wealthy ; has the form kept up very well, but has lost much of the power of religion. I have not heard of any remarkable stir in it for these many years. Ministers and people are obliged to confess, that the love of many is waxed cold. Both, for the generality, seem too much conformed to the world. There is much of the pride of life to be seen in their assemblies. Jewels, patches and gay apparel are commonly worn by the female sex. Little boys and girls I observed commonly dressed up in the pride of life ; and the little infants that were brought to baptism, were wrapped up in such fine things, and so much pains taken to dress them, that one would think they were brought thither to be initiated into, rather than renounce, the pomps and vanities of this wicked world. . . . One thing Boston is remarkable for, — the external observation of the Sabbath. Men in civil offices have a regard for religion. The governor encourages them, and the ministers and magistrates seem to be more united, than in any other place where I have been. Both were exceedingly civil to me during my stay. I never saw so little scoffing ; never had so little opposition. But one might easily foresee, much would hereafter arise, when I come to be more particular in my application to particular persons ; for, I fear, many rest in a head-knowledge, are close Pharisees, and having only a name to live. . . . Boston people are dear to my soul. They were greatly affected by the word, followed night and day, and were very liberal to my dear orphans. I promised, God willing, to visit them again, and intend to fulfil my promise when it shall please God to bring me again from my native country. In the mean while, dear Boston adieu. The Lord be with thy ministers and people, and grant that the remnant that is left according to the election of grace, may take root downwards, and bear fruit upwards, and fill the land.¹

Dr. Sewall wrote in his diary : —

Oct. 13. He left the Town. It is wonderful to behold a young man (about 26) Preaching thus twice a Day, with great earnestness, the Gospel of Christ. Many, partly among the Youth, seem to be affected. O let good Impressions be fix'd, and issue in a sound

¹ In preparing this account of Mr. *field, M. A.*, by Robert Philip ; *The Whitefield's first visit to Boston we* *Great Awakening*, by Joseph Tracy ; and have consulted his *Journals*, also *The The Life and Travels of George White-* *Life and Times of the Rev. George White-* *field, M. A.*, by James P. Gledstone.

Conversion. Let not our Goodness be as the morning cloud! O God, humble and quicken me! Enable me, thy Ministers, thy people, to Improve aright this extraordinary Dispensation! O revive thy work among us! Save thy people! I hope some of Mr. W.'s discourses were very affecting to me. O Lord, teach me, thy People, to profit!

Dr. Colman wrote to Mr. Parsons, then of Lyme, "We have had a week of Sabbaths."

Mr. Prince, two or three years later, thus spoke of Mr. Whitefield's going away: "As far as I could then see or learn, he parted in the general esteem and love both of ministers and people; and this seemed to continue 'till the Journal of his travels in New England came abroad, wherein some passages offended many, and occasioned their reflections on him."

What these "reflections on him" were we shall see in connection with his next visit to Boston. He himself was afterward brought to comprehend and frankly to acknowledge what a serious mistake he had made in recording his opinions upon such slight personal acquaintance with the country and the people, and, of course, largely on hearsay testimony, and, still more, in publishing them. He was not the last visitor to these shores, however, to err in the same way. It should be remembered in his defence, that at the time of this visit he had not completed his twenty-sixth year, and that he had met with a reception in New England which was enough to turn the head of a man many years older.

When he left Boston on Monday morning, on his way to Northampton, to see Mr. Edwards, Governor Belcher took him in his carriage to the ferry, embraced him, and with tears bade him farewell. But this did not satisfy the governor; he drove the next day to Marlborough, met the great preacher there, and accompanied him to Worcester. On finally parting with him he said privately, "Mr. Whitefield, go on in stirring up the ministers; for reformation must begin at the house of God: and do not spare rulers, no, not the chief of them, any more than ministers." He asked him to pray for him, that he might hunger and thirst after righteousness, and again took leave of him with tears. "I have often thought," says one of his biographers, the Rev. Robert Philip, "whilst reviewing the sweeping and severe invectives which Whitefield so bitterly repented, that no small part of the blame lay at the governor's door. A charge like this, uttered with tears and entreaties, was enough to mis-

lead a cooler man than George Whitefield. I must, therefore, say of it what he said of his own conduct, 'It was well meant, but it did hurt.' To his credit for impartiality, it should be added that he did not spare the governor himself, but before leaving New England thus wrote to him: "I thought your excellency wanted a more clear view of your own vileness, and of the all-sufficiency of Jesus Christ. I mean a more experimental view: for what is all head-knowledge, without that of the heart? It only settles people more upon their lees. May God give you to see and to follow the simplicity of the blessed Jesus! Honoured Sir, I make no apology for this freedom; your excellency bade me not spare rulers — no not the chief of them."¹ This plainness of speech did not displease Governor Belcher, who loved him almost as a son, and the two were afterward to meet on intimate terms in New Jersey.²

The religious interest in Boston did not abate on the departure of Mr. Whitefield. "Great numbers in the town were so happily concerned about their souls" as had never been seen there before, except at the time of the earthquake in 1727. The people wanted to hear their ministers more than ever, and "the assemblies both on Sabbaths and Lectures were surprizingly increased." It was decided to set up a public Lecture "at Dr. Colman's Church, near the midst of the town, on every Tuesday evening. Lord's-Day afternoon, October 19, public notice was there given of the proposed Lecture to be on Tuesday Evening following: which the religious people in general received with so much joy, that when the evening came, the House seemed to be crowded as much as if Mr. Whitefield was there. It was the first stated Evening Lecture in these parts of the world: and the venerable Dr. Colman began it with a most suitable and

¹ He was no more stern in dealing with the governor than with himself. Only a few days before, he had written in his journal: "Went in his [the governor's] coach to the end of the town, but had such a sense of my vileness upon my soul, that I wondered people did not stone me."

² Of Mr. Whitefield's preaching at Northampton Mr. Edwards said: "The congregation was extraordinarily melted by every sermon; almost the whole assembly being in tears for a great part of sermon time. Mr. Whitefield's sermons were suitable to the circumstances

of the town; containing just reproofs of our backslidings, and in a most moving and affecting manner, making use of our great profession and great mercies as arguments with us to return to God, from whom we had departed. Immediately after this, the minds of the people in general appeared more engaged in religion, showing a greater forwardness to make religion the subject of their conversation, and to meet frequently together for religious purposes, and to embrace all opportunities to hear the word preached." — *Christian History*, vol. i. p. 367.

moving sermon, forthwith printed." The text was, "Who are these that fly as a cloud, and as the doves to their windows?" In opening, the excellent pastor, speaking for his brethren and himself, said :—

Our dear people, your ministers have with pleasure seen you in the weeks past, old and young, parents and children, masters and servants, high and low, rich and poor together, gathering and passing as clouds in our streets, and as doves on the wing in flocks flying to the doors and windows of our places of worship ; and hovering about the same, those that could not get in.

The fame of a singular fervent and holy youth, and extraordinary servant and minister of Jesus Christ, (who makes his angels spirits, and his ministers a flame of fire,) had prepared you for his visit ; and with raised expectations we received him, even as an angel of God for Jesus sake ; as the apostle St. Paul was received by the churches in Galatia.

God gave him a wonderful manner of entrance among us, just as in other places before us, among the brethren of our denomination ; and we were sometimes melted together in tears, ministers and people, parents and children, under the commanding addresses of love to his Saviour and our souls. We led you with a visible pleasure in our faces to the solemn and great assemblies, and looked on you there with great satisfaction, in your uncommon regards to the beloved servant of Christ, for the truth's sake that dwelleth in him, and the love of the Spirit filling him, and reigning in his ministrations to us.

And now our beloved brethren and sisters, you and your children, we are going to prove, confirm and increase, by the will of God, the seeming good dispositions begun or revived in you, toward Christ and his word, in a just and reasonable pious care and solicitude for your salvation.

On Tuesday evening, October 28, Dr. Sewall preached in the same place, from Ezek. xi. 19, 20. "The House was then also greatly crowded with attentive hearers : and so it continued to be on these Lectures for many months after."

Novr. 2. 1740

The Brethren of the Church and Congregation stay'd and Voted as follows, viz ;

I. That forty six pounds be given out of the Collection for charitable and pious uses, to the Poor of this Church and Congregation, to supply them with Wood and other Necessaries.

II. That there be given out of said collection, To the Revd Mr. Richard Pierce 10 pounds to encourage him to continue Preaching the Gospel at Dartmouth.

III. To the Revd. Mr. Timothy White 10 pounds towards his Support in Preaching the Gospel in Nantucket.

IV. To the Revd. Mr. Ezra Carpenter 5 pounds towards his Support in Preaching the Gospel in Hull.

V. The Remainder 5*l.* 9*s.* 5*d.* to be distributed in Books of Piety by our Pastors to proper objects of such a Charity.

JOSEPH SEWALL.

On the 29th of November, the House of Representatives, "taking into consideration the many tokens of Divine displeasure upon this Province, and more especially the pressing difficulties which have long attended and do still attend the publick affairs thereof, and which are likely to increase upon us, unless the Government be led into some measures for the speedy remedy thereof," asked the governor to appoint a day of fasting and prayer to be solemnized by the General Court, "as well for themselves as in behalf of the people of this Province." The council concurred, and the governor appointed Wednesday, December 3, at eleven o'clock in the forenoon, for a service to be held in the council chamber.¹ Dr. Sewall preached, taking his text from Jonah iii. 10, — Nineveh's Repentance and Deliverance. In the application of his subject, the doctor spoke very plainly to his distinguished audience: —

"Let the Lord's Day," he said, "be strictly observ'd ; for God hath set the Sabbath as a sign between him and his people, that he is the Lord who sanctifieth them. Let the most effectual means also be used that the great abuse of taverns may be reformed ; that these be not converted into tippling and gaming houses for town-dwellers, to the dishonour of God and hurt of the Common-Wealth. Let the fountains of justice be kept open and pure, that judgment may run down as waters ; and that such as thirst after righteousness may come freely and be refreshed. And whereas the present difficulties which embarrass our affairs, do very much arise from the want of a suitable medium of trade, and different apprehensions in the Legislature about supplying the Treasury, whereby the publick debts are, in part at least, left unpaid, and the country naked and defenceless, in this day of calamity and war: I can't but humbly apprehend, that this awful frown of Providence calls aloud to you further to consider, whether there has not been great injustice and oppression with relation to the Bills of Publick Credit which have pass'd among us, from their sinking and uncertain value ; and to use your best endeavours that whatever Bills shall pass for time to come in lieu of money, may be a just medium

¹ A similar service was held December 10, 1736.

of exchange ; for a *false balance is abomination to the Lord ; but a just weight is his delight.* Prov xi. 1. Whatever methods may be propos'd to extricate us out of our present distress, justice and equity must be laid in the foundation ; or we may expect that the Lord who loves righteousness and hates wickedness, will confound our devices, and bring them to nought. But then, I presume not in the least measure to determine whether this or that way is right. May that God before whom all things are open and naked, direct your Excellency and the whole Court, into such paths of righteousness as shall lead to our deliverance and safety ; that we may neither oppress one another, nor become a prey to an insulting enemy ! May you be fill'd with the most tenderly and fatherly compassion for your people, under the present distress and danger, and do all you can to relieve them ! And if there should be a difference in your opinion about the way, may you be enabled to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace, that the God of peace may be with you, who has promis'd to guide the meek in judgment !"¹

A vote of thanks to the preacher was passed in the council, and was concurred in by the House, and a copy of his sermon was requested for publication. The committee on the part of the council, — John Osborne and Ezekiel Lewis, — as well as the secretary who attested the vote and the governor who approved it, were members of his church.²

On the 13th of December, the Rev. Gilbert Tennent, of New Jersey, whose preaching had aroused multitudes and been the means of bringing many into the church, arrived in Boston, and began his labors on the next day, being Sunday, at the New North, preaching morning and afternoon. Mr. Prince says : "He did not indeed at first come up to my expectation ; but afterwards exceeded it." "He seemed to have no regard to please the eyes of his hearers with agreeable gesture, nor their

¹ [Dr. Sewall had preached on the currency question at the Thursday Lecture, in December of the year before. Judge Lynde says :—

1739. Dec. 6. "Fair. Dr. Sewall preached about acco. of Emission ; dined at Mr. Lewis's." — Lynde *Diaries*, p. 160.

Palfrey says : "Throughout the administration of Governor Belcher, the finances of the Province were in an extremely discouraging condition. The temptation to make a fictitious currency, and to defer the times for payment, was such as in like circumstances is always

felt in prodigious strength. However doubtful the legal right of the British government to interfere, there is no doubt of the disastrous tendency of the course which the Province was disposed to pursue." — *History of N. Eng.*, vol. iv. pp. 548, 549. The paper currency had depreciated seventy-five per cent.]

² The winter of 1740–41 was a severe one, and to mitigate the sufferings of the poor of the town, collections were taken in February, in all the congregations. The amount collected at the South Church was £105.

ears with delivery, nor their fancy with language ; but to aim directly at their hearts and consciences, to lay open their ruinous delusions, shew them their numerous, secret, hypocritical shifts in religion, and drive them out of every deceitful refuge wherein they made themselves easy, with the form of godliness without the power. And many who were pleased in a good conceit of themselves before, now found, to their great distress, they were only self-deceived hypocrites. And though while the discovery was making, some at first raged, as they have owned to me and others ; yet in the progress of the discovery many were forced to submit ; and then the power of God so broke and humbled them, that they wanted a further and even a thorough discovery ; they went to hear him, that the secret corruptions and delusions of their hearts might be more discovered ; and the more searching the sermon, the more acceptable it was to their anxious minds.”¹

Mr. Tennent spent more than two months in Boston and the neighborhood. He preached his farewell sermon in the Brattle Street meeting-house, on Monday, March 2, 1741, “to an auditory extremely crowded, very attentive and much affected.” His text was Acts xi. 23, “And exhorted them all, that with purpose of heart they would cleave unto the Lord.” “It was an affectionate parting, and as great numbers of all conditions and ages appeared awakened by him, there seemed to be a general sadness at his going away.”

“And now,” continues Mr. Prince, “was such a time as we never knew. The Rev. Mr. Cooper was wont to say, that more came to him in one week in deep concern about their souls, than in the whole twenty-four years of his preceding ministry. I can also say the same as to the numbers who repaired to me. By Mr. Cooper’s Letter to his friend in Scotland, it appears, he has had about six hundred persons in three months time : and Mr. Webb informs me, he has had in the same space above a thousand.”

“The people seemed to love to hear us more than ever.” The Tuesday evening Lecture at Brattle Street was not sufficient, and it was decided to open another Lecture on Friday evenings at the South Church. We quote now from the records :—

¹ Dr. Sewall says : Tuesday, “Jan. There were Notes for about 54 under 20. I preach’d the Evening Lecture from Conviction. . . . Besides several young John 16. 8. Reprove the world of Sin. Children concerned for their Souls.”

April 12. 1741.

The Brethren of the Church and Congregation stay'd and Voted —

That there be a weekly Evening Lecture opened by our Pastors, on Friday next, while it shall please God to continue the Desire, which at present is manifested by great numbers to hear the Word of God.

Voted, That there be another public Collection for charitable and pious uses on the Anniversary Fast, April 23. Current ; And that the Congregation be notified of this Vote the next Lords-Day, and be desired to assist in the said Collection.

April 23 Collected 94*l.* 10. 0, of which was appropriated,

To the fund for charitable and pious uses, . 5. 0. 0.

To the Rev. Mr. Pierce of Dartmouth, . 1. 10. 0.

JOSEPH SEWALL.

Dr. Sewall preached on Friday evening, April 17, from Job xvi. 8: "And thou hast filled me with wrinkles, which is a witness against me: and my leanness rising up in me beareth witness to my face." He preached three other discourses from the same text, and the four were printed, with a preface, in which he said: —

It hath pleased the sovereign and gracious God, in whose hand our times are, to ordain that we should live under some peculiar advantages for our precious souls. For to the ordinary means, we have super-added the manifestation of the Spirit, in extraordinary works of grace. We have lately heard glad tidings from one place and another, that many are enquiring the way to Zion, with their faces thitherward; and some are declaring what God hath done for their souls. Yea, God hath brought this work home to our own doors, and we hear many crying out, What must we do to be saved! And there are a number hopefully rejoicing in God's salvation. Of such a season as this it may well be said, I have heard thee in a time accepted, and in the day of salvation have I succoured thee: Behold, now is the accepted time; Behold now is the day of salvation. I hope God's people are reaping the fruit of their prayers, particularly on extraordinary days of fasting observed with an especial view to this great blessing, the plentiful effusion of the holy Spirit. O there's great reason to fear that another like season will never, never return upon you.

Soon after, another lecture, every Tuesday and Friday evening, was opened at the New North, so that "three of the most capacious Houses of public Worship in town" were in use for this purpose;¹ "besides the ancient Lecture every Thursday

¹ Referring to Brattle Street, the Old South, and the New North, Mr. Prince says, "The least of which I suppose will hold three thousand people." The capacity of these meeting-houses could not have been very closely calculated.

noon, at the Old Church." "Nor were the people satisfied with all these Lectures: But as private societies for religious exercises, both of younger and elder persons, both of males and females by themselves, in several parts of the town, now increased to a much greater number than ever, viz. to near the number of thirty, meeting on Lord's-Day, Monday, Wednesday and Thursday evenings; so the people were constantly employing the ministers to pray and preach at those societies, as also at many private houses where no formed society met; and such numbers flocked to hear us as greatly crowded them, as well as more than usually filled our Houses of public Worship both on Lords-Days and Lectures, especially Evening Lectures for about a twelvemonth after."

As to the South Church, says its pastor: "Within six months from the end of January 1740-1, were three score joined to our communicants: the greater part of whom gave a more exact account of the work of the Spirit of God on their souls in effectual calling, as described in the Westminster Assembly's Shorter Catechism, than I was wont to meet with before: besides many others I could not but have charity for, who refrained from coming to the Table of Christ for want of a satisfying view of the work of renovation in them. Mr. Tennent being so exceeding strict in cautioning people from running into churches, taking the sacred Covenant, and receiving the Lord's Supper the seal thereof, 'till they had saving grace; that diverse brought to very hopeful dispositions, yea, some I doubt not, to embrace the Saviour in all his offices, were through fear and darkness kept from coming into full communion. Or otherwise, many more I believe, would have entered; who had they the like experiences a year before, I doubt not would have readily offered themselves, and we should have as readily received them, and would now, as some of the most hopeful Christians. So far did Mr. Tennent's awakening ministry shake their hopes and hinder them, that those whom I apprehended to be thirsty, and thought myself obliged to encourage, I found the impressions of his preaching had discouraged. Yea, some who had been in full communion were made so suspicious of themselves, as to refrain partaking; and I had no small pains to remove their scruples." ¹

¹ The whole number received into the membership during the year ended March, 1742, was sixty-nine. This was not equalled and surpassed until the year 1827. Twenty-one owned the covenant in 1741, many more than in any

"In this year 1741," says Mr. Prince, "the very face of the town seemed to be strangely altered." And writing to Dr. Isaac Watts, in the autumn of the same year, Dr. Colman said: "Thanks be to God, in our Province the impressions of religion grow and increase in a happy, wise, sedate manner, such as gives a joyous prospect relating to the next generation, that our young ones will be wise, grave devout parents to their children. I know not how to admire the pleasant gracious work of God: our Lectures flourish, our Sabbaths are joyous, our churches increase, our ministers have new life and spirit in their work."¹ We have similar testimony from a prominent layman. Mr. Secretary Willard wrote as follows to Mr. Whitefield: "There has been so evidently the finger of God, in directing you into this Province, and (after your departure) the Rev. Mr. Tennent, through your earnest and importunate request to him, and in the wonderful success that has attended both his and your ministry, as also the labours of our own ministers for some months past, that many that like not the work are sadly put to it, to keep their eyes shut against the evidences of it."²

There had been a terrible fire in Charleston, South Carolina; three hundred houses in the best part of the town had been destroyed, and a cry for help reached the Northern communities.

year since that time. Among them was Thomas Prince, Jr., who was, no doubt, one of those to whom his father referred as prepared for full membership, but held back from asking for it by the discouraging character of Mr. Tennent's preaching. This young man edited and published the *Christian History*, under his father's supervision, and evidently took the deepest interest in the advance of the kingdom of Christ in the world. He died, much lamented, September 30, 1748, aged twenty-six. He graduated at Harvard College in 1740, and in the catalogue his name stands first in the list. The class had twenty-two members, and among them were Samuel Adams, the Revolutionary patriot, George Bethune, Benjamin Stevens, and Samuel Langdon, president of Harvard College from 1774 to 1780.

The Rev. Mr. Prince's opinion on qualification for full membership and

participation in the communion was as follows: "It seems to me that where there is a thirst for Christ and his spiritual benefits, that thirst is raised by the Spirit of Christ: And in raising such a thirst, he qualifies for them, shows his readiness to satiate it, invites, requires, and gives sufficient grounds for coming to him at these Pipes of Living Waters; though we may'nt be sure whether this thirst arises from a renewed heart or no: And thither therefore should we come with a humble sense of our emptiness and unworthiness, and with our thirsty souls reaching forth to Him, to receive from his open, offered and overflowing fulness. If I am mistaken, I desire to see it."

¹ Mr. Prince's narrative of the Revivals from which we have quoted, is to be found in the *Christian History*, vol. ii. pp. 374-400.

² Whitefield's *Journal*.

At a Meeting of the South Church and Congregation, May 20. 1741.

Upon reading the Brief emitted by His Excellency the Governour with the advice of His Majesty's Council, for Exciting to a charitable Contribution, for the necessitous sufferers by the late dreadful Fire in Charlestown, South Carolina ;

Voted,

That there be a public Collection on the Lord's Day, the 31st of this Instant May, to be put into the Hands of Francis Foxcroft, Jacob Wendell and Anthony Stoddard Esqrs. and invested in such Things as the Governour and Council shall judge to be most for the service and relief of the most necessitous Sufferers by the late fire in Charlestown : And to be transmitted to Messrs. Benjamin Savage, Thomas Cooper and Joseph Moody, of said Charlestown, Merchants, to Distribute according to their best Discretion to the said necessitous Sufferers only.

JOSEPH SEWALL.

Soon after this, Governor Belcher was superseded in his high office by Governor Shirley. The position of a royal governor in Massachusetts was always a trying and difficult one ; there was a perpetual resistance on the part of the representatives of the people to the prerogative which it was his duty to maintain, and Mr. Belcher, with all his personal influence and popularity, succeeded no better in harmonizing the differences between the crown and the province than did some of those who had gone before him or who were to follow him. Palfrey admits that "the general course of his administration had been not otherwise than advantageous to the provinces which he governed." He had made bitter enemies in Massachusetts by his opposition to the Land Bank, and in New Hampshire, on a question of boundary ; while in London he was compromised by the circumstance that his brother-in-law, Richard Partridge, who sometimes acted as his agent there, was agent also of the friends of the Land Bank. Intrigues for his overthrow at court had long been in progress, and at length, by a combination of circumstances, they were successful.¹

¹ "Whilst Mr. Belcher, by his vigorous opposition to the Land Bank, was rendering himself obnoxious to one half the people of the province, measures were pursuing in England for his removal from the government. Besides the attempts which we have mentioned from New Hampshire, which had never been laid aside, there had always been a dis-

affected party in Massachusetts who had been using what interest they had in England against him. Lord Wilmington, President of the Council, the Speaker of the House of Commons, and Sir Charles Wager, First Lord of the Admiralty, all had a favorable opinion of Mr. Belcher. So had Mr. Holden, who was at the head of the dissenters in England, and all

Thomas Hutchinson, writing from London to Judge Lynde, at this time, said that several incidents had concurred to promote the ultimate success of these schemes; "but," he added, "I had it from Lord President's own mouth that Governor Belcher's security for some time had been his steady conduct in the affair of the money, and that his brother Partridge's patronizing the Land Bank when before the House of Commons had done his business."¹

The same authority, in his History, says:—

A few weeks' longer delay would have baffled all the schemes. The news arrived of his negating thirteen counsellors and displacing a great number of officers concerned in the Land Bank, and his zeal and fortitude were highly applauded when it was too late. Being in London at this time, I had opportunity of fully informing myself of these facts. Certainly, in public employments no man ought to be condemned from the reports and accusations of a party without a sufficient opportunity given him to exculpate himself, — a plantation governor especially, who, be he without guile or a consummate politician, will infallibly have a greater or lesser number disaffected to him.²

The following is an account by a participant in the proceed-

upon one occasion or another had appeared for him. The most unfair and indirect measures were used with each of these persons to render Mr. Belcher obnoxious and odious to them." — Hutchinson's *Hist. of Mass.*, vol. iii. pp. 355, 356.

The chief points of the intrigue against Governor Belcher have been thus summed up: "His enemies charged him, 1. With being friendly to the Land Bank scheme; 2. With having countenanced the waste of the king's timber; and 3. With contriving the ruin of the dissenting church in New England. The first charge was so far from being true that most of the opposition to his administration in Massachusetts arose from his decided opposition to the Land Bank. The second was equally false, and originated with the adherents of Dunbar, in New Hampshire, who sent a forged representation to London, using the names of J. Gilman, Joseph Lord, George Gerish, Peter Thing, and John Hall, of Exeter. The third had no better foundation, and was supported only by forged

anonymous letters addressed from Massachusetts to dissenting clergymen in England." — Jacob B. Moore, in *Am. Quarterly Register*, May, 1841.

Governor Belcher wrote to Henry Sherburne, July 20, 1741: "The change in this province was certainly the most surprising and unexpected to all my friends, being done soon after the most solemn and sacred promises to the contrary. But there is no faith in man, whose 'heart is deceitful above all things, and desperately wicked.' God alone is unchangeable, and there must thy trust be fixed." He also wrote to Dr. Watts, March 2, 1743: "If the late change that has passed over me from a glaring public station to an obscure private life may lead me to a more close communion with God, even to a life hid with Christ in God, happy, for ever happy and glorious, will be the exchange."

¹ *The Diaries of Benjamin Lynde and of Benjamin Lynde, Jr.*, p. 222.

² [Hutchinson's *History*, vol. iii. p. 358.]

ings of the transfer of office from the retiring to the newly appointed governor : —

Friday, August 14. The procession met in this manner — a committee of the Council and Representatives, viz : . . . to the number of . . . , about 11 o'clock, waited on the Hon William Shirley Esq. attending till 12 at his house ; then proceeded in order, with several of the old Council viz : Adam Winthrop Esq. Judge Dudley, Lewis Wadsworth etc Esqs. who walk'd in company with Mr. Shirley, the High Sheriff Winslow and officers marching before, till they joyned the Guards and militia, who had waited and drawn up before Governor Belcher's street gates ; and then immediately Governor Belcher, with several gentlemen, Justices of the Peace, etc., and only myself of the old Council, according to direction (as also the others of the old Council should) joyned Mr. Shirley in his Procession. Thus, after a short compliment, Governor Belcher walked in the middle, Mr. Shirley on his right hand, and Lt. Governor Phipps on his left ; then followed Lynde and Winthrop, Dudley etc. In the Council Chamber, the Commission in form was read by Secretary Willard, and then Governor Shirley, by the Secretary, was sworn, viz : upon the Evangelists, the usual oath, and then, to his Administration oaths as usual. Upon which finished, Governor Belcher rose up and taking Governor Shirley by the hand, surrendered the chair to him with a very friendly, cheerful and courteous congratulation, wishing him all happiness and prosperity in all his administrations and government ; upon which Governor Shirley from the Chair returned him the same compliment of thanks for his good wishes ; and after the Proclamation, both Governors and the Lt. Governor, Shirley in the middle, with the Council in order, proceeded to dinner with them at Withered's.¹

The new governor was a worshipper at King's Chapel, and naturally the Episcopalians in the town were much pleased with the change. The Rev. Roger Price thus wrote, when the first rumors of it came to hand : —

There is a current report here that our present Governour, Mr. Belcher, who is a rigid Dissenter and a bitter enemy to the Church, is in some danger of being put out of his Government for Male administration ; which is matter of great joy to the Majority of the people here, and in particular, you may judge, to every true member of the Church, under whose despite and Oppression we have long groan'd. It is likewise rumour'd that Mr. Shirley, an Old England Gentleman, not unknown to the Duke of Newcastle, is like to succeed him. This doubly adds to the publick satisfaction, which is as general as can well be imagin'd, from the good character the Gentleman has establish'd

¹ [The Lynde *Diaries*, pp. 114, 115.]

here, by his Generous and Courteous behaviour and experienc'd abilities ; and so unexceptionable will this change be, that I believe Mr. Belcher's own Friends, which indeed are but few, would scarce murmur at it. I must own I heartily wish him success.¹

When Mr. Belcher went to England, a year or two later, he speedily vindicated his character and conduct, and exposed the baseness of the means which had been employed for his overthrow. He was restored to the royal favor, and was promised the first vacant government in America. For this he had to wait several years. In 1747 he was appointed to the governorship of the province of New Jersey, and he took the oaths at Perth Amboy on the 10th of August. Here "he ruled with success, and with satisfaction to himself and the people,"² until his death, which took place at Elizabethtown, August 31, 1757, in his seventy-sixth year. His body, at his request, was brought to Cambridge, to be buried with his father and grandfather. Princeton College, of which he was one of the chief founders and promoters, stands as his most enduring and illustrious monument.³ President Burr said of him in his funeral sermon :—

The scholar, the accomplished gentleman, and the true Christian were seldom more happily and thoroughly united than in him. His ears were always open to real grievances. The cause of the poor, the widow, the fatherless, as well as of the rich and great, was by him favorably heard, and the wrongs of all readily and impartially redressed. He was indeed a minister of God for good unto his people.

In the autumn of 1741, the Rev. Eleazar Wheelock, one of

¹ [Foote's *Annals of King's Chapel*, vol. i. p. 529.]

² Palfrey's *History of Mass.*, vol. iv. p. 562.

³ "Measures were taken during the administration of Governor Morris to obtain a charter for a college, but without success, and not until October 22, 1746, was there one obtained, during the administration of President Hamilton, but nothing had been done before the arrival of Governor Belcher to perfect the institution. Soon after he reached New Jersey Governor Belcher interested himself to secure a more perfect charter, and otherwise to promote its success. On the 14th September, 1748, the

second charter passed the great seal of the province, and continues to be the fundamental instrument of the institution (modified in some few instances by subsequent legislation) to the present time." Governor Belcher received the first honorary degree conferred by the college, that of A. M., in 1748. His son Jonathan received the same degree from it in 1756, and Mr. Whitefield in 1754. The college was removed from Newark to Princeton in 1756, and the first building erected there was named by Governor Belcher Nassau Hall. — *New Jersey Archives*, First Series, vol. vii. p. 116, note. *Princeton Triennial Catalogue*.

the founders of Dartmouth College, visited Boston, and the following is from his private journal :—

Oct. 6. Set out for Boston. Met by dear Mr. Prince and Mr. Bromfield about eight miles from Boston. Came in to Mr. Bromfield's. Soon after my arrival, came the Hon. Josiah Willard, Secretary, Rev. Mr. Webb and Mr. Cooper, and Major Sewall, to bid me welcome to Boston. At six o'clock, rode with Mr. Bromfield in his chaise to the north end of the town, and preached for Mr. Webb to a great assembly. After sermon, returned to dear Mr. Webb's; pleased with the conversation of dear Mr. Gee.

Oct. 8. Went to Dr. Colman's meeting; preached with considerable freedom. Dined with the Doctor. Went with Mr. Rogers to Mr. Prince's. Preached to a full assembly. After meeting, was followed by a great throng of children, who importunately desired me to give them a word of exhortation in a private house, which I consented to do, though I designed to go and hear Mr. Prince, who, being by, desired that I would have it publicly, which I consented to.

Oct. 9. Visited this morning by a great number of persons under soul trouble. Refused to preach, because I designed to go out of town. Just as I was going, came Mr. Webb, and told me the people were meeting together to hear another sermon. I consented to preach again. A scholar from Cambridge being present, who came to get me to go to Cambridge, hastened to Cambridge, and, by a little after six, a great part of the scholars had got to Boston. Preached to a very thronged assembly, many more than could get into the house, with very great freedom and enlargement. I believe the children of God were very much refreshed. They told me afterwards, they believed that Mather Byles was never so lashed in his life. This morning, Mr. Cooper came to me, in the name of the Hon. Jacob Wendell Esq., and earnestly desired a copy of my sermon, preached in the forenoon of the Lord's day for the press. O, that God would make and keep me humble.¹

Novr 8. 1741. The Brethren of the Church and Congregation stay'd and Voted,

I. That 88 pounds, the whole of the last Collection for charitable and pious uses, unappropriated, be given to the Poor of this Church and Congregation to supply them with Wood and other Necessaries.

II. That there be another Public Collection for Charitable and pious Uses on the Anniversary Thanksgiving Novr 12. Current.

¹ [*The Great Awakening*, p. 203. Colonel Jacob Wendell lived on the corner of School and Common (now Tremont) streets. He married Sarah, daughter of James Oliver; and Elizabeth Wendell, who joined the South Church September

22, 1765, we suppose to have been their daughter. Colonel John Wendell, nephew and partner of Jacob Wendell, lived on the corner of Prison Lane (Court Street) and Tremont Street, next door to Deacon Henchman.]

Novr. 12. Collected	93. 18. 0
Appropriated to the Fund for Charitable and pious uses	5. 0. 0

 98. 18. 0

JOSEPH SEWALL.

The first serious division in any of the Boston churches, growing out of the recent revivals, took place this winter. Mr. Mather was dismissed from the colleague pastorate of the Second Church, December 21. Thirty men and sixty-three women, members of the church, who were his friends, withdrew with him; the number that remained with Mr. Gee were eighty men and one hundred and eighty-three women. Mr. Mather had caused dissatisfaction on the part of many by what was considered by them to be a want of explicitness in his doctrinal statements, and it is evident that he was out of sympathy with Mr. Gee on the subject of Mr. Whitefield's preaching and its results.¹ Suspicions and charges of impropriety of conduct were also current against him. "Mr. Mather, on finding that such a state of things existed, asked a dismission. The church refused to grant it, and proceeded to an investigation of the charges. Not being able to agree as to the truth of the accusations, or to bring about any satisfactory issue, they called in the aid of an ecclesiastical council. The churches invited to form the council were the Rev. Dr. Colman's, Dr. Sewall's, Mr. Webb's, Mr. Foxcroft's, and Mr. Checkley's. So far as can be ascertained from various sources, — for the matter is not clearly stated on the church records, — the council held two meetings. The result of the first was a letter of advice to the church, on one part, and Mr. Mather, on the other, as to their several duties till the time to which the council adjourned; perhaps with the hope that, before the adjourned meeting, the difficulty might be healed." Thereupon the church voted that if Mr. Mather would comply with the advice given to him, it would attend upon his ministry and strive to effect a reconciliation until the time to which the council was adjourned. Mr. Mather, on his part, promised that he would use all proper means to enlighten his mind on certain subjects mentioned by the council; that he would endeavor to be more frequent and distinct in

¹ The Rev. Henry Ware, Jr., says: "This was in 1740 and 41, and possibly had some connection with the religious
excitements of that period, about which his colleague, Mr. Gee, was so zealous." — *Two Discourses*, p. 23.

preaching on the nature, and pressing the necessity, of regeneration by the spirit of grace ; and that he would endeavor, further, to beware of anything in his sermons or conversation which might tend to discourage the work of conviction and conversion then in progress. Harmony, however, was not restored. The church voted that Mr. Mather had not satisfactorily fulfilled his engagement, and when the adjourned meeting of the council was held the church was advised to dismiss Mr. Mather, and to continue his salary for one year, the ministers promising to give their services in preaching as often as requested, in order to encourage and help the church under the pecuniary burden. "The separated party, with Mr. Mather, afterwards sent a letter to the church, offering to return ; or, if not allowed to do so, expressing their conscientious purpose to build a new meeting-house. The church voted that their return, and the resettlement of Mr. Mather, would not be consistent with the peace and edification of the church." They proceeded to erect a house of worship in Hanover Street, at the corner of North Bennet Street, a site occupied in later years by the Universalists.¹

On the 11th of January, 1741-2, most of the associated pastors of the town agreed on a course of days of prayer in their several churches, "to bless the name of God for spiritual blessings already received in the remarkable revival of his work among us and in many other places ; to seek of God the more plentiful effusion of his Holy Spirit ; that the Lord would preserve us and his people from everything that hath a tendency to quench his Spirit and obstruct the progress and success of his good work ; and that it may go on and prosper, 'till the whole land shall be filled with the blessed fruits of the Spirit." The action of the South Church was as follows :—

Feby 14. Lord's Day. 1741-2

The Brethren of the Church stay'd and Voted, That the 26th of this Instant be observed as a day of Prayer, to ask of God the more

¹ Robbins's *History of the Second Church*, pp. 120-123. Dr. Robbins adds: "The fact that so many persons of good character supported Mr. Mather, and undertook the arduous and expensive work of building a new church to sustain him, would seem to afford good reason to doubt whether the charges of impropriety were well founded. From

the period of his dismissal, December 21, 1741, until his death, June 27, 1785, he continued to be the minister of a separate congregation, most of the members of which, at his decease, returned to the Second Church." Dr. Joseph S. Clark says that the flock returned to their former fold in accordance with the dying request of their pastor.

plentiful effusions of his Spirit, particularly on this church and congregation; and to Bless his Name for Spiritual Blessings already received.

JOSEPH SEWALL.

Dr. Sewall preached on this occasion, and in the course of his sermon said: "Let the success which God hath of late given to the ministers of the word above what we have known in times past, animate us to labour more abundantly. . . . And let not any pervert what has been said, to prejudice themselves or others against that wonderful work of grace, which I verily believe, God has wrought in this town and other places." In this last sentence there is an intimation that there was a disposition in certain quarters to misjudge the work, and that a difference of opinion in reference to it was beginning to manifest itself, which, as we shall see, developed into a very wide divergence during the next few years.

March 28. 1742. Lord's Day.

The Brethren of the Church and Congregation stay'd and Voted,

I. That twenty pounds be given out of the Collection for Charitable and pious uses towards the encouragement of some suitable person or persons to Preach the Gospel at Little Compton and the neighbouring towns.

II. That ten pounds be expended in Books of piety, to be distributed to proper objects by our Revd Pastors.

III. That the Deacons be empowered to distribute the remaining sum of £63. 18. 0 to the Poor of this Church and Congregation.

IV. That there be another collection for Charitable and pious uses on the Anniversary Fast approaching, April 8.; And that the Congregation be notified of this vote, and be desired to assist in said collection.

April 8. Collected for charitable and pious uses as follows,

Unappropriated 68. 5. 0
Appropriated to the Fund for Charitable and pious uses. 5. 0. 0

73. 5. 0

JOSEPH SEWALL.

On the 14th of April Mr. Andrew Eliot was ordained at the New North Church as colleague pastor there with Mr. Webb.¹ His father, of the same name, became a member of the South Church in 1701; and he was baptized by one of its pastors in 1718.² He graduated at Harvard College in 1737. At the ordination Dr. Sewall offered prayer, Mr. Eliot preached from 1

¹ The Rev. Peter Thacher died February 26, 1738.

² "Andrew of Andrew and Ruth Eliot," baptized December 28, 1718.

Cor. iv. 2 ; Mr. Webb gave the charge, and Mr. Appleton, of Cambridge, the right hand of fellowship. The Rev. Ebenezer Parkman, of Westborough, who was present, records in his journal : " A vast assembly, and a glorious time of God's grace."

Mr. Prince mentions an incident which shows the excitable state of the public mind at this time : —

On Friday Night July 30, 1742, at the Lecture in the South Church, near nine o'Clock, being very dark, there came on a very terrible Storm of Thunder and Lightening : And just as the Blessing was given, an amazing Clap broke over the Church with piercing Repetitions, which set many a shrieking, and the whole Assembly into great Consternation : God then appeared " terrible out of his high Places ; they heard attentively the Noise of his Voice, and the Sound that went out of his Mouth ; he directed it under the whole Heaven, and his Lightening to the Ends of the Earth ; after it a Voice roared, he thundered marvelously with his Voice : and at this the Hearts of many (as Elihu's) trembled, and were moved out of their Places " for near two Hours together. And yet in all these Displays of the Majesty of God, and terrifying Apprehensions of Danger of sudden Destruction, neither in this surprizing Night, nor in all the Course of thirty Years have I scarce known any by these Kinds of Terrors brought under genuine Convictions. And what Minister has a Voice like God, and who can thunder like Him ?

A few weeks before this the Rev. James Davenport, of Long Island, had made his appearance in the town, " and then," says Mr. Prince, writing two or three years later, " through the awful Providence of the Sovereign God, the wisdom of whose ways are past finding out, we unexpectedly came to an unhappy period, which it exceedingly grieves me now to write of." Mr. Davenport was a lineal descendant of the Rev. John Davenport, whose removal from New Haven to Boston, three quarters of a century earlier, had divided the First Church ; and his coming at this time was to be followed by results even more disastrous. He " early caught the revival spirit, which, in him as in many others, soon rose to enthusiasm, and ended in fanaticism. In the progress of his wild career, and before his extravagances had crippled his influence, he came to Charlestown."¹ This was on Friday evening, June 25. On Sunday morning he attended public worship and went to the Lord's Table, but remained at his lodgings in the afternoon, " from an apprehension of the ministers being unconverted." " Monday afternoon he

¹ Clark's *Hist. Sketch*, p. 167.

came over the ferry to Boston." The ministers were a good deal alarmed. "Instead of taking no notice of him," says Dr. Wisner, "and thus effectually discountenancing his irregularities, the ministers of Boston, with the best intentions, but most unhappily, pursued a course in regard to him which at once attracted universal attention to him, awakened a general desire to see and hear him, and contributed to procure for him sympathy as a persecuted man."¹ Being together in a meeting of the Association, they "sent to signify that they should be glad to see him; whereupon he presently came, and they had long and friendly conferences with him about his conduct on that and the following day. On Thursday, July 1, they thought themselves obliged to publish a declaration of their judgment concerning him," in which, while they "own'd that he appeared to them to be truly pious, and they hoped that God had used him as an instrument of good to many souls," they bore their "testimony" against him in several "particulars," on account of which they declared that they "judged their present duty not to invite him into their places of public worship."² The result of this action is thus given by Mr. Prince: "Upon publishing this declaration on Friday, many were offended: And some days after, Mr. Davenport thought himself oblig'd to begin in his public exercises to declare against us also; naming some as unconverted, representing the rest as Jehosaphat in Ahab's army, and exhorting the people to separate from us: which so diverted the minds of many from being concern'd about their own conversion, to think and dispute about the case of others, as not only seem'd to put an awful stop to their awakening, but also on all sides to roil our passions, and provoke the Holy Spirit, in a gradual and dreadful measure, to withdraw his influence. And now a small number from some of our churches and congregations withdrew, and met in a distinct society. The cry, What shall I do to be saved? soon ceased to be heard. But few were added to the churches. The heavenly shower in Boston was over."

Mr. Davenport's case was not left to the action of the ministers alone. The grand jury took it up, and in their presentment,

¹ Wisner's *History of the Old South Church*, pp. 103, 104.

² This declaration was signed by all the Boston ministers except Mr. Chauncy (the junior pastor of the First Church), and by the Rev. Messrs. Hull

Abbot and Thomas Prentice, of Charlestown. Mr. Chauncy appears to have been present at the conversations with Mr. Davenport; he probably declined to sign the paper because it bore general testimony in favor of the revival.

August 19, set forth that "one James Davenport, of Southold — under pretence of praying preaching and exhorting, at divers places in the towns of Boston and Dorchester, and at divers times in July last and August current, — did — in the hearing of great numbers of the subjects of our Lord, the King, maliciously publish, and with a loud voice utter and declare many slanderous and reviling speeches against the godly and faithful ministers of this province, but more particularly against the ministers of the gospel in the town of Boston aforesaid, — viz : that the greatest part of said ministers were carnal and unconverted men ; that they knew nothing of Jesus Christ, and that they were leading their people, blindfold, down to hell, and that they were destroying and murdering souls by thousands ; the said James Davenport, at the same time, advising their hearers to withdraw from the said ministers, and not to hear them preach ; by means whereof, great numbers of people have withdrawn from the public worship of God and the assemblies by law required."¹ The indictment was sustained. Davenport was arrested on Saturday, August 21, and refusing to give bail, though two gentlemen offered to be his sureties, he was committed for trial. "The sheriff offered him perfect liberty till the day of trial, if he would promise so to conduct, that he should receive no damage ; but he refused to promise, and was kept in comfortable quarters." "On Tuesday, August 24, the Rev. Messrs. Colman, Sewall, Checkley, Welsteed, Byles and Gray, addressed a note to the court, then in session, entreating that no severity might be used on their account, and that the matter might be conducted with all the gentleness and tenderness which their honors might judge consistent with justice and the public peace." Davenport was declared by the verdict to have been *non compos mentis* when the words charged against him were uttered, and therefore, technically, not guilty. This verdict was as just as it was humane, for the man was un-

¹ Among the witnesses before the grand jury was H. V., who testified that Mr. Davenport said in July, on Copp's Hill, "Good Lord, (or O Lord), I will not mince the matter any longer with thee ; for thou knowest that I know, that most of the ministers of the town of Boston and of the country are unconverted, and are leading their people blindfold to hell." This witness was undoubtedly Hugh Vans, a Scotch merchant, who,

since 1728, had been a member of the South Church. He married Mary Pemberton, a daughter of its third minister, the Rev. Ebenezer Pemberton ; and one of his daughters became the second wife of its deacon, Jonathan Mason. He had nine children baptized between 1728 and 1743, three of whom, Mary, Katharine, and Elizabeth, afterward became members of the church. His sons were John, Ebenezer, William, and Samuel.

doubtedly insane during this period of his life.¹ But his insanity did incalculable mischief, for all his wild words and deeds were laid to the charge of the revival spirit then prevalent in the churches; and although he made a solemn retraction in 1744, the echo of his words and the sweep of his influence had passed far beyond his control. This retraction was sent to Mr. Prince, for publication in Boston, by the Rev. Solomon Williams, of Lebanon, Connecticut, who, in a letter enclosing it, said: "He is full and free in it, and seems to be deeply sensible of his miscarriages and misconduct in those particulars, and very desirous to do all he possibly can to retrieve the dishonour which he has done to religion, and the injustice to many ministers of the gospel."²

At a Meeting of the Brethren of the Church and Congregation
Novr. 1. 1742

Voted—I. That the Deacons give thirty pounds out of the last collection for Charitable and pious uses to the Poor of this Church and Congregation to supply them with wood and other necessities.

II. Whereas there is a considerable deficiency in the Church Stock to pay the necessary charges arisen: Voted—That there be a collection on the Thanksgiving approaching for that purpose, and that the rest of the Congregation be notified of this vote, and be desired to assist in said collection.

III. The Committee for Seating having acquainted the Brethren of a Petition of sundry persons, praying that the seats next the wall of the Men's front Gallery may be turned into Pews: It was Voted, That said Committee be desired to take the care of that affair, and order it according to their Discretion.

IV. That Messrs. John Trail, Andrew Eliot, Isaac Walker and William Ireland, be a committee to take subscriptions of the church and congregation for the weekly contribution. JOSEPH SEWALL.

Novr. 11. General Thanksgiving, collected £115 for the use above said.

¹ He organized a company of his followers into a church in New London, Conn., and, March 6, 1743, in imitation of the "pyramid of vanities" of Savonarola at Florence, two hundred and fifty years before, he caused a bonfire to be made of wigs, clothing, and jewelry, and to the burning heap were added copies of the writings of Beveridge, Flavel, Increase Mather, Colman, and Sewall. The destruction of fine clothing, rings,

jewels, and necklaces was ordered by him to cure his followers of their idolatrous love of such objects. John Lee, of Lyme, according to Trumbull, said that, for himself, his idols were his wife and children, whom he could not burn, as the word of God forbade it, and that idolatry could only be suppressed by a change of heart.

² See *The Great Awakening*, pp. 241-255.

March 13. 1742-3. The Brethren of the Church and Congregation stay'd ; and voted as follows —

I. That ten pounds be given out of the last collection for Charitable and pious uses to the poor of this Church and Congregation in Books of Piety.

II. That the remainder of said Collection, about twenty pounds, be given to the Poor of this Church and Congregation to supply them with the Necessaries of life.

III. That there be another Collection for Charitable and pious uses on the Anniversary Fast March 24 Instant, and that the congregation be notified of this vote and be desired to assist in said collection.

JOSEPH SEWALL.

March 24 1742-3. Collected as follows

Unappropriated	. . . . .	£86. 2. 9
Appropriated to the fund for charitable and pious		
uses	. . . . .	5. 0. 0
To Dr. Sewall	. . . . .	2. 0. 0
To Mr. Prince	. . . . .	2. 0. 0
To Mr. Byles	. . . . .	2. 0. 0
		<hr/>
		97. 2. 9

JOSEPH SEWALL.

At a Meeting of the Brethren of the S. Church and Congregation April 3. 1743.

Voted — That thirty Pounds be given to Mr. Simeon Brown out of the last Collection for Charitable and pious uses, towards his support under the great Loss which he has sustained lately by Fire.

JOSEPH SEWALL.

The controversy between the friends and the opposers of the recent revivals was becoming more and more heated, and the churches and ministers were gradually separating into two factions. At the annual convention of the pastors of the Massachusetts churches, held in Boston, May 25, a "Testimony" was promulgated "against several errors in doctrine and disorders in practice, which have of late obtained in various parts of the land." It had been drawn up by a committee, was read and accepted paragraph by paragraph, and the moderator, the Rev. Nathaniel Eells, of Scituate, by a majority vote of thirty-eight ministers, was directed to sign it in the name of the convention.¹

¹ This paper magnified the errors in doctrine and disorders in practice which, in some places, had attended or followed the revival, and would not have contained one word in recognition of the revival itself but for the strenuous in-

The manner in which this paper had been introduced and adopted occasioned much dissatisfaction and some angry correspondence. It was questioned whether there would have been a majority in its favor but for the votes of ministers from other provinces, and whether more than "one fifth of the ministers in Massachusetts would have subscribed their names, if the proposal for a personal subscription had prevailed." Another convention was called, therefore, by those who had been in sympathy with the revival, to meet in Boston on the day after commencement at Cambridge. Those who could not be present, and who were opposed to the testimony issued in May, were asked to "send their attestations, and communicate their thoughts seasonably in writing." Dr. Colman was chosen moderator of this second convention, with Dr. Sewall as assistant, and Mr. Prince and Mr. Hobby were chosen scribes. Dr. Colman excusing himself, Dr. Sewall acted as moderator. On the first day, after "declarations, discourses and debates," the following vote was passed, without objection:—

We, pastors of churches in the provinces of the Massachusetts Bay and New Hampshire in New England, met at Boston this seventh day of July 1743, being persuaded there has of late been a happy revival of religion, through a remarkable divine influence, in many parts of this land, and apprehending it our duty to give an open conjunct testimony, to the glory of God, to an event so surprising and gracious, as well as against those errors in doctrine and disorders in practice, which, through human frailties and corruptions and the permitted agency of Satan, have attended it, and in any measure blemished its glory and hindered its advancement; came to the following resolution: that a committee be chosen to consider the premises and make a report tomorrow morning at nine o'clock.

The committee consisted of Dr. Sewall; Mr. Wigglesworth, of Ipswich; Mr. Prince; Mr. Adams, of Newington, New Hampshire; Mr. Cooper; Mr. Rogers, of Ipswich; Mr. Leonard, of Plymouth; and Mr. Hobby, of Reading. The paper reported next morning is admirable in expression, fervid and evangelical in tone, and thoroughly frank in its discriminations. Two or three paragraphs will illustrate its general tenor:—

If it is the duty of every one capable of observation and reflection, to take a constant religious notice of what occurs in the daily course

sistence of Dr. Sewall, and the only sentence he was able to insert in it was this: "and where there is any special revival of pure religion in any parts of our land at this time, we would give unto God all the glory."

of common Providence ; how much more is it expected that those events in the divine economy, wherein there is a signal display of the power, grace and mercy of God in behalf of the church, should be observed with sacred wonder, pleasure and gratitude ! Nor should the people of God content themselves with a silent notice, but publish with the voice of thanksgiving, and tell of all his wondrous works.

More particularly, when Christ is pleased to come into his church in a plentiful effusion of his Holy Spirit, by whose powerful influences the ministration of the word is attended with uncommon success, salvation-work carried on in an eminent manner, and his kingdom, which is within men, and consists in righteousness and peace and joy in the Holy Ghost, is notably advanced, this is an event which, above all others, invites the notice and bespeaks the praises of the Lord's people, and should be declared abroad for a memorial of the divine grace ; as it tends to confirm the divinity of a despised gospel, and manifests the work of the Holy Spirit in the application of redemption, which too many are ready to reproach ; as it may have a happy effect, by the divine blessing, for the revival of religion in other places, and the enlargement of the kingdom of Christ in the world ; and as it tends to enliven the prayers, strengthen the faith, and raise the hopes, of such as are waiting for the kingdom of God, and the coming on of the glory of the latter days.

But if it is justly expected of all who profess themselves the disciples of Christ, that they should openly acknowledge and rejoice in a work of this nature, wherein the honour of their divine Master is so much concerned ; how much more is it to be looked for from those who are employed in the ministry of the Lord Jesus, and so stand in a special relation to him, as servants of his household, and officers in his kingdom ! These stand as watchmen upon the walls of Jerusalem ; and it is their business not only to give the alarm of war when the enemy is approaching, but to sound the trumpet of praise when the King of Zion cometh, in a meek triumph, having salvation.

For these and other reasons, we, whose names are hereunto annexed, pastors of churches in New England, met together in Boston, July 7, 1743, think it our indispensable duty, (without judging or censuring such of our brethren as cannot at present see things in the same light with us,) in this open and conjunct manner to declare, to the glory of sovereign grace, our full persuasion, either from what we have seen ourselves, or received upon credible testimony, that there has been a happy and remarkable revival of religion in many parts of this land, through an uncommon divine influence ; after a long time of great decay and deadness, and a sensible and very awful withdraw of the Holy Spirit from his sanctuary among us.

The report proceeds to show that the recent work was remarkable and extraordinary, "on account of the numbers

wrought upon," "with regard to the suddenness and quick progress of it," and "in respect of the degree of operation, both in a way of terror and in a way of consolation." That there were imperfections in it is admitted; but sorrow is expressed that accounts should be published abroad representing it as "all enthusiasm, delusion and disorder."

It is not to be denied, that in some places many irregularities and extravagances have been permitted to accompany it, which we would deeply lament and bewail before God, and look upon ourselves obliged, for the honour of the Holy Spirit, and of his blessed operations on the souls of men, to bear a public and faithful testimony against; though at the same time it is to be acknowledged with much thankfulness, that in other places, where the work has greatly flourished, there have been few, if any, of these disorders and excesses. But who can wonder, if at such a time as this, Satan should intermingle himself, to hinder and blemish a work so directly contrary to the interests of his own kingdom? Or if, while so much good seed is sowing, the enemy should be busy to sow tares?

"After solemn, repeated prayer, free inquiry and debate, and serious deliberation," the report was adopted. The first to sign it were the venerable Samuel Moody, of York, and John White, of Gloucester, who were at college together nearly half a century before. The Boston pastors who signed it as it was adopted were Dr. Sewall, Mr. Prince, Mr. Webb, Mr. Cooper, Mr. Foxcroft, Mr. Gee, and Mr. Moorhead, minister of the Presbyterian church in Long Lane. Others approved of the testimony for the substance of it, but were not satisfied with what was said about itineracy or the intrusion of ministers and others into the parishes of ministers without the consent of the latter, which disorder they thought was not sufficiently testified against. Among these were Dr. Colman, Mr. Checkley, and Mr. Eliot, of Boston; Mr. Abbot and Mr. Prentice, of Charlestown; Mr. Eells, of Scituate; Mr. Parkman, of Westborough; and Mr. Maccarty, of Kingston. On the other hand, Mr. Prince, and a few with him, objected to the clause relating to itinerating ministers, because, as adopted, there was danger of its being "construed and perverted to the great infringement of Christian and human liberty of conscience." The number of signers at the meeting was sixty-eight; attestors by letter, forty-five: total, one hundred and thirteen. Dr. Chauncy (he had recently received a diploma from Edinburgh), Mr. Mather, Mr.

Byles, Mr. Welsted, and Mr. Gray¹ took no part in the proceedings; Mr. Appleton, of Cambridge, sent his attestation, and no doubt was in full sympathy with Dr. Sewall and Mr. Prince in their estimate of the revival.²

Lord's Day Novr 13, 1743

The Brethren of the Church and Congregation stay'd; and Voted as follows —

I. That what remains in stock be expended by the Deacons to supply the Poor of this church and Congregation with the Necessaries of life.

II. That there be another collection for charitable and pious uses on the Anniversary Thanksgiving Nov 24 Instant.

III. That the rest of the congregation be notified of this vote and be desired to assist in said collection.

JOSEPH SEWALL.

¹ "The two pastors were not among the most distinguished in town, though faithful and highly respectable men. During the great religious excitements of this period, they appear to have fallen in with the current. I find, however, from a well-written, serious, animated sermon, delivered in 1742, at an ordination, by Mr. Gray, that he was fully aware of the dangers and evils of that period, and did not hesitate to speak of the 'discord, division, bitterness, clamour, wrath, evil speaking, groundless surmises and jealousies' which prevailed in the churches. Neither of the ministers, however, were among the leaders on either side, though possibly it was to his opinion on this subject that Welsted alluded, when he said, in his last illness, 'I have in some things thought differently from my brethren, but I thank God I have constantly meant well.'" Mr. Welsted confined himself in preaching to the doctrines of religion which are not disputed amongst sound Protestants, and the "impressive duties of repentance, faith, love and universal and constant obedience." — Ware's *Two Discourses*, pp. 29, 31.

² We have quoted from Mr. Holoyske's Convention Sermon of 1741. Mr. Appleton preached before the Convention in 1743. He was "a man famous for his extreme care, if any care can be extreme, always to speak the exact truth." He referred to certain things

having a plausible appearance, yet of a dangerous tendency: ministers going from place to place; illiterate persons exhorting publicly; claims to immediate impulses of the Spirit; false notions about saving, justifying faith; and freedom and uncharitableness in the judgment of others. These and other things he mentioned as stumbling-blocks to be apprehended and avoided; "but then," he added, "there are stumbling-blocks on the other hand, yea, most dangerous rocks, which ministers, if they would be as lights unto the world, must point out, and warn seasonably and earnestly against. Thus, the denial of there having been a glorious work of God in the land of late; and the speaking disparagingly of those convictions, and all that serious concern that has been stirred up in multitudes, as if there was nothing of the Spirit of God in any of them; and as if all the religious commotions had been the work of the devil, or had been wrought in a mere mechanical way; and the ridiculing and reproaching such persons in general and without distinction, and discouraging rather than encouraging any concernedness of soul, and so the lulling men asleep in their carnal security again, that began to be roused up, and the settling them in their natural, unconverted state; these, I say, are dangerous things, and ministers must hold up the light of God's word, and show people the danger hereof."

Anniversary Thanksgiving Nov 24 1743.

Collected as follows for charitable and pious uses.

Unappropriated 121. 1. 4

Appropriated

To the Rev Mr. Prince 1. 0. 0

For three Widows 5. 0. 0

Towards the fund for charitable and pious uses . 4. 0. 0

131. 1. 4

Lord's Day, Novr. 27. 1743.

A Letter was read the second time from the Rev'd Mr. Othniel Cam-
bel, Pastor of the Second Church in Plympton, and from twenty-two
Brethren desiring our assistance in Council under their present Diffi-
culties: In answer to which the Brethren Voted, that there should be
a letter sent to them, giving the reasons why we did not send, and
offering some advice to them; which was drawn up and sent accord-
ingly.

JOSEPH SEWALL.

Mr. Campbell was ordained over the Second Church in
Plympton, now Carver, in 1734, and was dismissed in 1744. A
contemporary account says that he was dismissed "for giving
way too much to itinerants, though it is doubtful whether his
friends or his enemies are the greater number. It is thought
he has had hard measure, being, in the main, an honest and good
man." He removed to Tiverton, Rhode Island, where he re-
ceived an annual appropriation from the South Church for more
than twenty years. His wife was Katharine, daughter of Simon
Willard, and granddaughter of the Rev. Samuel Willard.¹

As one of the results of Mr. Davenport's coming to Boston,
we have seen, in Mr. Prince's statement, that a small number
withdrew from some of the churches and met in a distinct so-
ciety. We find two other references to this separatist move-
ment in the Christian History, and the records of the South
Church throw light upon it.

And now a small number from some of our churches and congrega-
tions (some had been communicants formerly, and some added lately,) withdrew and met in a distinct Society: whereof four males and two
or three females were of our communion. . . .

Some time after, a man of the separate Society became a Saturday-
Baptist: who being dip'd in the country, and having hands laid on

¹ Mr. Campbell was born in Bridge-
water, and it is said that he was nearly
thirty years old when he entered college,
He graduated in 1728, in the same class
with Jonathan Belcher, Simon Bradstreet,
Grindall Rawson, Nathaniel Eells, and
Andrew Crosswell. He signed the Testi-
mony of July 7, 1743. According to the
Harvard Catalogue, he died in 1778.
See *Willard Memoir*, p. 400.

him, thought himself a minister, drew five women after him and proceeded to dip them: yet they all have since deserted him. But six males of the said Society with one of Brookline, a town about five miles off, went on to associate as a church, owning the Assembly's Confession of Faith, and professing themselves congregational according to our New England Platform: And have not yet returned [November, 1744] to the several churches whence they went. . . . Besides the aforesaid four Males and two or three females of the South Church, I know not any who have left our communion. But the rest of our said numerous and former additions continue with us; and as far as I know, their conversation is as becomes the Gospel. Nor do I hear of more than one of those who have left our church that has fallen into other censurable evil, nor in the other churches in town, except a few of the New North.¹

The four male members of the South Church referred to above were John Gridley, who became a member in 1722; William Story, in 1738; and William Richie Love and Nathanael Wardell,² who joined in 1741. It was the last named who had been immersed, and, without suitable preparation, had entered upon the work of the Christian ministry. A few years later, as we shall see, he was cut off from the church for the sins of prophanity and intoxication.

At a Church Meeting, Decr 25. 1743. Lord's Day.

Our Brother Nathanael Wardel junr was called for, and appear'd owning and justifying the Articles of charge brought against him, saving that he so far declar'd his meaning relating to his bold pretence to Inspiration, that the Brethren saw meet to drop that Article; And he being desired to withdraw to an house near, when sent for could not be found.

¹ [Dr. Pierce, in one of his historical discourses, mentions Mr. Elhanan Winchester as a separatist or "new light" in Brookline in 1744, who afterward became in turn a Baptist, an Universalist, and a Shaker. His son, of the same name, was one of the earliest preachers in the United States of the doctrine of final restoration.]

² The admissions to the South Church recorded under the name of Wardell are, 1721, Jonathan; 1741, Nathaniel; 1743, Frances. Jonathan had wife Katharine, who died December 28, 1705, and afterward wife Frances. He kept the Orange Tree Inn, near the head of Hanover Street, and in 1712 set up the first

hackney coach in Boston. He died December 18, 1721, and his widow, Frances, was licensed by the selectmen, July 10, 1722, as an innholder in room of her husband. (See the Sewall and Lynde *Diaries*.) At a town meeting, September 21, 1737, we find that the "proposals of Nathanael Wardal Junr. for erecting an engine for weighing hay," were read; and, in 1746, Nathanael Wardell's term for using "the engine erected for weighing hay at the south part of the town" having expired in May, persons wishing to take a lease of it were requested to apply to the selectmen. In the town records the names Wardell and Wardwell are used interchangeably.

The Admonition and suspension drawn up in writing was then read and voted as also that said Admonition and suspension should be sent in a letter sign'd by the Pastors and read to him, which was done accordingly the next day and is as follows,

Brother Nathanael Wardel,

Whereas you have for some time withdrawn in a disorderly manner from the communion of this Church, after you had solemnly promised to walk with us in a due Submission to and attendance upon all the Orders and Ordinances of the Gospel; and whereas to some hurtfull errors which you have persisted in, you have added a bold intrusion into the Pastoral Office, without any regular Call or due Qualifications, and have presumed to administer the Seals of the Covenant to some that have been misled by you, by which sacred things have been profaned, and contempt cast on the Ordinances of our Lord Jesus Christ; And when admonished by your Pastors, have still persisted in your offensive conduct; Yea when your Pastors and a number of the Brethren sent for you, being appointed by the Church to treat with you, you refused to come. And lately in the publick Assembly, when one was admitted to our Communion, you openly renounced the Church as Idolatrous.

And when after all this, the Pastors with a Committee of the Brethren from the Church reasoned with you about your offences, and offered matter of conviction to you, instead of retracting them, and promising amendment, you still renounced Communion with the Church, declaring that you looked upon us as a synagogue of Satan: Upon the account of these offences, We Doe, in the Name of our Lord Jesus, rebuke and admonish you; and we suspend you from the Communion of this Church, till you shall manifest repentance.

We pray God to sanctify this Censure which is now passed upon you, to awaken you to due consideration, and recover you from your Strong Delusions; That you may repair to the Blood of Jesus for cleansing, and to the Holy Spirit for effectual conviction and Humiliation, and thus return to God by Christ, confessing and forsaking your sins; Upon which, we shall with joy restore you to our Charity and Communion; which may God grant of his great mercy in Christ Jesus our Lord. Amen.

JOSEPH SEWALL
THOMAS PRINCE,

Lord's Day April 1. 1744.

The Brethren of the Church and Congregation stayed and voted, That the Deacons supply the Poor of the Church and congregation with wood and other necessities as shall be found needful out of the remainder of the last collection for charitable and pious uses.

J. SEWALL.

April 22 1744.

The Brethren of the Church were stay'd.

The Pastors with the Committee appointed by this Church to Discourse with the three Brethren who lately sent a letter to the church signifying they had embodied into a church state with others, and asking a Dismission from the Church &c ; and to offer our Thoughts to the church concerning them, make our Report as follows —

That we have met several times about this affair, and have endeavour'd to convince and reclaim them, but in vain ; And therefore humbly propose that such a letter as this be sent in the Name of the Church to the said Brethren in answer to theirs, if the Church see cause :

Which proposed letter is as follows,

Brethren

Whereas you have for a considerable time separated yourselves from us, after you had solemnly promised to walk with this Church of Christ in due submission to, and attendance upon all the Orders and Ordinances of the Gospel ; and have lately informed us by a Letter that you had proceeded to embody with others into a Church State, and then not only asked a Dismission from us, but also our approbation of the work you were engaged in :

These are to signify unto you, that we are grieved and offended with you for this your Conduct, apprehending it to be contrary to the word of God. Rom. 14. 19. Let us therefore follow after the things that make for peace ; and things wherewith one may edifie another. 16. 17. Now I beseech you, brethren, mark them which cause Divisions and Offences, contrary to the Doctrine which ye have learned ; and avoid them. 1 Cor. 12. 25. That there should be no Schism in the body, but that the members should have the same care over one another. Eph. 4. 1. 23. I therefore the prisoner of the Lord, beseech you that ye walk worthy of the vocation wherewith ye are called, with all lowliness and meekness, with long suffering, forbearing one another in love ; endeavouring to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace. Heb. 10, 25. Not forsaking the assembling of ourselves together, as the manner of some is —. And contrary to our Platform of Discipline Chap 13. S. 1. 2. 5. and opposite to that spirit of Christian Charity and meekness, watchfull care over, and tender concern for the welfare of this Church, which our glorious Head and Lord requires of all the Members, and accordingly we judge that your Departure from us is unsafe and sinfull, and may not consent unto it : But earnestly exhort and advise you to search your Hearts and Ways, and return to your Duty.

And we beseech our most mercifull God to humble you for, and forgive the sins committed in an Hour of Temptation ; and turn you from

the Error of your ways ; as also to over-rule all events to the Honour of his Name, and advancement of the Kingdom of our Lord Jesus, to whom be glory for ever Amen.

This Letter was voted and sent to our said Brethren

April 24 1744

Sign'd

JOSEPH SEWALL

THOMAS PRINCE -

Pastors of the South Chh in Boston
in the Name of the said Chh.

Superscribed to

Messrs. JOHN GRIDLEY

WILLIAM STOREY

WILLIAM RITCHIE LOVE.

The Committee above mentioned are, The Hon'ble Ezekiel Lewis, Josiah Willard, Anthony Stoddard, Samuel Welles, Thomas Cushing Esqs and the Deacons.¹

May 6. 1744

The Church stay'd.

A Letter was read from several Brethren of the first Church in Newbury desiring our assistance in council under their present difficulties : Upon which some of the Brethren observed that we were not sufficiently informed that all proper means had been used to heal their differences among themselves ; and it was then Voted — that the Pastors with the Committee above named should write to them to obtain further light as to their affairs, which was done accordingly ; Upon which they signified to us by Letter, that they would not have us take the trouble of sending untill we should hear further from them.

JOSEPH SEWALL.

In 1743 several members of the First and Third churches in Newbury, of which the Rev. Christopher Toppan and the Rev. John Lowell² were the respective pastors, seceded, and soon

¹ [This separatist church appears to have been formed July 18, 1743. In a narrative to which we shall refer again in the next chapter, it is said : "After we had thus embodied, we thought it our duty to seek some faithful minister to go before us as a pastor, and accordingly applied to several, who from time to time preached with us, till at length we invited and called the Rev. Mr. Andrew Croswell, to take the pastoral care of us ; who finally gave us an unexpected answer in

the negative." Mr. Ephraim Clark was ordained pastor of this church in 1748. Mr. John Cleaveland preached for it for a time, soon after leaving Yale College, and received a call from it, which he declined. He was settled, in 1747, over the church in what is now Essex, formed by a secession from the parish, of which the Rev. Theophilus Pickering was minister.]

² Grandfather of the Rev. Charles Lowell, of the West Church, Boston.

after formed another church.¹ On the 24th of July, 1744, an *ex parte* council, consisting of eight churches, met at the call of the seceding brethren of the First Church. This was the council to which the South Church was invited, and in reference to the objects of which it wanted further light. In its Result the council justified the brethren who had appealed to it, and condemned Mr. Toppan ; it advised these brethren to hearken to any reasonable method whereby their final separation from the church and parish might be prevented, and concluded by saying : "However we utterly disapprove of unnecessary separations as partaking of great guilt and accompanied with great scandal, yet looking upon your circumstances as extraordinary and deplorable, we cannot think you blameworthy, if with good advice you seek more wholesome food for your souls and put yourselves under the watch of a shepherd in whom you can confide."

Another *ex parte* council met August 31, at the call of Mr. Toppan's friends, which acquitted the pastor of nearly all the allegations brought against him by the aggrieved brethren, censured these brethren, and advised them to return to the bosom of the church, and to the pastoral care of him who had been so faithful and useful a pastor over them for nearly fifty years.² This advice was not taken ; and the brethren, nineteen in number, formed a church, January 3, 1746, which is now the First Presbyterian Church of Newburyport. Two or three months later, thirty-eight brethren of the Third Church, having been unable to obtain letters of dismissal and recommendation, were received without letters into the new church, of which the Rev. Jonathan Parsons, of Lyme, Connecticut, had become the minister.³ Mr. Parsons was a warm personal friend of Mr. Whitefield, who died at his house in 1770.

Lord's day, May 10, 1744.

The Brethren of the church stay'd.

A Letter was communicated from the Church in Newport of which

¹ The Rev. Thomas Smith wrote in his journal (see Coffin's *History*), February 2, 1745:

"The enthusiasm in favor of the expedition against Louisburg was extraordinary, and almost unanimous, whilst on the subject of the religious tenets and practices of Whitefield and his adherents, the community was divided, and almost every man was either an ardent advocate or a decided oppo-

nent. The consequence of this state of things, was divisions and contentions in all the churches, and many years elapsed before the storm became a calm."

² Coffin's *History of Newbury*, p. 214.

³ In 1749, the petition of one hundred and seventy-nine persons, belonging to Mr. Parsons's congregation, asking to be freed from paying taxes to the First and Third parishes, was dismissed by the General Court. *Ibid.*, p. 218.

the Rev'd Mr. Nathanael Clap is Pastor, desiring our Assistance at the Ordination of Mr. Jonathan Helyer to the Pastoral Office.

The Pastors declared that they could not conveniently attend the service at the time proposed, which Excuse was accepted, and they were desired to signify it to said church in a Letter which was done accordingly.¹

June 17. 1744.

The church stay'd: And upon reading a Letter to us, signed John Gridley, William Story, William Richie Love,

Voted — that the former committee (above named) be appointed to join with our Pastors in considering said Letter, and make Report to the church so soon as conveniently may be. J. SEWALL.

At a Meeting of the Brethren of the Church and Congregation

June 18. 1744.

The Report of the Committee appointed to view the Ministerial Houses and other Estate, Read.

The Fences ordered to be repaired, but not so high as now, except in the front, next the street.

Voted — That there be a committee of five persons viz. S. Welles, A. Oliver Esqrs. Capt J. Armitage, Mr. T. Foster and Mr. J. Kneeland, to view Mr. Prince's House, make an estimate, and report to the Brethren, how much money will be necessary to repair the House for next Winter, and what it will cost to repair it so as to last for ten or twenty years; this report to be made this day three weeks. And the Deacons are desired to take care to repair the slating, fences and steeple, and provide a Ladder.

The meeting then adjourned to this day three weeks.

Then met Monday, July 9. 1744.

And the Report of the Committee being read, Voted

That said committee be desired to procure ground cells and other things necessary to lay open Mr. Prince's House, so as to put in new cells, and close it up again, if they find studs, joyce, and summers in such a condition as that it may be worth while to come into the larger repair. And make report to the Brethren for further direction.

¹ [Mr. Clap was the first minister to welcome Mr. Whitefield on his arrival in New England, September 14, 1740, who says of him, he was "the most venerable man I ever saw in my life. He looked like a good old Puritan, and gave me an idea of what stamp those men were who first settled New England. His countenance was very heavenly. He

rejoiced much in spirit at the sight of me, and prayed most affectionately for a blessing on my coming to New England." Mr. Clap graduated at Cambridge in 1690, and died in 1745.

Mr. Helyer graduated at Cambridge in 1738, in the same class with Oxenbridge Thacher, Josiah Crocker, and Benjamin Adams. He died in 1745.]

N. B. The Report of the Committee in several articles, was, that the expense of repairing the House in which the Rev'd Mr. Prince dwells, would amount to £325. o. o. O. Tenor. And that £30. O. T. will make said House habitable till next summer.

July 16. 1744

At a Meeting etc. Voted — The larger Report of the Committee be accepted — and that Messrs Jer. Belknap, John Comrin, Jos. Jackson and John Scollay be a committee to collect the money for repairing the Ministry Houses etc and that Sam. Welles Esq. Edw. Winslow Esq. and Capt. J. Armitage be a committee to see the repairs as above effected ; and that John Hunt Esq. be Treasurer to receive the money that shall be collected, and pay it according to the order of said committee.

JOSEPH SEWALL.

The Pastors with the Committee¹ met accordingly [see June 17] consider'd said letter, and drew up an answer which was offered at a church Meeting July 15 1744, accepted, and voted to be sent to said Brethren signed by the Pastors in the name of the Church, And is as follows,

Brethren

We have received your Second Letter and are grieved to find that you continue to justify your conduct in separating from us, and embodying as you say into a church state with others ; though you were under prior Obligation to us by your Church Covenant, which you could not be released from by such a confederation without our consent or knowledge.

Indeed you say that you moved to the Revd Pastors again and again for a Dismission — But then, when in this peculiar case, they required your reasons for such a proceeding in writing, that they might lay them before the Church ; You refused till such time as you embodied with others, by which action you declare that you did not think yourselves bound in conscience to give the reasons of your conduct to this church, as was justly desired of you, and so in an orderly manner to seek a Dismission.

And whereas you have given us no reasonable satisfaction for your unwarrantable Separation from us, and we apprehend that this separation is not likely to serve your Spiritual Edification, but much the contrary ; We abide by our Judgment and Advice given you in our first Letter, and can by no means doe any thing to encourage your irregular Proceedings. We again Beseech our merciful God to turn you from the Error of your Ways, and Forgive you for Christ's sake ; and it is our repeated and earnest prayer that God would overrule all

¹ [For the names of this committee see *ante*, p. 542.]

events to the Honour of his Name and advancement of the Kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ, to whom be glory forever Amen.

Boston July 17. 1744

JOSEPH SEWALL

THOMAS PRINCE

Pastors of the chh in the name
of said chh.

To Messrs. John Gridley, William Story and Wm Richey Love

JOSEPH SEWALL.

Lords Day Sept. 2. 1744.

A Letter desiring our assistance in Council, from the Brethren that have separated from the church in New Haven, under the Pastoral care of the Rev. Mr. Noyes ; was readd, and after Discourse had upon it, Voted, that a Letter be sent signifying that we have not light to grant their Request.

A Letter was sent accordingly, signed by the Pastors, in which the great Distance of the way and our small acquaintance with their affairs, were hinted as considerations discouraging our sending to the Council proposed.

JOSEPH SEWALL.

This separatist movement in New Haven was the result of Mr. Davenport's teaching there. On his arrival in the town in the autumn of 1741, "his descent from the famous John Davenport, the first pastor of that church, his consanguinity with several reputable families, and especially his reputation for uncommon sanctity and usefulness, procured him a favorable reception. Mr. Noyes, the pastor of the church, admitted him to his pulpit, and there appears to have been no visible opposition till he pronounced Mr. Noyes an unconverted man. On this, Mr. Noyes called a meeting of several friends, September 21, among whom were the principal officers of Yale College, to whom Davenport gave some very frivolous reasons for believing that Mr. Noyes was unconverted. The result was that he was thenceforth excluded from the pulpit. How long he continued there is uncertain ; but after his departure, and before the end of the year, his followers organized a separate church, which, after several years of controversy, numerous councils, and some confessions, came to be acknowledged as a regular church, and still subsists and flourishes." ¹

Lord's Day, Novr. 11. 1744.

The Brethren of the Church and Congregation were stay'd and Voted,

That there be a collection for charitable and pious uses on the

¹ *The Great Awakening*, p. 237. *Bacon's Historical Discourses*, pp. 212-220.

Anniversary Thanksgiving Nov 22. Instant ; And that the rest of the Congregation be notified of this vote, and desired to assist in said collection.

JOSEPH SEWALL.

Anniversary Thanksgiving Novr. 22 1744

Collected. Unappropriated	114. 2. 2
Appropriated to the pious and charit. Fund	5. 0. 0
To buy Necessaries for the Poor	24. 0. 0
To widow Mary Alden ¹	4. 0. 0
	<hr/>
	147. 2. 2

We have quoted freely from Mr. Prince's narrative of these times. It will be interesting, we think, to insert here part of a letter written by his gifted daughter Deborah to her English relatives, under date of March 4, 1743. In it she gives an intelligent account of the extent and power of the revival, and of the opposition which it encountered.²

In my last letter to my grandmother, which was above two years ago, I gave some account of the revival of religion in this town. Since which it has spread from one end of the land unto the other ; and that cry, What must we do to be saved ? has been made almost universally in many places.

Without doubt you have heard various reports concerning this glorious appearance, some perhaps greatly to its disadvantage. For it is represented in the most odious colours by its enemies, from the pulpit and press. Some call it the work of the Devil ; others, who deny revelation, call it Distraction ; and others represent it as mere Mechanism. And they spare neither cost nor pains to bring others to their various opinions. But He that sits in the heavens laughs at their vain attempts, and often discovers their deep laid plots, and makes them turn out to the advancement of that cause which they so violently oppose.

But how much soever you have heard of the errors and disorders, I believe the one half of the glory appearing in this land has not been told you. Indeed it is inexpressible ; so great, that it is the opinion of some eminent divines, that it is the dawning of that glorious day,

¹ [Mary Alden was the wife of William, son of the second John Alden, who died in 1702.]

² Deborah Prince became a member of the South Church August 19, 1739, and died July 20, 1744, in her twenty-first year. Her father obtained the above letter from England after her death. It is printed in the Appendix to

Dr. Wisner's *History*, p. III. Mr. Prince's other daughters were, Mercy, who joined the church November 6, 1743, and died December 18, 1752, aged twenty-seven ; Sarah, who joined the church April 21, 1745, married Moses Gill in 1759, and died August 5, 1771, aged forty-three ; and Grace, who died in 1743, in infancy.

when the whole earth shall be filled with the knowledge of the Lord as the waters cover the sea. It seems as if the Lord was hastily calling in his elect. Sometimes a new face of things spreads over a whole town in a week or two's time. Sometimes there has been an hundred struck with convictions together in one sermon. Yea, at Portsmouth, it was reckoned there was a thousand awakened to a deep concern about their souls, in about three days time. And great numbers have come out of their distress, lively, zealous, meek and humble Christians.

It has been very remarkable at Middleborough, where my uncle Thacher¹ lives; who, before this, was so discouraged with his unsuccessfulness that he was upon the point of leaving his people. Sometimes there would not be above two or three in a year join to the church: and now, in a little more than half a year, he has taken in an hundred and fifty; the most of whom give a very satisfactory account of the work of God upon their souls. It has been as remarkable in many other places. One minister in the country told my father, that there was not one family in his parts but had one or more in it awakened. Another writes him word that, in another town, there were two hundred hopefully converted in two months time. Vast numbers of Indians have, to all appearance, been called out of darkness into his marvellous light.

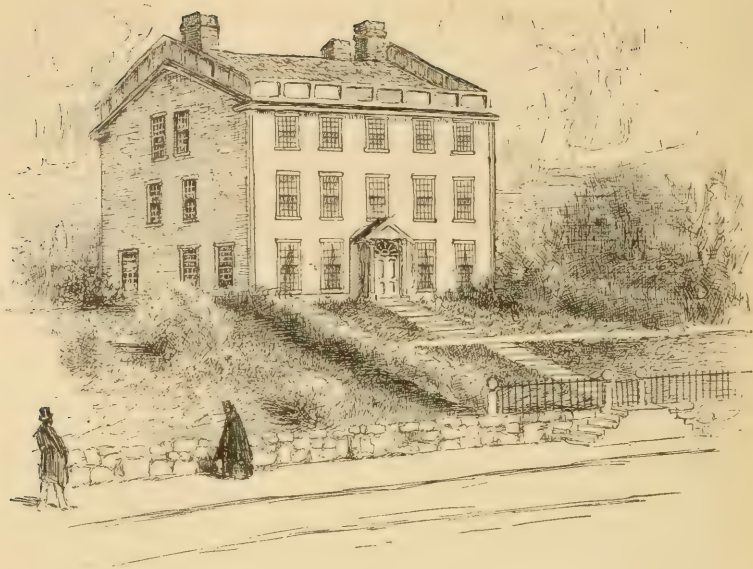
In this day of great grace, in one place, where great numbers of them live, who would hear nothing of the Gospel, but were most obstinately bent against it, and zealous for the worship of their false gods, when one of our zealous ministers went to preach, at first they were very surly and would hear nothing, but told the minister they did not want him there. But he, inspired with a divine courage and a most ardent love to Christ and their perishing souls, would not leave them

¹ [The Rev. Peter Thacher, of Middleborough, was a son of the Rev. Peter Thacher, of Milton, cousin of the Rev. Peter Thacher, of Weymouth and Boston, and grandson of the Rev. Thomas Thacher, first minister of the South Church. He married Mary, daughter of Samuel Prince, and sister of the Rev. Thomas Prince. He was ordained at the age of twenty-one, the church at that time having only twenty members. He did not long survive the great revival of 1741 and 1742. "In his own spirit, the revival never suffered any abatement, but rather grew brighter, till its light was lost among the glories of the heavenly world. During the first week in April, 1744, he preached to his own people and at Plymouth eight times; closing his last dis-

course, which was on the 8th of the month, by telling his people that he did not know whether he should ever see or speak to them again. Returning home, he told his wife he did not know but his work was done. He was restless that night, and rapidly declined till his death, which was on the Sabbath, April 22d. 'On Wednesday afternoon,' says the Rev. Mr. Prince, 'was such an extraordinary confluence from the neighbouring towns, as was never seen in the place before, to attend the funeral. When the coffin was carried out, there was great weeping. — When set on the edge of the grave, it lay there some time, and they seemed to be loath to let him down; nor did I ever see so many weepers before.'"] — *The Great Awakening*, pp. 175, 176.]

so ; but, when night came on, laid him down to sleep upon the ground in one of their wigwams. And though he was in danger of being murder'd, and only one Englishman with him, such was his confidence in God, that he slept very securely ; and when waked in the middle of the night, by the Indians getting up and coming into the wigwam with their large sticks, only said to his companion, " Brother, if the Lord has any work for us to do, we are immortal till it is done, and if he has not, they will only give us a sweet push into eternal rest." But the Lord suffered them not to hurt them. And in the morning, the minister fell to exhorting and pleading with them, with so much earnestness and affection as something moved them ; and they told him, if he would go on the side of a hill where there was no snow (it being winter) they would hear him. So he did ; and they sent and gathered a great number together. And while he was saying the cxv Psalm, of the vanity of the idols of the heathen, they were convinced that the idols which they and their fathers had worshipped from time immemorial, were no gods, and asked the minister what they must do with them. He told them they must burn them immediately. Some of them ran and fetched four images, which they said they and their fathers had worshipped, and burnt them, with indignation at their own stupidity. By this they were prepared to receive the Gospel ; at the preaching of which great numbers were brought under deep conviction of their lost condition by nature, and of their absolute need of Christ. And numbers have attained to a joyful discovery of his all-sufficiency and readiness to save even them, and give a clear and satisfying account of their closing with him by faith : They discover a great distrust of themselves ; and, sensible of their own ignorance, are glad of instruction, and very earnest to learn to read, that they may know the will of God in his word. This is the Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes. I could not forbear giving you a particular account of this remarkable occurrence, it was so pleasing. But I must conclude. So numerous are the triumphs of our glorious Redeemer over his enemies in this day of his power and grace, it would fill volumes to be particular.

On the 29th of May, 1744, Deborah Prince was " seized on a sudden with a slow fever, and upon going up to her chamber drop'd a word, as if she should never come down alive." She died on the 20th of July, and on the Lord's day after her funeral, her father preached a most affecting sermon, which was printed, with the title, " The Sovereign God Acknowledged and Blessed, both in Giving and Taking away."



CHAPTER XI.

1744-1749.

MR. WHITEFIELD'S SECOND VISIT. — THE FRENCH WARS. — THE SEPARATISTS.

MR. WHITEFIELD, on his second arrival in New England, landed at York, Maine, October 19, 1744. He was accompanied by his wife. Mr. Moody called upon him, and said, "Sir, you are, first, welcome to America ; secondly, to New England ; thirdly, to all faithful ministers in New England ; fourthly, to all the good people in New England ; fifthly, to all the good people of York ; and sixthly, and lastly, to me, dear sir, less than the least of all." The Christian History announced his arrival, and added "that his intention was, to pass on to Georgia ; and, as he goes on, to meddle with no controversies, but only to preach up the parts of vital piety and the pure truths of the gospel, to all that are willing to hear them." He preached at York and at Portsmouth ; at the latter place he was taken very ill, and both he and his friends thought he was going to die. As he was getting ready for his journey to Boston, the

Rev. William Shurtleff, a classmate of Dr. Sewall and Mr. Prince, and one of those whose names had been appended to the Testimony of July 7, 1743, wrote: "The prejudices of most that set themselves against him before his coming, seem to be in a great measure abated, and in some, to be wholly removed; and there is no open opposition made to him. I have frequent opportunities of being with him, and there always appears in him such a concern for the advancement of the Redeemer's Kingdom and the good of souls, such a care to employ his whole time to these purposes, such sweetness of disposition, and so much of the temper of his great Lord and Master, that every time I see him, I find my heart further drawn out towards him."

In the *Christian History* we have the following announcement of his arrival in Boston:—

Saturday, November 24, the Rev. Mr. Whitefield was so far revived as to be able to take coach, with his Consort, and set out from Portsmouth to Boston; Whither he came, in a very feeble state, the Monday Evening after: since which he has been able to preach in several of our largest houses of public Worship, particularly the Rev. Dr. Colman's, Dr. Sewall's, Mr. Webb's, and Mr. Gee's, to crowded assemblies of people, and to great and growing acceptance. At Dr. Colman's desire, and the consent of the Church, on the Lord's day after his arrival, he administred to them the Holy Communion.¹ And last Lord's day he preached for the venerable Mr. Cheever, of Chelsea, and administred the Holy Supper there. The next day preached for the Rev. Mr. Emerson of Malden. Yesterday he set out to preach at some towns to the Northward; proposes to return hither the next Wednesday Evening, and, after a few days, to comply with the earnest invitations of several ministers, to go and preach to their congregations, in the southern parts of the Province.

¹ [As this communion service was afterward the occasion of severe criticism, the following explanation of the circumstances was printed in the *Christian History* (vol. ii. p. 376): "The Doctor having such an Opinion of the Catholick Spirit of his Church, like his own, had desir'd Mr. Whitefield to administer for him: and comformable to a common Practice of getting other Ministers to join in the Administration, he thought it unnecessary in a formal Manner to ask the Consent of the Church, and having plainly intimated his Intention in his Prayer

after Sermon, on their coming to the Communion Table, only address'd them in such Terms as these — The Rev. Mr. Whitefield being providentially with us, I have ask'd him to administer the Ordinance. And the Doctor says, that by the Countenances of the People, it seem'd to him to be universally agreeable to them. And no Objection being made, it was constructed by our Informers that the Church consented to it, and which we think was constructed justly. However this we leave to every Reader's Judgment."]

He comes with the same extraordinary spirit of meekness, sweetness, and universal benevolence as before : in opposition to the spirit of separation and bigotry, is still for holding communion with all Protestant Churches. In opposition to enthusiasm, he preaches a close adherence to the Scriptures, the necessity of trying all impressions by them, and of rejecting whatever is not agreeable to them, as delusions. In opposition to Antimonianism, he preaches up all kinds of relative and religious duties, though to be performed in the strength of Christ ; and, in short, the doctrines of the Church of England, and the first Fathers of this Country. As before, he first applies himself to the understandings of his hearers, and then to the affections : and the more he preaches, the more he convinces people of their mistakes about him, and increases their satisfaction.

We attach great importance to this testimony, coming from such a man as Mr. Prince, so learned, so judicious, so thoroughly — in the best sense — a man of the world, and so free from any tendency to fanaticism. The popular enthusiasm was perhaps nearly as great as it had been four years before ; yet the atmosphere into which Mr. Whitefield had now come was very different from that which he breathed during his earlier visit. Death had made some changes. At Brattle Street he must have missed the excellent William Cooper, who had been one of his first and most faithful friends ;¹ and, in the older of the South Church parsonages, the chair of Deborah Prince had recently been made vacant. Political changes, also, had taken place. Jonathan Belcher was not now in the Province House, and his powerful influence was no longer available to give to the visitor the highest social recognition and support. How valuable this

¹ “On Tuesday Morning the 13th Instant, [December 1743,] died in the 50th Year of his Age, after a few Days Illness of an Apoplectick Paralytick Disorder, the Rev. Mr. William Cooper, one of the Pastors of the Town, to the inexpressible Grief of his venerable Colleague, the Rev. Dr. Colman, those of his immediate Charge, and indeed of all thro’ the Town and Land, who have a Savour for experimental Religion, and know how to prize the godly Man, and the faithful Minister.” — *Christian History*, vol. i. p. 337.

Mr. Prince was one of the bearers at Mr. Cooper’s funeral. Dr. Sewall, his brother-in-law, preached at Brattle Street on the following Sunday morning, from

1 Thess. iv. 14, and Dr. Colman in the afternoon. Mr. Prince preached on the next Lord’s Day, from 2 Timo. iv. 7 ; and “the rest of the ministers followed, in their course, preaching with great affection.”

We have before us a sermon by Mr. Cooper, the title of which is “One shall be taken and another left,” and which, the title-page tells us, was preached “to the Old South Church in Boston, March 22, 1740-1, A Season wherein there was a remarkable Display of the sovereign Grace of God in the Work of Conversion, Publish’d by the Request, and at the Expence of an Honourable Person belonging to that Church.” This person, as we suppose, was the governor.

influence had been previously we infer from a paragraph in one of his letters :—

He honoured me with great honour, and the clergy paid the nod, and obeyed. In many, I then perceived, it was quite forced ; and, I think, when at his table, I whispered to some one and said, “ If ever I come again, many of those who now seem extremely civil will turn out my open enemies.” The event has proved that in this respect, I have been no false prophet. You know where it is written, “ There arose a king who knew not Joseph.” But, many or all, my poor labours are yet attended with the usual blessings.

It was inevitable that Mr. Whitefield’s reappearance in New England should prove to be the occasion of warm discussions and sharp divisions among the clergy. The leading men had already taken sides for or against him and the measures which he was supposed to represent. Testimonies and counter-testimonies had been signed and published ; and now that he was come hither again, the practical question presented itself to every minister of a parish as to the kind of reception that should be accorded to him. Should he, or should he not, be invited to the pulpit ? This question was promptly answered in the affirmative by several of the Boston pastors, and some of the largest meeting-houses in the town were opened to him. The Boston pastors were not unanimous ; but there was such a decided majority of them in his favor that the influence of the town, as a whole, was felt to be on his side. Hence a remonstrance was addressed to the associated ministers of Boston and Charlestown by two “ neighboring associations of ministers in the country.” It was dated December 26, 1744, and the first signatures, representing the two bodies, were those of Caleb Cushing, of Salisbury, and John Barnard, of Andover.¹ The signers disclaimed all desire to dictate to the Boston ministers

¹ The members of the first of these associations were : Caleb Cushing (1692), of Salisbury ; Joseph Whipple (1720), of Hampton Falls ; John Lowell (1721), of Newbury ; Paine Wingate (1723), of Amesbury ; Jeremiah Fogg (1730), of Kensington ; Nathaniel Gookin (1731), of North Hampton, N. H. ; Elisha Odlin (1731), of Amesbury ; Peter Coffin (1733), of Kingston ; William Parsons (1735), of South Hampton, N. H. ; and Samuel Webster (1737), of Salisbury.

The members of the second were : John Barnard (1709), of Andover ; Joseph Parsons (1720) and William Balch (1724), of Bradford ; James Cushing (1725), of Haverhill ; Christopher Sargeant (1725), of Methuen ; William Johnson (1727), of Newbury ; John Cushing (1729), of Boxford ; Thomas Barnard (1732), of Newbury ; and Edward Barnard (1736), of Haverhill. We give the years of their graduation at Cambridge, to show approximately their age at this period.

as to what preachers they should receive or refuse, but justified their public remonstrance in this instance by saying that the consequences of Mr. Whitefield's reception would not be confined to the congregations which he might address, but would be general and far reaching, affecting the interests of many other ministers and churches. They assumed, as an undisputed truth, that great and grievous disorders had prevailed among the churches, through the influence of itinerant preachers, and they asked whether Mr. Whitefield approved of these disorders, whether he were against separations, whether he were an enemy to enthusiasm. Further, they avowed their belief that his former visit had done more harm than good. In the expression of this opinion they were consistent with themselves, for several of them had been opposers of the revival in all its stages, and the name of no one of them had appeared among its friends.

On the 28th of December, the faculty of Harvard College issued a Testimony against Mr. Whitefield. In this paper he was charged with being an enthusiast; that is, "one that acts either according to dreams, or some sudden impulses and impressions upon his mind, which he fondly imagines to be from the Spirit of God, persuading and inclining him thereby to such and such actions." He was criticised for the harshness of his judgments, as expressed in his published journals, for example, — that "the generality of preachers" talked of "an unknown and unfelt Christ," and that "as for the universities" at Cambridge and New Haven, "their light is now become darkness, darkness that may be felt;" his extempore manner of preaching was pronounced "by no means proper;" and, lastly, the faculty said, "We think it our duty to bear our strongest testimony against that itinerant way of preaching, which this gentleman was the first promoter of amongst us, and still delights to continue in," and they quoted against him his own remark: "God seems to show me it is my duty to evangelize, and not to fix in any particular place." Pastors were recommended, therefore, to advise with each other in their several associations, and to consider whether it were not high time to make a stand against the mischiefs which seemed to be threatening the churches.

Two, at least, of the faculty of Harvard College — President Holyoke and Professor Wigglesworth — had been favorable to the revival, and we may fairly assume that they did not intend, in this Testimony, to place themselves in hostility to it. Nor need their action and that of their colleagues be attributed

altogether to Mr. Whitefield's injudicious strictures upon the colleges and the clergy; for President Holyoke, in defending his own college against these strictures, after their first publication, had courteously said that he doubted not those who had given out a disadvantageous report had done it "in a godly jealousy for the churches of Christ," which were to be supplied from the colleges with their future ministers.

At an association meeting at Cambridge, January 1, 1745, Mr. Appleton asked his ministerial brethren to advise him with reference to a request made to him by a number of his church and congregation that he would invite Mr. Whitefield to his pulpit. Among those present were Mr. Williams, of Weston, Mr. Cotton, of Newton, and Mr. Turell, of Medford, who, as well as Mr. Appleton himself, had not hesitated to declare that a great work of grace had been witnessed in the land. "After supplications to God, and mature consideration of the case proposed, and the several pleas made in favor of said request, and the state of the town, as also the many weighty objections which lie against the said Mr. Whitefield with respect to his principles, expressions and conduct," it was voted unanimously that it was not advisable, "under the present situation of things," that Mr. Appleton invite Mr. Whitefield to preach in Cambridge, "and they accordingly declared, each of them for themselves, that they would not invite the said gentleman into their pulpits."¹

For the changed attitude towards Mr. Whitefield of such men as Mr. Holyoke, Mr. Appleton, and Mr. Turell, and of the venerable Mr. Walter, of Roxbury, who had been so warm in his commendations at Governor Belcher's table, but who gave in his adhesion to the views of the three associations and of the college faculty, we find an explanation, which seems reasonable, in the following sentences of a careful and conservative writer:²—

When Whitefield first arrived at Boston, he came at the invitation of several of the leading pastors and others, to labor a few weeks

¹ The members of the association who united in this vote were: John Hancock (1689), of Lexington; William Williams (1705), of Weston; John Cotton (1710), of Newton; Nathaniel Appleton (1712), of Cambridge; Warham Williams (1719), of Waltham; Seth Storer (1720), of Watertown; Ebenezer Turell (1721), of

Medford; Nicholas Bowes (1725), of Bedford; Samuel Cooke (1735), of Cambridge. We give here also the years of graduation from college.

² The Rev. Joseph Tracy, author of *The Great Awakening*, whose narrative, as well as the various "Lives" of Whitefield, we have followed in the text.

with them and for them. This kind of "itinerancy," if it might be called by that name, had always been practised and approved in New England. It continued to be practised, without objection, during this revival, by Edwards and others. After Whitefield's return to England, he published the declaration already quoted from his journal: "God seems to shew me it is my duty to evangelize, and not to fix in any particular place." At first, partiality for its author prevented any unfavorable interpretation of this language; but experience at length taught the public what it meant. The evangelizing was to be performed, not in regions where Christ had not been named, or where there was a destitution of the means of grace, but among old and established churches, even if supplied with able and faithful pastors. A divine command to evangelize in such places, evidently implied a divine command to pastors and people in such places, to welcome his evangelical labors; so that whenever he should come, none could refuse him without being guilty of rebellion against God. Whitefield may not have been fully aware of the import of his claim; but Davenport and his associates understood it, and felt equally sure that God had called them also to evangelize in the same style. They went forth accordingly, and demanded admission into churches where they had not been invited. If the pastor refused to welcome them, they appealed at once to his people, denounced him as an enemy of the work of God and a child of the devil, who was leading them blindfold to hell, and called upon them to separate from him. Regard for ecclesiastical order being thus trampled under foot, there was nothing to hinder laymen from receiving and obeying the same "impressions." A swarm of unordained exhorters accompanied and followed the ordained itinerants, and penetrated into still other parishes and neighbourhoods, spreading enthusiasm and confusion wherever they went. And for all this, both the itinerants and exhorters quoted Whitefield's authority. This led to a reconsideration of the whole subject. It was found that Whitefield's language and conduct would bear the construction which his enthusiastic friends had put upon them. His extravagant commendations of Davenport were remembered. His regard for dreams and impulses were called to mind. And then, he was a clergyman of the Church of England, and could not be supposed to have any special regard for Congregational church order. Though he must have been informed of the disorders committed under the sanction of his name, he had never denounced them, or authorized any of his correspondents to do it for him; and since his return, though frequently called upon to speak, he preserved an unbroken silence, and even allowed the Christian History to announce that he intended to take no part in any of these controversies. From all this, many inferred that he approved the disorders that had been committed, and would labor to promote them; and others believed that they grew naturally

out of faults of which he had been guilty, so that he was, in an important sense, "the blamable cause" of their occurrence; and that, as he intended to continue the practice of the same faults, his labors would promote the same evils.

On the 15th of January, the "Sentiments and Resolution" of an association at Weymouth were ordered to be printed. The Rev. Mr. Eells, of Scituate, was a member of this body. Its utterance was in "a better spirit, or at least in a better style," than that of some of the other bodies. The signers said in reference to Mr. Whitefield's itinerancy: "Whatever charity may prompt us to think of the honesty of his design, yet we cannot but disapprove of him as an itinerant preacher. We know not any such officer appointed by Christ, the Head of the church, nor what warrant Mr. Whitefield can plead, besides his own impulses and impressions, for his acting in that capacity." They were surprised and grieved, also, that he, a priest of the Church of England, should administer the Lord's Supper in Congregational churches.

Late in the same month, a pamphlet appeared, containing the Testimony of an association convened at Marlborough, and that of a number of ministers in the county of Bristol. These were in a worse spirit than any that had been previously published. We need not quote from them, but no proof has been found that any of those who signed them had ever been friends of the revival. The total number of pastors who signed the various testimonies to which we have referred was sixty-three. "Of these, nine are known to have been early friends and promoters of the revival, and it is probable that others were on the same side; but concerning the early sentiments of the greater part of the sixty-three there is no proof, while it is certain that some of them were opposers from the beginning."

In the mean time, Mr. Whitefield's friends among the Boston ministers did not waver. Mr. Prince, Mr. Webb, Mr. Foxcroft, and Mr. Gee were his constant advisers. Mr. Foxcroft and his colleague, Dr. Chauncy, were on opposite sides in the controversy, but their personal relations do not seem to have been disturbed in consequence.¹ The former was in an enfeebled

¹ When Mr. Foxcroft died in 1769, Dr. Chauncy said of him in his funeral sermon: "He was a real good Christian; a partaker of the Holy Ghost; uniform in his walk with God in the way of his commandments, though, instead of trust-

ing that he was righteous in the eye of a strict law, he accounted himself an unprofitable servant; fixing his dependence, not on his own worthiness, not on any works of righteousness which he had done, but on the mercy of God and the

state of health, as the result of an attack of paralysis nine years before, and although he continued to preach to the time of his death, his more sturdy associate must have been able to exercise a predominating influence in the affairs of their parish. The latter succeeded in keeping Mr. Whitefield out of his pulpit, when it was proposed to ask him to preach the Thursday Lecture. Mr. Prince wrote to Dr. Chauncy on Wednesday, January 30, 1744-5 :—

I desire to know whether you judge there is any need of my asking your consent to my inviting a minister to preach my Lecture at the Old Brick. In answering which you will oblige

Your humble servant.

Dr. Chauncy replied on the same day :—

Rev. Sir,

In answer to your question, I would ask you another, viz. whether you would express a suitable regard to me, and some others who stately attend the Thursday lecture, and are united with you in carrying it on, to ask a gentleman to preach it, whose conduct has been such (in our apprehensions) that, if he preaches, you know we cannot be present, but must be obliged to tarry at home?

Your humble servant.

In answer to which, Mr. Prince immediately wrote :—

Rev. Sir,

I perceive the purport of your letter is, that if I got Mr. Whitefield to preach, that you and some others are of such a separating spirit that you will not attend the public Lecture : which I am sorry to see. In such a Season as this, should you not rather set a contrary example, while you are publickly condemning such a spirit in others? Mr. Whitefield will hear you, but you will not hear him. Pray who appears most for separation or union? Methinks you should be glad of an occasion to show as good a spirit as he.¹

Dr. Chauncy was the leader of the opposition in Eastern Massachusetts. He was an able, energetic, and strong-willed man, but he was also cold and unimpressionable; and it is not strange, perhaps, that he could neither appreciate nor understand the burning zeal and sacred enthusiasm which marked the

atonement blood and perfect righteousness of Jesus Christ. His writings evince a clearness of perception, copiousness of invention, liveliness of imagination, and soundness of judgment. They bear testimony also to his unfeigned piety."

¹ [*Mass. Hist. Collections*, vol. xxxii. pp. 238, 239. Mr. Prince's notes are preserved in copies made by him upon the sheet on which Dr. Chauncy's note was written. Many of the words are in an abbreviated form.]

labors of Whitefield. He had published, several months before, "Seasonable Thoughts on the State of Religion," in which there was no single word of satisfaction at or sympathy with the deep work of grace which had pervaded the land, which had quickened the religious sense of the people, and which had gathered tens of thousands into the membership of the churches. In all that had taken place, he could discern nothing to commend, but everything to criticise. He did not discriminate between the general impressiveness and solemnity of the revival and the sporadic cases of extravagance which appeared upon its surface.¹ He was unable to recognize in Whitefield an exceptional man, raised up and endowed by Divine Providence, as almost everybody now admits, to do an exceptional work; but he was quick to detect and to expose his limitations, and to magnify the mistakes which were chargeable to his youth and temperament.² For him, the few crude generalizations of the journals more than counterbalanced the marvellous pulpit eloquence which in England moved such men as Garrick, Chesterfield, Lyttelton, and Pitt.³ Not that Whitefield was above criticism; but surely there was something in him to admire and to commend. Holyoke, Appleton, Eells, and others had criticised him, but they had done so with a certain degree of discrimination and appreciation. Chauncy alone, among the leading men on that side in and about Boston, seems to have conceded no qualifying conditions and to have refused all praise.⁴

¹ Dr. Colman said: "We have seen little of those Extreams or supposed Blemishes of this work in Boston, but much of the blessed Fruits of it have fallen to our Share. God has spoken to us in a more soft and calm Wind; and we have neither had those Outcries and Faintings in our Assemblies, which have disturbed the Worship in many Places; nor yet those Manifestations of Joy inexpressible which now fill some of our Eastern Parts." — *Christian History*, vol. ii. p. 386.

² Whitefield said of himself, in a letter dated February 19: "Some unguarded expressions, in the heat of less experienced youth, I certainly did drop. I was too precipitate in hearkening to and publishing private information, and, Peter-like, cut off too many ears." We think that Mr. Tennent was largely responsible

for the strictures upon the colleges and the ministers generally.

³ "Whitefield's preaching was such as England had never heard before, theatrical, extravagant, often commonplace, but hushing all criticism by its intense reality, its earnestness of belief, its deep, tremulous sympathy with the sin and sorrow of mankind. It was no common enthusiast who could wring gold from the close-fisted Franklin and admiration from the fastidious Horace Walpole, or who could look down from the top of a green knoll at Kingswood on twenty thousand colliers, grimy from the Bristol coal-pits, and see as he preached the tears 'making white channels down their blackened cheeks.'" — *Green's Short History*, p. 718.

⁴ Of Dr. Chauncy, Professor Tyler says, "He was a man of leonine heart,

Mr. Whitefield could not but take notice of charges brought against him by men so high in position and influence. His reply to Dr. Chauncy, written while he was ill at Portsmouth, now appeared, with a "preface to the reader," dated January 18, and five days later he finished his reply to the faculty of Harvard College. He wrote in a frank and manly way, and evinced a most excellent spirit towards those who had criticised him. He made explanations and concessions on certain points, and defended himself against such charges as he felt to be unjust or untrue.¹ He did not, however, satisfy his critics; and it was hardly to be expected that he should do so, for they had not formed their opinions hastily or without due deliberation. Dr. Chauncy answered for himself, and Professor Wigglesworth for the college. In February the faculty of Yale College published a "Declaration," sustaining the positions taken by the associations in Massachusetts and at Harvard College, and especially finding fault with an intention, avowed to Mr. Edwards, of bringing over "a number of young men from England to be ordained

of strong, cool brain, of uncommon moral strength. He bore a great part in the intellectual strife of the Revolution; but before that strife was opened he had moulded deeply the thought of his time, both by his living speech and by his publications. These were mostly sermons; but as sermons they had an extraordinary sweep of topics, from early piety and the lessons of affliction to earthquakes in Spain, murder, religious compulsion, Presbyterian ordination, legislative knavery, the encouragement of industry, and the capture of Cape Breton.

"The prevailing trait of the man was intellectual genuineness in all things, and utter scorn of its opposite in anything. He had a massive, logical, remorseless understanding, hardy in its processes, and unwilling to take either fact or opinion at second hand. On the great themes that were then in debate among men, he put himself to enormous research. One of these themes was the Episcopacy. He gave four years of hard reading to it, first in the Scriptures and in the Fathers, then in all modern books on both sides of the controversy. Other themes were the doctrines of human depravity, retribution, and the like. He

settled himself down for seven years to the study of these doctrines in the New Testament, especially in the Epistles of St. Paul, and finally in all other books within reach; and he thus worked his way 'into an entirely new set of thoughts' on those matters. He was an orthodox rationalist; and he stood in the line of that intellectual development among the clergy of New England which at a later day culminated in Unitarianism." — *Hist. of Am. Lit.*, vol. ii. p. 200.

¹ His kind and generous spirit was in the end recognized at Cambridge. In 1764 he solicited donations of books for the college library, after the disastrous fire there; and four years later, President Holyoke being still alive, the following minute was recorded: "At a meeting of the President and Fellows of Harvard College, August 22, 1768, the Rev. G. Whitefield having, in addition to his former kindness to Harvard College, lately presented to the library a new edition of his Journals, and having procured large benefactions from several benevolent and respectable gentlemen; Voted, that the thanks of the Corporation be given to Mr. Whitefield, for these instances of candor and generosity."

by the Tennents." This whole painful controversy need not be detailed in these pages. Neither side was wholly right or wholly wrong; but although on some points the critics were undoubtedly right, we cannot help thinking that Mr. Whitefield had the advantage of them in the spirit which he manifested.¹ The popular sympathies were certainly with him; and while the war of pamphlets was waging among the clergy, he was preaching in Boston and in the neighboring towns to immense congregations. He was urged to set up a six-o'clock morning lecture, such as he had established in Scotland a few months before. He complied with the request, and a small room was taken for the purpose, as it was supposed that but few would attend. On the first morning, however, when he preached from the words, "And they came early in the morning to hear him," there was so great a crowd that it was found necessary, for the future, to have recourse to one of the largest meeting-houses. "The streets were all astir on those dark February mornings with the eager, punctual hearers who were going to the lectures on Genesis." "One morning the crowd was too dense to be penetrated, and he was obliged to go in at the window. Immediately after him came the high sheriff, who had been hostile to the 'new lights,' and the sight of whose face, as it appeared through the window, almost made the astonished people cry out 'Is Saul also among the prophets?'"²

It was at this time that Mr. Whitefield's friends in Boston offered to build for him "the largest place of worship ever seen in America," but he wisely declined. He knew that he was not adapted for the steady duties and constant routine of the pastoral work. Nor would it have been right for him thus to enter into competition with the existing churches, and with the able

¹ Cowper has done justice to his spirit in lines which, we think, will aptly illustrate our account of Whitefield's visits to New England:—

He loved the world that hated him: the tear
That dropp'd upon his Bible was sincere;
Assail'd by scandal and the tongue of strife,
His only answer was a blameless life;
And he that forged, and he that threw the dart,
Had each a brother's interest in his heart.
Paul's love of Christ, and steadiness unbribed,
Were copied close in him, and well transcribed.
He follow'd Paul—his zeal a kindred flame,
His apostolic charity the same.
Like him, cross'd cheerfully tempestuous seas,
Forsaking country, kindred, friends and ease;

Like him he labor'd, and like him, content
To bear it, suffer'd shame where'er he went.

² The high sheriff here referred to was Benjamin Pollard. Edward Winslow, who had held this position for many years, was promoted to the bench in 1743. Whitefield wrote to a friend, February 6, that the sheriff, who had been "foremost in persecuting the good Mr. Davenport," was "a little convinced." Mr. Pollard discriminated, no doubt, between Mr. Davenport and Mr. Whitefield. The former had retracted his errors six months before.

and faithful men who were serving them in the ministry.¹ Under his preaching, during this visit, there were "movings" and "meltings" as before, and there were some interesting cases of conversion; but there was no revival, in the technical sense of that word. "People heard, and were affected, but there was no spreading among the impenitent, as if by sympathy, or by a simultaneous impression upon all, of those views which constitute conviction of sin. Nor ought anything else to have been expected. Both ministers and people were thinking too much about the man, to profit by his preaching." The admissions to the South Church in 1745 were rather below the annual average number, and they were comparatively few during the next nine or ten years.

At a Meeting of the Church and Congregation Feb. 11. 1744-5

Voted, That the Honble E. Lewis, A. Stoddard, Wm Foye T. Cushing and Mr. Ox. Thacher, be a Committee to examine the Accounts of the Committee for Repairs; and make their Report as soon as may be.

Voted, That there be a further Tax on the Pews towards defraying the Charge of repairing the House in which the Rev. Mr. Prince resides &c. viz £4. on each floor-Pew, £2. on the front Pews in the Gallery, and £1. on the back pews in said Gallery O. Tenour.

Voted, That Messrs. Jer. Belknap, John Symmes, Ephrm. Copeland and David Jeffries be a Committee to collect said money, And that John Hunt Esq be continued the Treasurer. JOSEPH SEWALL.

Lord's Day Febr. 24 1744-5

The Deacons were allowed to spend fifty pounds out of the last Collection for Charitable and pious uses towards the relief of the Poor of this Church and Congregation. JOSEPH SEWALL.

Four days later, on Thursday, February 28, a day of prayer and fasting was observed throughout the province, with reference to the expedition then preparing for the capture of Cape Breton and its fortified city, Louisburg. In 1744, the war between England and France, known as the War of the Austrian Succession, was entered upon; the first knowledge of it came to the people of New England through the capture of the small English garrison at Canso by the French. By the Peace of Utrecht in 1713, the island of Cape Breton had been made over to France. Mr. Prince, who was in England at the time, said of

¹ In Philadelphia, he was offered £800 out of the twelve, if he would become a year, and liberty to travel six months settled minister there.

this cession: "All true-hearted Britons who knew the circumstances of the island, most grievously lamented the resignation, as full of teeming mischief to the British trade, wealth and power, and as one of the most fatal acts of that unhappy ministry," — the Tory ministry of Harley and St. John, two men described by Macaulay, the one as a solemn trifler, the other a brilliant knave. Governor Shirley, prompted by "a bold, energetic, and imaginative adventurer," William Vaughan, determined to attempt the recovery of this island, and the religious excitement yielded for the time to the interest of the community in the fitting out of the expedition. Mr. Prince, in his Thanksgiving Day sermon, preached a few months later, names, among the Providential steps "which led us to the adventurous enterprize," the abundant crops of the previous year, whereby the provinces were prepared to supply so great an armament, and the remarkably favorable state of the weather. He says: "It was wonderful also to see that during those two usually stormy months of February and March, the only season for our preparation, God was pleased to give us such a constant series of moderate and fair weather, as in that time of the year has scarce ever been known among us: So that there was scarcely any impediment to our officers going about and enlisting, or of our soldiers in marching, or our vessels in fitting, or our coasters in bringing us provisions, or our Committee of War in their various preparations, 'till all were ready to sail."

The command of the expedition was entrusted to William Pepperrell. He was a warm friend of Whitefield, and a constant attendant upon his ministrations;¹ and he went to the great preacher for advice, before accepting the responsibilities of the appointment. As has been well said, Whitefield showed a knowledge of the world in dealing with the question, cautioning Pepperrell that, if he should fail, the blood of the slain would be laid to his charge, while, if he should succeed, he would be pursued by the envy of the living.² He accepted, however, and

¹ When Mr. Whitefield landed at York, in October, 1744, Mr. Pepperrell "went with some friends in his own boat," to bring him to his house at Portsmouth, but he was not well enough to come. It was at the house of Mr. Joseph Sherburne, at Portsmouth, also spoken of in the text, that he soon after had the illness which all thought would prove fatal.

² Whitefield spoke to Pepperrell with his wonted frankness and freedom, when he said "that he did not indeed think the scheme proposed for taking Louisbourg very promising, and that the eyes of all would be upon him. If he did not succeed, the widows and orphans of the slain soldiers would be like lions robbed of their whelps; but if it pleased God to give him success, envy would

then Mr. Joseph Sherburne, one of the commissaries, came to Mr. Whitefield to say that unless he would favor the expedition, "serious people" would be discouraged from enlisting, and, further, that he must give a motto for his flag. To this Mr. Whitefield demurred, but at length yielded, and gave them *Nil desperandum, Christo duce*. As soon as it was known what he had done, great numbers enlisted. He was urged to go as a chaplain, but declined. Before the expedition embarked, the officers asked him to preach to them, and he gave them a sermon on David at the Cave of Adullam. He described the motley band gathered at the cave, and then showed how distressed sinners come to Jesus Christ, the spiritual David; he exhorted the soldiers to behave like the soldiers of David, and the officers to act like David's worthies, and added that if they did he doubted not there would be good news from Cape Breton.

"And now," says Mr. Prince, "our army of three thousand land soldiers, with all kinds of stores being ready to sail about the 20th of March, in about a hundred vessels, besides five hundred soldiers more sent from Connecticut, and three hundred and fifty from New Hampshire, — we had almost every gloomy prospect to make us tremble. For our inland borders were now left bare of a great part of their strength, by the listing of so many of their able men volunteers in the expedition. And if the enterprise succeeded, the heavy debt would almost sink us. But if, for our offences, God were carrying forth a great part of the Flower of our Country to be destroy'd, a most dismal scene of ruin seem'd to follow! . . . The hearts of many of the wisest ashore now seem'd to fail. Some repented they had voted for it, and others that they had ever promoted it. Some judged it best after all for every man to go home; and the thoughtful among us were in great perplexity. But yet a wonder it was to see, that those who were venturing into the danger, seem'd to be fullest of trust in God and courage. Many fill'd their vessels with prayers; and asking ours, they threw themselves into the Divine protection, in the name of God they set up their banner, and away they sail'd. Pray for us, and we'll fight for you — was the valiant and endearing language wherewith they left us."

And those who remained at home did pray for those who had

endeavour to eclipse his glory. He had need, therefore, if he went, to go with a single eye, and then there was no doubt, but if Providence really sent him, he would find his strength proportioned to the day."

gone. Mr. Prince adds : " As it was very encouraging to think how many pious and prayerful persons were embark'd in the cause, which we accounted the cause of God and his people ; it gave further ground of hope, to see such a spirit of supplication given to many in this town and land on this occasion. For, besides the solemn days of publick and general prayer appointed by these three Governments, there were particular days observed in several congregations. There were also in divers towns religious societies, some of women as well as others of men, who met every week, more privately to pray for the preservation and success of their dear countrymen : And I have been well informed of their extraordinary fervency, faith and wrestlings, as so many Jacobs, in this important season. Psalm cviii. 10-13, was usually among our petitions." ¹

Colonel Pepperrell was a nephew by marriage of Dr. Sewall,² and several of the officers and men belonged to the South Church and congregation. Richard Gridley, who distinguished himself as an engineer during the siege ; under whose supervision the fortifications round Lake George were to be constructed, a few years later ; who was to be by the side of Wolfe at his death on the Plains of Abraham ; and who, still later, was to render eminent service to his country at Breed's Hill, and in the siege of Boston at Cambridge, — married a daughter of a South Church family, Hannah Deming, and (as we suppose) himself became a member in 1756.

Mr. Whitefield preached a farewell sermon at Mr. Webb's, on the 19th of June, at five o'clock in the afternoon, from Eph. vi. 10-19, and soon after left for New York and the South.³ The

¹ " Who will bring me into the strong city ? who will lead me into Edom ? Wilt not thou, O God, who hast cast us off ? and wilt not thou, O God, go forth with our hosts ? Give us help from trouble : for vain is the help of man. Through God we shall do valiantly : for he it is that shall tread down our enemies."

May 2, 1745. " The Thursday Lecture was turned into a Fast by the ministers on account of Cape Briton Expedition. Mr. Prince began with prayer at ten o'clock. Mr. Webb preached. P. M. Mr. Checkley prayed and Dr. Sewall preached. Mr. Welsted prayed last, [added later] and this day the Grand Battery at Cape Briton was delivered up to us." — John Phillips, *MS. Diary*.

² William Pepperrell married (February 21, 1722-3) Mary, eldest daughter of Grove Hirst, and granddaughter of Judge Sewall.

Dr. Colman, of Brattle Street, married as his third wife (August 12, 1745) Mary, sister of Colonel Pepperrell, and widow of the Hon. John Frost.

³ Mr. Whitefield did not come to New England again until the autumn of 1747. The opposition to him seems then to have abated. He wrote : " The flocking and power that attended the word, was like unto that seven years ago. Weak as I was, and have been, I was enabled to travel eleven hundred miles and preach daily." He sailed soon after for the Bermudas.

General Association of Connecticut had just declared that as he had been "the promoter or at least the faulty occasion" of the prevailing errors and disorders, it would not be advisable for the ministers to open their pulpits to him during "his progress through this government," or for the people to attend "upon his preaching and administrations."¹

Intelligence of the capture of Louisburg reached Boston about break of day on the 3d of July. Dr. Chauncy, writing on the 4th to his brother-in-law, the hero of the hour, said: "The people of Boston before sunrise were as thick about the streets as on election day; and a pleasing joy visibly sat on the countenance of every one you met with. We had last night the finest illumination I ever beheld." A public thanksgiving was ordered; and the meeting-houses, which had been filled with waiting suppliants, were now thronged with grateful worshippers.

Lord's Day July 14. 1745.

The Brethren of the church and Congregation stay'd and Voted, —

That there be a collection on the general Thanksgiving next Thursday to relieve such necessitous Persons of this Church and Congregation whose Husbands or other Relatives have lost or ventured their lives in the Expedition against Cape Breton: And if there shall be more than a sufficiency to supply These, that then others under like circumstances be consider'd, as the Brethren of the Church and Congregation shall determine.

JOSEPH SEWALL.

General Thanksgiving for the Conquest of Cape Breton July 18, 1745.

Collected one hundred and thirty pounds for the use above said.

JOSEPH SEWALL.

Mr. Prince preached from the text, "This is the Lord's doing; it is marvellous in our eyes." In the application of his subject he reviewed the remarkable steps, twelve in number, which led "to the adventurous enterprize," and "the more surprizing steps of Providence succeeding therein to the happy accomplishment," also twelve in the enumeration. In closing his discourse, which was one subdued and devout utterance of joyful praise, he said: "May this happy conquest be the dawning earnest of our Divine Redeemer's carrying on his triumphs thro' the Northern Regions; till he extends his Empire from

¹ The General Association of Connecticut met at Newington, June 18. The Rev. Benjamin Colton was moderator, and the Rev. Elnathan Whitman scribe. See Walker's *History of the First Church in Hartford*, p. 307.

the Eastern to the Western Sea, and from the River of Canada to the Ends of America.”¹

The news of the victory was received in England with much rejoicing. “The captured standards were borne in triumph from Kensington Palace to the City, and were suspended in St. Paul’s Church, amidst the roar of guns and kettle-drums, and the shouts of an immense multitude.” The home government assumed the whole cost of the expedition; General Pepperrell was created a baronet of the United Kingdom, and the valuable services of Richard Gridley were properly recognized, and his future promotion assured.²

At a Meeting of the Brethren of the Church and Congregation, Sept. 30. 1745.

Voted, as follows, That the Report of the Committee to whom was referred the Accounts of the Repairs of the Ministerial Houses &c exhibited by a committee appointed to have the oversight and direction thereof; and also the Accounts of sundry charges exhibited by the Deacons; be accepted.

That the Gentlemen present subscribe what they will farther give to defray the charges unpaid of repairing the Meeting House and the Ministerial Houses; and that a Committee be appointed to goe to such absent Persons of the Church and Congregation, as it may be thought will give to defray such Charges.

That Messrs. Malachi Salter Junr and William Taylor, be the Committee for that Service.

That John Hunt Esq. Treasurer be impower’d to pay to the several Persons not yet paid for the repairs &c. what remains due to them; and also the charges that have been or may be about the Well at the Revd. Mr. Prince’s House, after the several accounts have been examined and allowed by the Deacons.

That the Hon. Ezekiel Lewis, Anthony Stoddard and Thomas Cushing Esqrs be a Committee to examine the Deacon’s Accounts.

That the present Seaters are continued till the further Order of this Society.

That it is expedient and necessary that the Contributors on the Lord’s days should mark the money they put into the Boxes, that it may be known what each Person doth contribute.

That the committee for the time being for ordering and regulating the Pews and Seats in the Meeting House be impower’d and directed,

¹ This sermon was published in Boston and in London. Dr. Chauncy preached a thanksgiving sermon on the same day, “Marvellous things done by the Right Hand and Holy Arm of God.”

² For an account of Richard Gridley and his public services, see Oration by D. T. V. Huntoon, at the unveiling of his monument at Canton, Mass., May 30, 1877.

that when any Pew or part of one be hereafter dispos'd of by them to any Person, to make it a condition in the Tenure thereof, that the Person to whom the same shall be assign'd, doe pay or contribute weekly for the support of the worship of God and other charges, such summe in lawful money as shall be agreed upon between them and the party; and shall also be obliged to pay their proportionable part of such sums of money as may be necessary for this Society to raise in order to defray the contingent charges that may arise from time to time: Provided that no whole Pew be assign'd to any Person for the future, unless he be oblig'd to pay weekly, at least fifteen pence in lawful money, and so in proportion for any part of one; and also for Gallery-Pews after said rate, or in proportion to their Cost and Value; and this to continue, till the Church and Congregation shall alter or order otherwise.

JOSEPH SEWALL.

Lord's Day Decr 1. 1745.

The Brethren of the Church and Congregation were stay'd, And Voted

That there be a Collection for Charitable and pious uses on the Anniversary Thanksgiving, next Thursday, Decr 5 Instant: And that the rest of the Congregation be notified of this Vote, and desired to assist in said collection.

JOSEPH SEWALL.

Anniversary Thanksgiving Decr 5. 1745.

Collected. Unappropriated	163. 15. 6
To the Charit. and Pious Fund	5. 0. 0
To two poor Widows	2. 10. 0
	<hr/>
	171. 5. 6

Lord's Day Decr. 15. 1745

The Brethren of the Church and Congregation were stay'd, and

Voted, That the Deacons be empower'd to expend one hundred pounds of the collection for Charitable and pious uses, for the relief of the Poor of this Church and Congregation, to be laid out in Wood and other Necessaries of life.

2. That twenty pounds of said collection be laid out in Bibles Catechisms and other books of piety; and given to proper Objects of such a Charity.

JOSEPH SEWALL.

The Hon. Thomas Cushing, a merchant, and speaker of the House of Representatives, died April 11, 1746, aged fifty-two.¹

¹ He was born in Boston, January 30, 1694. His father, the Hon. Thomas Cushing, was a representative and councillor. Samuel Adams, the patriot, was in his counting-room for a short time,

after completing his college course. Mr. Prince preached a funeral sermon from the words, "Help, Lord, for the godly man ceaseth, for the faithful fail from among the children of men."

He graduated at Harvard College in 1711, and was converted a year or two later. He "applied himself to merchandize, not neglecting the occasional study of the English history and political constitutions." He married Mary, youngest daughter of the first Edward Bromfield, and this, perhaps, brought him to the South Church, which he joined in 1730. "He was distinguished by his wealth, his abilities, his zeal for his country's service, his integrity, and in a peculiar manner for his piety." The revival of religion in Boston, a few years before his death, gave him great delight, although he was grieved at the imprudence and extremes of some and the indiscriminate opposition of others. Mr. Prince said of him in his funeral sermon: "I found that in a small, relaxed and feeble body, there dwelt a great, a lively, a strong and well composed soul." He remarked to a friend, when conversing on the responsibilities of public men in times of difficulty: "Men may be a long while great patriots from moral or political principles; or party or worldly interests; or the applause or esteem of others. But there is nothing like the special grace of God, a believing view of his present eye and future judgment, and an interest and conscience wholly subjected to him, to keep men steady to the public interest in times of trial."¹ His distinguished son of the same name, who graduated at Cambridge in 1744, with Samuel Welles, Jonathan Mayhew, Edward Bass, and others, joined the South Church with his wife, Deborah Fletcher, in 1755, and was an active member until his death in 1788.

Two years after the death of Mr. Cooper, the Brattle Street Church made choice of his son, Mr. Samuel Cooper, as associate pastor. Three other young men, John Walley,² William

¹ Mr. Cushing is believed to have been the author of a pamphlet of sixty-six pages, printed in 1744, entitled "A Seasonable Plea for the Liberty of Conscience, and the Right of private Judgment in Matters of Religion, without any Controll from human Authority — being a Letter from a Gentleman in the Massachusetts Bay to his friend in Connecticut." It was a protest against an enactment passed in Connecticut in 1742, with a subsequent amendment, under which a settled minister was to be deprived of his ecclesiastical rights, if he went beyond his parish limits to preach in another parish, except by invitation of the minister of

that parish; and any one so preaching, coming from another colony, "foreigner or stranger," whether a regularly ordained minister or only an exhorter, was to be sent out of the jurisdiction as a vagrant person, and if he returned was to be put under bonds for £100 to keep the peace.

² John Walley was the third of the name and lineage, in the membership of the South Church. He graduated at Cambridge in 1734, and was settled at Ipswich, in the South Parish, in 1747. He was a nephew of Mrs. Sewall. Mr. Samuel Cooper was a nephew of Dr. Sewall.

Vinal, and Samuel Langdon, had preached each one month as candidates, "all of them," say the records of the church, "to the great acceptance and esteem both of the pastor and the congregation." It was natural that Dr. Colman should express, as he did publicly, a decided preference for the son of his old friend and colleague, and that a majority of the church should be in favor of him, also. Mr. Samuel Cooper, by request, preached a sermon on the 6th of April, in which he gave "a confession of his faith to the general satisfaction of the audience," and on the 21st of May he was ordained by a council representing the churches of Boston, Charlestown, and Cambridge. In arranging for the ordination, the church voted, "That in case the reverend pastor, Dr. Colman, should find himself disabled by the infirmities of age or bodily weakness to preside in the proposed ordination, pray, and give the charge with the imposition of the hands of the Presbytery, then he be desired to request the Rev. Dr. Sewall, in the name of the church, to preside and lead in that part of the solemnity." "This service," says Dr. Lothrop, "he subsequently performed," and, he adds, "this shows, at least, what our church at that time thought of its rights, and to what a limited extent it considered a discretionary power attached to the council." Dr. Colman preached the sermon, as he had done at the ordination of the father in 1716; his text was Jer. xxiii. 31, 32, and he improved the occasion to rebuke the separatists, who were working almost incalculable mischief in many of the churches. He expressed the wish "before God, and in his fear, that those among ourselves who have of late years taken upon themselves to go about exhorting and preaching, grossly unfurnished with ministerial gifts and knowledge, would suffer those words of the Lord to sink deep into their hearts, to check them in their bold career, and blind censures of many faithful pastors, into whose folds they are daily breaking, and because of the mildness of our spirits towards them, seem to grow the more bold and fierce. And it were greatly to be wished that people would beware of such straggling, illiterate teachers, and avoid them, in whatever appearance of sheeps clothing they may come."¹

¹ We cannot agree with Dr. Palfrey and Dr. Lothrop that this passage was pointed at Whitefield, or that it indicates a change of feeling towards him. We find no evidence that Dr. Colman ever faltered in his admiration of the great preacher, from the time when his fame first reached Boston. The letter to Mr. Williams, of Lebanon, upon which (together with the above passage) Dr. Palfrey relies to show that a change had taken place, was written before White-

The war spirit was again prevalent this summer. General Pepperrell and Admiral Warren arrived in June from the scenes of their joint triumph in Acadia, and were welcomed with much enthusiasm. Soon after, the news came to hand of the victory near Culloden, of Frederick, Duke of Cumberland, over the Young Pretender, and "a Day of General Thanksgiving for the Great Deliverance" was observed on the 14th of August. At the South Church, Mr. Prince preached an historical discourse from Ezra ix. 13, 14. He sketched the history of the Stuarts from the marriage of Charles I. to a French princess, — "the pernicious fountain of almost all the miseries of the British nations ever since," — to the Revolution of 1688; he enumerated the various conspiracies and invasions undertaken subsequently, in the interest of the Pretender; and after showing what the result would have been to the cause of religion and liberty, if any of these attempts at the Crown had been successful, he enlarged, as he had done the year before, upon some of "the signal appearances of God" in behalf of his people.¹

field's second visit to Boston, when he was heartily welcomed to the pulpit and the communion table at Brattle Street. See Lothrop's *History of the Church in Brattle Street* (1851), pp. 69, 70.

There had been more or less confusion at Mr. Webb's under one or two of Mr. Whitefield's sermons, in consequence of outcries and other manifestations of excitement; and Dr. Colman wrote to the latter, urging him to discourage everything of the kind, and intimating that such scenes would be more in place within other walls, meaning, as we suppose, the assemblies of the separatists.

¹ To show how evenly balanced the Protestant and Jacobite parties in England were in 1701, Mr. Prince reminded his hearers that the vote in the House of Commons to settle the descent of the Crown was determined in favor of the Protestant succession by the casting vote of the Speaker; and he added: "I am an eye-witness to the following instances — That when the Whiggish ministry in Queen Ann's Reign in 1710, were turned out and the Tory came into their places, the stream of the nation appeared plainly with the Jacobite party: Hereditary Right and Passive Obedience and Non-

Resistance was the general cry: Dr. Sacheverel, for promoting these slavish doctrines, and arraigning the Revolution, was almost everywhere extoll'd to the skies; and wherever he went, applauded, crowded and almost adored by the multitude: The freeholders in the counties and corporations mostly chose those into the Parliament who were known to be Tories, attach'd to the Tory ministry; and the greater part of the then clergy of the Church of England joined with them, and were continually crying up Hereditary Right, Passive Obedience, Non-Resistance and Down with the Whiggs who zealously stood up for the Revolution and Protestant Succession."

Macaulay says of this period: "A foolish parson had preached a foolish sermon against the principles of the Revolution. The wisest members of the government were for letting the man alone. . . . The impeachment was brought; the doctor was convicted; and the accusers were ruined. The clergy came to the rescue of the persecuted clergyman. The country gentlemen came to the rescue of the clergy. A display of Tory feelings, such as England had not witnessed since the closing years of Charles the Second's reign, appalled the

But the exultation of this Thanksgiving Day was speedily changed into anxious fears and forebodings. The loss of Louisburg had been a most mortifying blow to France, and it was determined, at all events, to recover the famous fortress and to invade New England. A large fleet under the Duke D'Anville, as admiral and general, was despatched from Brest; this was "the greatest and most powerful armament against these Northern Colonies, that was ever sent into North America: Having twenty men of war, a hundred transports, about eight thousand disciplined troops with veteran officers, and vast quantities of provision, powder, shot, arms, cannon, bombs and mortars, sufficient to take the strongest places."¹ The fate of this proud armada was most tragic. The stars in their courses seem to have fought against it. Coming by a southern route, the voyage across the Atlantic was protracted and tedious; sickness attacked the troops, and as the vessels approached the coast of Nova Scotia, they were scattered, and some of them broken, by heavy gales. Fogs were then encountered; and it was not until the 12th of September that the Duke entered the port of rendezvous, Chebucto, to be met there by a fraction only of his command. "Finding his few ships so shattered, so many men dead, so many sickly, and no more of his fleet come in, he sunk into discouragement, and September 15 died," having taken poison, as is supposed. On the following day, the rear-admiral arrived, with five ships of the line and twenty-seven of the fleet, but in such a condition that the troops had to be landed and the vessels repaired. The vice-admiral, Estournell, "in consideration of the deplorable case they were in, proposed to return to France to save the rest of the men;" but he was overruled by a council of war, and on the morning of the 19th, he was "found in his apartment, fallen upon his sword." The chief command now devolved on the rear-admiral, Jonquire, who, with his officers, determined to make an attack on Annapolis, and then perhaps on some place on this coast, before returning

ministers and gave boldness to the Queen. She turned out the Whigs, called Harley and St. John to power, and dissolved the Parliament. The elections went strongly against the late government." — *Essays*, vol. iii. p. 130.

¹ See Mr. Prince's Thanksgiving Sermon preached November 27, 1746. This sermon was recalled by the next generation for the encouragement of the people

of Boston, when passing through a still more terrible trial. John Kneeland advertised, July 7, 1774, an extract from it, "reprinted at this Time with a View to encourage the People of God to put their Trust in Him, and to call upon his Name, under the severe and Keen Distresses now taking place in Boston and Charlestown, by the rigorous Execution of the Boston Port Bill."

home. They had given up the idea of attempting Louisburg, and on the 13th of October, with about forty sail, they took their departure from Chebucto. Their appearance before Boston was expected daily. Richard Gridley, under the direction of Governor Shirley, had been engaged on the harbor defences; and several thousand men with arms, from the surrounding country, some of them coming from as far as Brookfield, were assembled for the defence of the town. At this supreme moment the people crowded their meeting-houses, as was their habit at such times; and what took place at the Old South, on a solemn day of prayer, has found a permanent record in the sermons of the theologian and among the ballads of the poet. "While Mr. Prince was officiating on this fast day, and praying most fervently to God to avert the dreaded calamity, a sudden gust of wind arose (the day had till now been perfectly clear and calm) so violent as to cause a clattering of the windows. The reverend pastor paused in his prayer, and, looking round upon the congregation with a countenance of hope, he again commenced, and with great devotional ardor supplicated the Almighty to cause *that wind* to frustrate the object of our enemies, and save the country from conquest and popery. A tempest ensued, in which the greater part of the French fleet was wrecked on the coast of Nova Scotia."¹

President Dwight, of Yale College, when preaching on prayer, thus referred to this event: "I am bound, as an inhabitant of New England, to declare that were there no other instances to be found in any other country, the blessings communicated to this would furnish ample satisfaction concerning this subject to every sober, much more to every pious man. Among these, the destruction of the French armament under the Duke D'Anville, in the year 1746, ought to be remembered with gratitude and admiration by every inhabitant of this country." Longfellow has put these words into the mouth of Mr. Prince:—

A fleet with flags arrayed
Sailed from the port of Brest,
And the Admiral's ship displayed
The signal: "Steer southwest."
For this Admiral D'Anville
Had sworn by cross and crown

¹ Dr. Wisner quotes this statement from the *Columbian Centinel*, 1821; and he says that he was told by Mrs. Huntington that she had heard Mrs. Waters

and Mrs. Mason, well-known aged members of the South Church, give substantially the same account of Mr. Prince's praying on this fast day.

To ravage with fire and steel
Our helpless Boston Town.

There were rumors in the street,
In the houses there was fear
Of the coming of the fleet,
And the danger hovering near.
And while from mouth to mouth
Spread the tidings of dismay,
I stood in the Old South,
Saying humbly : " Let us pray !

" O Lord ! we would not advise ;
But if in thy Providence
A tempest should arise
To drive the French Fleet hence,
And scatter it far and wide,
Or sink it in the sea,
We should be satisfied,
And thine the glory be."

This was the prayer I made,
For my soul was all on flame,
And even as I prayed
The answering tempest came ;
It came with a mighty power,
Shaking the windows and walls,
And tolling the bell in the tower,
As it tolls at funerals.

The lightning suddenly
Unsheathed its flaming sword,
And I cried : " Stand still, and see
The salvation of the Lord !"
The heavens were black with cloud,
The sea was white with hail,
And ever more fierce and loud
Blew the October gale.

The fleet it overtook,
And the broad sails in the van
Like the tents of Cushan shook,
Or the curtains of Midian.
Down on the reeling decks
Crash'd the o'erwhelming seas ;
Ah, never were there wrecks
So pitiful as these !

Like a potter's vessel broke
The great ships of the line ;
They were carried away as a smoke,
Or sank like lead in the brine.
O Lord ! before thy path
They vanished and ceased to be,
When thou didst walk in wrath
With thine horses through the sea !

Mr. Prince, in his Thanksgiving Sermon six weeks later, thus speaks of the day of fasting and what followed :—

The same day, viz. Thursday October 16, is kept the day of general fasting and prayer throughout the churches in this Province, on this great emergency, And that very night ensuing, the glorious God entirely baffled all their purposes, and put a total end to their mischievous enterprize. He mightily arose, and wrought a full salvation for us. He sent a more furious storm of wind and rain and hail, than ever, [the fleet had encountered a heavy storm near Sable Island the day before]—which held to the next day noon,—which they could not stand before,—which so dispersed and broke them, they could never get together again : And several ships were so crazy, and weakly handled, that 'tis apprehended by our dismissed captives, who were in the same storm, that some were overset, some others foundered and sunk in the mighty waters : And the remaining men of war in view, so shattered and discouraged, that they determined for the West India Islands, and sent their Nova Scotia pilots home, with orders to their French and Indian army who had marched to Annapolis to leave their enterprize and get away. The scattered remnants, it seems most likely, are gone back to France, abased and confounded.

In the midst of all this excitement, the church was considering the question of discipline, and inquiring how it might raise the standard of Christian living in its membership. One result was the appointment of a standing committee, some of whose functions were to be similar to those of the church committee of the present day.

At a Church Meeting July 14. 1746.

Whereas there has been a Proposal made for the revival of our Church-Discipline, and for assisting the Pastors in the Exercise thereof, and in other Emergencies,

Voted, That there be a Committee chosen to take this Matter into their mature Consideration, and make Report to the Church on Monday August 4. next at 10 a-clock A. M.

Voted, That the Honble John Osborne, Ez. Lewis, Josiah Willard, Anthony Stoddard Samuel Welles Esqs. and the Deacons, together with our Pastors, be the said Committee. JOSEPH SEWALL.

Augt. 4. The Meeting was so thin that we further adjourned it to the 10th instant.

Lord's Day Augt 10. 1746.

The Church stay'd : the Report of the Committee was read and accepted, and is as follows ; viz.

The Committee chosen by the South Church in Boston, July 14.

1746, to consider the Proposal made for the revival of our Church-Discipline ; Report as follows ;

Whereas the Watch and Discipline of this Church have been too much neglected ; We purpose by the help of God, more carefully to attend our duty in watching over one another in love, and with a Spirit of meekness, agreeable to our solemn Covenant-Engagements :

And whereas there may difficulties arise relating to our Discipline, and help be needed, either in a more private way of healing offences, or in preparing matters for the Cognizance of the Church where it may be necessary, and in other Emergencies ;

It is Proposed, that there be a Committee chosen from among our Brethren to advise with our Pastors and be helpful to them in the matters above said : The said Committee to consist of five Persons, and to be chosen annually.

Voted, That the Church proceed to the choice of said committee, Lord's Day Augt. 24. Instant, after the public-Exercises P. M. and that the choice be made by written Votes.

Lord's Day Augt 24. 1746.

The Hon. Ezekiel Lewis, Josiah Willard, Deacon Henchman and Mr. Edward Bromfield, were chosen by written votes.

The Lord's Day following, Augt. 31. Coll. Winslow was chosen by written votes.

JOSEPH SEWALL

Lord's Day Novr 16. 1746

The Brethren of the Church and Congregation were stay'd, and Voted

That there be a Collection for Charitable and pious Uses on the Anniversary Thanksgiving next, Novr 27. Instant : And that the Rest of the Congregation be notified of this Vote, and desired to assist in said Collection

JOSEPH SEWALL

Novr. 27. Public Thanksgiving,

Collected. Unappropriated £176. 16. 0

Appropriated

For the Charitable and Pious Fund . . . £ 21. 0. 0

For the chh. of Tiverton, towards Mr. Cam-
bell's support, £ 14. 0. 0

For Mr. Willoughby,¹ 13. 0. 0

For the Widow Simpson 3. 00. 0

For the Widow Holland 2. 10. 0

For the Widow Morse 2. 10. 0

232. 16. 0

¹ [Francis Willoughby, grandson of — the early friend of the South Church, the deputy governor of the same name, — was born September 28, 1672. He

Mr. Prince preached the sermon on this occasion, from which we have already quoted, "The Salvations of God in 1746," — perhaps the most celebrated of all his patriotic utterances. His text was Exodus xiv. 13 : "Stand still, and see the salvation of the Lord." The opening paragraph, on which the doctrine of the sermon was founded, and to which the historical passages gave ample illustration, was as follows : —

The existence of an absolutely perfect Being, which we call the Deity, unavoidably infers his absolutely perfect Providence, exactly answerable to the absolute perfection of his nature. For as his understanding is absolutely perfect, it must needs eternally have seen all things possible to be and come to pass, both by his influence and permission : And as, out of all these possibilities, his absolutely perfect wisdom must needs select those to come into existence which are fittest (all things perfectly considered) to be effected and permitted ; the same wisdom will eternally direct him, both in creating, supporting, over-ruling and permitting, in a perfect correspondence with his absolutely perfect foresight.

Lord's Day, Jan'y 11. 1746-7 The Brethren of the Church and Congregation stay'd and Voted,

That the Deacons be empower'd to lay out one hundred and fifty Pounds of the collection for Charitable and pious uses, for the relief of the Poor of this Church and Congregation, in Wood and other Necessaries of life.

A letter was then read from the Church and Society in Tiverton, asking our Charitable assistance towards purchasing Land for the support of the Ministry among them :

In answer to which, It was agreed that said Letter should be read before the Congregation next Lord's Day P. M. ; and that such as were disposed, should be desired to make their offerings the Lord's day after, with their weekly contribution :

had two children by his first wife, Bethiah Gedney, born in Salem, before 1710. He was representative in 1713. In 1716, he married, as his second wife, Sarah, daughter of the Hon. John Wallely, and widow of Charles Chauncy, merchant ; she died in 1726. In 1733, when three market-places were established in the town, Mr. Willoughby was chosen "Clerk of the Market for the Space at or near the Great Tree at the South end by Mr. Eliots." In 1734 he was placed on the committee with Thom-

as Fitch, Edward Hutchinson, Jacob Wendell, Nathanael Cunningham, and others, to erect a market-house on land leased from Jonathan Willis. He served as clerk of the market at the South End until 1737, when he was chosen overseer of the granary (where Park Street Church now stands), in place of the late Jonathan Williams. He held this office for several years at an annual salary of £100, but, as we suppose, had lost it when he began to receive aid from the South Church.]

The Letter was read accordingly, Jany. 18, — And Jan'y 25. 1746-7,	
there was collected, for the use aforesaid	£170. 0. 6
Feby 1. was added	2. 0. 6
Since added	6. 12. 10

 178. 13. 10

JOSEPH SEWALL.

Lord's day March 29. 1747.

The Brethren of the Church and Congregation stay'd and Voted,

That the Deacons expend the remainder of the Collection for Charitable and pious Uses for the relief of the Poor of this Church and Congregation, in Wood and other Necessaries of life.

JOSEPH SEWALL.

There is no record of the collection made on the Anniversary Fast Day in the spring of 1747.

Mr. Jonathan Mayhew was ordained pastor of the West Church on the 17th of June, as the successor of Mr. Hooper. This church and its first minister do not seem to have been in full sympathy with the other churches and ministers in the town; and when Mr. Mayhew was settled they were not represented in the proceedings. The ordination was to take place on the 20th of May; but of the five churches invited to be in attendance on that day, — Mr. Mayhew's at Tisbury, Mr. Gay's at Hingham, Mr. Appleton's at Cambridge, the First Church, Boston, and the Church in Brattle Street, Boston, — only the Cambridge and Hingham churches were represented. Mr. Mayhew, of Tisbury, was no doubt detained by some accident; but there must have been a weighty reason for the declination of the two Boston churches which had been invited, as well as for the non-invitation of the other churches in the town. Only two churches being in attendance, not "the major part of those that were invited, the reverend pastors thought it advisable not to proceed, and advised the church to apply to other churches." In the second invitation no Boston church was included; to the churches of Tisbury, Hingham, and Cambridge were added those of Mr. Hancock at Lexington, Mr. Smith at Weymouth, Mr. Cotton at Newton, Mr. Cook at Sudbury, Mr. Cook at Menotomy, Mr. Bryant at Braintree, and Mr. Prescott at Salem Village, all of which accepted and attended on the 17th of June. Four others which had been invited did not attend.¹ The ser-

¹ The churches which were invited, Williams at Watertown, Mr. Clarke at but did not appear, were those of Mr. Salem Village, Mr. Sparhawk at Salem,

mon was preached by Mr. Gay, of Hingham ; the charge was given by the Rev. Experience Mayhew, the venerable father of the pastor-elect ; and the right hand of fellowship was extended by Mr. Prescott, of Salem Village.

The foregoing list of names is interesting as showing the theological divergence which at this time existed among the Congregational clergy of Massachusetts, and which was determined for the most part by the line of separation drawn in the Whitefield controversy. Mr. Appleton and Mr. Cotton had received Mr. Whitefield cordially on his first visit, and had rejoiced in the great revival of that period ; but they had been frightened by the extravagances of those who had come after him, and had now taken a position of *quasi* hostility to him. Mr. Hancock, Mr. Gay, and Mr. Smith, from the first, had been able to see nothing in the revival to praise, but everything to deprecate. No one of the others, unless we except Mr. Experience Mayhew, had ever committed himself to the side of Mr. Whitefield and the revival. But this does not explain the absence of Dr. Chauncy, and other pastors in Boston who were more or less in sympathy with him ; and we must infer either that it was understood that the churches to which they ministered were not in accord with them on this issue, or that Mr. Mayhew held certain opinions which it was known that they could not approve. Mr. Mayhew did not accept the doctrine of the Trinity, although, Dr. Lowell says, in the faith of other doctrines, that of the atonement among them, "he was most firm and steady." On the other hand, Dr. Chauncy was probably a Trinitarian, but he rejected the doctrines of a limited atonement and reprobation.¹ Any such differences, however, did not long keep them apart from each other, or from their brethren ; and their sturdy indepen-

and Mr. Rogers at Littleton. We have taken our facts in relation to Mr. Mayhew's ordination from Dr. Lowell's Historical Sermon, December 31, 1820.

¹ Dr. Lowell says that the friends who knew Dr. Mayhew best described him as "a man of real piety and true devotion, an upright, sincere disciple of Jesus Christ." "He was not an advocate for the sentiments of Luther or Calvin, but for primitive Christianity, a zealous contender for the faith once delivered to the saints, not receiving the doctrines of grace as taught at the reformation, but

the doctrines of grace as revealed in the Holy Scriptures."

Dr. Frothingham, writing of Dr. Chauncy's theological views, does not affirm positively that he was not a Trinitarian. His words are: "As to the doctrine of the Trinity, though the subject had not risen into controversy in his day, I have always supposed that he was *non-Nicene* on that point. Such a supposition would certainly correspond best with the general complexion of his religious opinions." — Ellis's *History of the First Church*, p. 193.

dence and persistent and powerful opposition both to hierarchy and monarchy, in the years then approaching, will ever be remembered in New England in the history of religious and civil liberty.

At a Meeting of the Church and Congregation July 6. 1747.

Whereas the Church and Congregation at a Meeting May 5. 1740 Voted that a subscription be taken in order to raise for each of our Rev'd Pastors, nine pounds per week in Bills of Credit, composed with silver at 29 sh per ounce, the value whereof the Deacons have made to them from time to time till Novr 2. last: And Whereas the Necessaries of life as well as the price of Silver, are now, and have been for some months past so advanced that fifteen pounds of our present Currency will not purchase more than nine pounds would, at the time said vote was pass'd; Therefore Voted

That the Deacons be directed to make good to each of our Rev'd Pastors, the sum of fifteen pounds O. Tenor, per week, for the current year, beginning Novr. 1. last, and that the Church and Congregation be notified hereof, the next Lord's day, and desired to advance their contributions proportionably for this purpose.

The Report of the Committee for auditing the Deacons' Accounts is as follows,

"The Committee to whom was referr'd the Consideration of the Deacons' Accounts, having had the perusal of their account belonging to Church and Congregation, have maturely consider'd and examin'd the same from Augt. 1722 to the 31st of March last; and Report that they find a Ballance of ninety seven pounds, nineteen shillings, Old Tenor, in favour of the Church and Congregation then remaining in their hands, which they carry to a new Book:

Which is humbly submitted by

EZE. LEWIS

ANTHO. STODDARD."

Boston, May 20, 1747

Voted unanimously to accept said account.

JOSEPH SEWALL.

When Mr. Mayhew was settled at the West Church his salary was fixed at fifteen pounds a week, old tenor; while preaching as a candidate he had received eight pounds a week. There had been much suffering among the ministers of the province because of the fluctuating nature of the currency. Dr. Chauncy, in his Election Sermon in 1747, dwelt upon the injustice of this; and the rebuke was so little relished by the legislature that it hesitated about publishing the sermon, according to custom. At about the same time he and Mr. Foxcroft addressed a severe letter to their congregation, asking them to "pitch upon some method" for the proper supply of themselves and

families with the necessities of life. It was referred to a committee for consideration, and led to a satisfactory readjustment of their stipend.¹ The action of the brethren of the South Church, July 6, was undoubtedly prompted, in part at least, by Dr. Chauncy's sermon.

The devoted missionary, David Brainerd, made a visit to Boston in the summer of 1747, staying with Mr. Edward Bromfield at his house in Beacon Street.² He was most cordially received by the good people of the town; but he was in the last stages of consumption, and died soon after at Northampton. On Sunday, July 19, he worshipped with the South Church. He wrote in his journal: "I was just able to attend public worship, being carried to the house of God in a chaise. Heard Dr. Sewall preach in the forenoon; partook of the Lord's Supper at this time. . . . In the afternoon, heard Mr. Prince preach. I saw more of God in the wisdom discovered in the plan of man's redemption, than I saw of any other of his perfections, through the whole day." On the following day he bade farewell to his kind Boston friends.³

The excellent Dr. Colman died August 29, aged seventy-three. He was received by many with suspicion and coldness when he returned to his native town at the beginning of the century to take the pulpit at Brattle Street, but he lived down all prejudice, and won to an exceptional degree the confidence and affectionate regard of the whole community.⁴ His rela-

¹ Ellis's *History of the First Church*, pp. 189, 190, 203, 204.

² Mr. Bromfield built the first house in Beacon Street, at or near what is now Freeman Place. (See the cut at the head of this chapter.) It stood very high, and commanded a fine view. Here the third Edward Bromfield was born in 1723, and died in 1746. He joined the South Church in 1741, and graduated at Harvard College in 1742. He was the first person in America to make a microscope, grinding and polishing his own lenses; and if he had lived, he would undoubtedly have achieved great distinction in science. Mr. Prince said of him: "From his childhood he was thoughtful, calm, easy, modest, of tender affections, dutiful to his superiors, and kind to all about him. As he grew up these agreeable qualities ripened in him;

and he appeared very ingenious, observant, curious, penetrating, especially in works of nature, in mechanical contrivances, and manual operations, which increased upon his studying the mathematical sciences, as also in searching into the truths of divine revelation, and into the nature of genuine experimental piety."

After Mr. Bromfield's death, his mansion was bought and occupied by his son-in-law, William Phillips, and later it was occupied by his great-grandson, Jonathan Phillips. See *Mem. Hist. of Boston*, vol. ii. p. 521.

³ Mr. Brainerd's ordination sermon was preached by the Rev. Ebenezer Pemberton, then of New York, afterward of Boston.

⁴ Dr. Lothrop says of Dr. Colman: "Firm without obstinacy, conciliatory

tions with the ministers of the South Church were always intimate.

The South Church participated in the services of ordination at the Old North, September 3, 1747, when the Rev. Samuel Checkley was installed there as colleague with Mr. Gee. Mr. Checkley was son of the first minister of the New South, and grandson of the deacon of the Old South, both of the same name. Dr. Ware says that he was distinguished "for a peculiar sort of eloquence, and an uncommon felicity in the devotional service of public worship." Mr. Gee died in 1748.

Lord's Day Sept. 20. 1747.

The Brethren of the church were stayed; and by written votes chose the same Committee, whose Names are mentioned above [see August 24, 1746] for the year ensuing.

JOSEPH SEWALL.

Lord's Day, November 15. 1747. p. m.

The Brethren of the Church and Congregation stayed and Voted,

That there be a Collection for Charitable and pious uses on the Anniversary Thanksgiving next, viz. November 26. current; and that the Rest of the congregation be publickly notified of this vote next Lord's Day, and desired to assist in the said collection.

THOMAS PRINCE.

Public Thanksgiving Novr 26. 1747.

Collected,

For the Char. and Pious Fund	£15. 0. 0
For the Rev. Mr. Cambell of Tiverton	6. 0. 0
For the Widow Morse	6. 0. 0
For Mr. Francis Willoughby	4. 0. 0
For the Widow Holland	3. 0. 0
For the Widow Thwing	2. 0. 0
For the Widow Rouse	1. 10. 0

37. 10. 0

Unappropriated, for Char. and pious uses 228. 9. 8

Total 265. 19. 8

To which are added 23. 10. 0

289. 9. 8

without compromise, dignified without pride or pretension, a polished gentleman in his manners, a patient student and thorough scholar in his learning, enlarged, penetrating, comprehensive in his views and principles as a man, sincere, benevolent, devout in his faith and feelings as a Christian and a pastor, he was admirably fitted to take charge of

the new church, and carry out with mingled wisdom, firmness and gentleness the customs and principles which it had adopted, and to him do we greatly owe it, that the most important of these customs and principles received at last the approval and adoption of most of the New England Congregational churches. — *Hist. of the Ch. in Brattle St.*, p. 97.

The Brethren of the Church and Congregation were stay'd, Lords Day Decr. 6. 1747.

And Voted, 1. That the Deacons be empower'd to expend two hundred pounds O. T. of the Collection for Charitable and pious uses, for the relief of the poor in this Church and Congregation, in Wood and other Necessaries of life

2. That twenty Pounds of said collection be laid out in Bibles and other Books of Piety; and given by our Pastors to proper objects of such a charity.

At a Meeting of the South Church and Congregation, 18 Jan'y 1747-8.

Voted, That there be seven Seaters chosen to stand for one year, and until further order, and upon counting and sorting the votes brought in for this purpose, the following Persons appear'd to be chosen; viz. Ezekiel Lewis, Edward Winslow, Joshua Winslow, Francis Borland Esqrs. Mr. Timothy Prout, Mr. Edward Bromfield, Thomas Hubbard Esq.

Voted, That the said Seaters advance seventy five per cent on the prime cost of such Pews as they shall hereafter dispose of, until further order; the advanced sum to be paid to the last Owner, if an original Proprietor; or otherwise to be proportion'd by the Seaters between the last Owner and the former Owner or Owners.

Voted, That twenty pounds, old tenour, per week, be paid to each of our Rev'd pasfors for one year next ensuing.

Voted, That there be a Committee appointed to value the several Pews and seats in the House, and consider the circumstances of the Proprietors; and make report what is reasonable each Person or Seat should pay weekly for support of the Ministry: And that a subscription in consequence thereof be offered to the several Pew holders or other Proprietors, in order to subject themselves and their seats to such tax.

The Committee appointed were Messrs. Lewis, Oliver, Hubbard, Eliot, Walker, Tyng and Traile.¹

¹ [There were several Scotch families in the South Church, among them those of Bethune, Vans, Traill and Scollay. John Traill, with his wife Mary, entered the membership August 24, 1735. He was born in Westness, in the island of Rowsay, one of the Orkneys, February 5, 1694; he became a prosperous business man in Boston, and died intestate, in the autumn of 1749. His widow administered on his estate, Abiel Walley and Thomas Hubbard being her bondsmen. In the inventory we notice, *inter alia*, four hundred ounces of wrought

silver, books on history and divinity, a pew in the South meeting-house, and a note of hand of John Groat of the Orkneys. Mr. Traill had no children, and one half of the property went to his nephews and nieces. One of the former was Robert Traill; he married Mary Whipple of Portsmouth, N. H. Their daughter, Mary, married Keith Spence, also from the Orkneys; and their daughter, Harriet Brackett Spence, became the wife, in 1806, of the Rev. Charles Lowell, for more than fifty years pastor of the West Church, Boston.]

The Meeting was then adjourned to Monday 25. Inst. 10 a'clock A. M.

Then met and Voted,

Voted, That Messrs. Kneeland, Cushing and Seth Foster be desired to wait on the absent Brethren with the Assessment and Subscription prepared by the Committee.

Voted, That the Deacons be desired to keep an account of the several sums contributed for the support of the Public Worship, by the respective Pewholders or others who shall mark the same; that it may be known by the Church and Congregation whenever they shall desire it.

JOSEPH SEWALL.

Lord's Day April 17. 1748.

The Brethren of the Church and Congregation were stay'd, and Voted;

That there be a Collection for charitable and pious uses on the Anniversary Fast next, April 28. Current; and that the Rest of the Congregation be notified of this vote next Lord's day, and desired to assist in said collection.

Lord's Day, April 17. 1748.

The Brethren of the Church were stayed, and a Letter readd from the Church in Salem, lately under the pastoral care of the Rev'd Mr. S. Fiske, now of the Rev'd Mr. D. Leavitt testifying against the misconduct of their Brethren from whom we had withdrawn communion, for their refusing methods of peace &c. And a letter from said Brethren acknowledging their offence, and asking Forgiveness and reconciliation.

Upon which the church Voted to take off the sentence of Non-Communion, and restore those Brethren to their Charity. And a Letter was written to said church to signify the same, signed by the Pastors.¹

JOSEPH SEWALL.

Public Fast April 28, 1748.

Collected.

For the char. and pious Fund	. . . . .	5. 0. 0
Rev. Mr. Cambell	. . . . .	4. 0. 0
Mr. Willoughby	. . . . .	9. 0. 0
Widow Arnold	. . . . .	1. 0. 0
		<hr/>
		19. 0. 0
Unappropriated	. . . . .	188. 6. 0
		<hr/>
		207. 6. 0

JOSEPH SEWALL.

¹ [This was the Third Church in Salem, founded in 1735 by Mr. Fisk and his adherents. Mr. Fisk was succeeded in the pastorate in 1745 by the Rev. Dudley Leavitt, Harv. Coll. 1739. Dr. Ware says: "It is not until Oc-

Lord's Day July 10. 1748.

The Brethren of the Church were stayed, and a Letter readd from the Second Church in Ipswich desiring our Assistance in Council, and Voted, one of the Deacons, Messrs. Thacher, Loring and Eliot, with our Pastors, or one of them were chosen to goe as Messengers from this Church.

JOSEPH SEWALL.

There had been serious trouble in the Second Church of Ipswich (now Essex) for several years. In 1741 some of the members became disaffected towards their minister, the Rev. Theophilus Pickering, because of his want of interest in the revival. In 1744 they preferred formal charges against him to the church, and failing to obtain satisfaction they withdrew from its communion and began to hold religious services by themselves. In 1746 the Second Church called an *ex parte* council for advice, which judged that the "aggrieved brethren" had received harsh treatment in certain particulars, but it found "no just cause of offence" affecting Mr. Pickering's orthodoxy and ministerial character. The conduct of the brethren in withdrawing from the church, setting up a separate meeting, and inviting persons of doubtful character, coming to them in a disorderly manner, to teach them from time to time, was pronounced unjustifiable; although "great tenderness and even long-suffering" were recommended to the church in its dealing with them. Peace, however, could not be restored between the parties, and the separating brethren proceeded to the formation of a new church—the Fourth—and called Mr. John Cleaveland, who had been preaching for them and previously to the Separatist Church in Boston, to settle with them as their minister. He was ordained February 25, 1747. The churches which assisted on the occasion were the First of Ipswich, and the Second of Kittery, delegates from other churches invited being detained by the inclemency of the weather. "The action of the First Church in this particular was resented by the Second Church, and made the ground, first, of an offer by the Second Church to call a mutual council. A council being declined by the First Church, letters subsequently passed between the churches, ending with an admonition to the former from the Second Church. To this admonitory letter the First Church replied,

tober, 1745, that I find a letter of penitent acknowledgment, entreating to be restored to communion, was received and acted upon by the Old North Church, who took off the sentence of non-communication, with the express exception of the late minister."—*Two Discourses*, 1821, p. 52.]

justifying its action, whereupon more letters followed, and finally a call was made by the Second Church upon seven churches to second their admonition. These churches failing to respond at the appointed time, the call was revived for this council to meet July 19, 1748; when six of the seven churches called appeared by their elders and delegates. Upon requesting the appearance of the separating brethren, and the representatives of the First Church, it appeared that notice had not been regularly given to either, and though, on this account, a formal appearance was declined, not only the pastor of the First Church and several of its members were present before the council, but a leading member of the separating congregation was admitted, upon his request to appear in a private capacity. The council was thereupon adjourned, to meet on the 26th at the Old South Meeting-house in Boston."

On reassembling in Boston, the council, after deliberation, agreed upon eight articles of advice, in which both the Second Church and the separating brethren were commended in some respects and condemned in others. The First Church was entreated to revise its conduct in the matter of the ordination; the separating brethren were advised to consider meekly the censure passed upon them, and the Second Church was reminded "that where there are divisions there ought to be great searching, each one of his own heart," and was exhorted to behave towards the separating brethren "with all Christian moderation, without any further disciplinary process against them, and to be ready to permit their return, if they should so desire, without any severe demands upon them."¹

The First Church in Ipswich also had been disturbed and divided. Its senior pastor, the Rev. John Rogers, died in 1745, and in the following year Mr. John Walley was called to settle as colleague with the surviving pastor, the Rev. Nathaniel Rogers. Mr. Walley was not willing to exchange with Mr. Cleaveland, and Mr. Rogers objected to him on this account.²

¹ See an exhaustive note on the Ipswich church troubles, by Mr. Abner C. Goodell, Jr., in the *Acts and Resolves* of the Prov. of Mass., vol. v. pp. 533-537.

² Mr. Josiah Willard wrote to Mr. Rogers: "I think myself obliged to let you know that I have not only often heard Mr. Walley preach, but have a very intimate and familiar acquaintance with him,

and esteem him to be a sound and judicious divine, a serious, humble, inward Christian, and a person of great prudence and excellent temper, and one that is like to be the instrument of as much happiness to you and your people, if he should settle among you, as any man I know of in the world."

Mr. Walley left Ipswich, because of his

The more conservative brethren thereupon withdrew, the Fifth or South Church was organized, and Mr. Walley was ordained as its pastor November 4, 1747.

Nathanael Wardel, who had been admonished and suspended in 1743, for disorderly conduct as a leader in the separatist movement of that year, was now called to account and dealt with for breaches of the moral law.

Lords Day, Aug. 14. 1748.

The Church was stay'd P. M. and considered the case of our Brother Nathl Wardel, who was admonish'd and suspended by us Dec. 25. 1743, for several haneous sins: But instead of giving Christian satisfaction, it has been represented that he has further offended by repeated acts of profane swearing and excessive drinking: Accordingly the Church Voted that they would farther hear his case next Tuesday at 10 oclock A. M. and D[eacon] Henchman and Mr. Bromfield were desir'd to take care that the Witnesses be ready; and the Pastors were desired to warn said Wardel of the meeting and require his attendance.

At a Meeting of the Church Augt 16. 1748

After Prayer to God, and hearing the Witnesses Voted;

1. That Nathl. Wardel junr has been frequently guilty of profane cursing and swearing when in drink and free from it.
2. That said Wardel has liv'd in a course of the sin of Drunkenness.
3. Nathl. Wardel junr. having refus'd to hear the Church, and not manifesting any repentance upon account of the Crimes for which he was solemnly admonish'd and suspended Dec. 25. 1743; And having since added other hainous sins to them, viz. frequent profane cursing and swearing, and a course of Drunkenness:

We apprehend that the rule of God's Word, the Honour of our Lord Jesus, and the Credit of our holy Profession require us to cast said Wardel out of the Church; And the Pastors are desir'd accordingly to Pronounce the sentence of Excommunication upon him.

4. That this Solemn Sentence of Excommunication be pronounced on the Lord's Day of the 28th Instant P. M. before the Congregation; and that said Wardel be notified of it, and requir'd to be present.

Lord's Day Augt 28 1748

The Sentence of Excommunication was pronounced before the Congregation, And is as follows;

ill health, in 1764. "Being well versed in the French language, he instructed the French neutrals [brought from Acadia] who were located at Ipswich by order of the General Court in their own tongue. After he left his people at Ipswich, he preached for the French Huguenots in Boston." (Felt.)

Nathl. Wardel junr.

Whereas you have openly enter'd into Covenant with God, and with this Church, and have broken this holy Covenant ; And whereas when you had been solemnly admonished and suspended by this Church for several hainous violations of God's Law, and after long waiting, you have refused to hear the Church, and not manifested any repentance ; yea have added to these offenses the aggravated crimes of profane cursing and swearing, often repeated ; and a course of drunkenness :

This church having taken your case into their serious and prayerful consideration, and after a fair hearing of the Witnesses, came generally into this Vote, viz.

That they apprehend that the rule of God's Word, the Honour of our Lord Jesus Christ and the Credit of their Profession requir'd them to cast you out of the Church :

Accordingly, We the Pastors of said Church doe in the Name of our Lord Jesus Christ and with the concurrence of this church, Pronounce the Sentence of Excommunication upon you, and Declare you to be cut off and put away from the communion of the church as unworthy of the Privileges of a Church-Member, and that you are not to be look'd upon and trusted as one belonging to the visible Church of Christ ; and we accordingly require the Brethren, in the Name of our Lord Jesus, to withdraw themselves from you as from one walking disorderly, and that they doe not keep company with you, saving in the discharge of those Duties which natural, domestic, or Civil relations require.

And this awful sentence we pass upon you with sorrow of heart, not for your Destruction ; but with earnest Prayer to our glorious Lord, who has appointed this ordinance of discipline, that He would sanctify it, to bring you to serious consideration and saving repentance, that we may have the joy to restore you with a spirit of meekness, and that your soul may be sav'd in the day of the Lord.

At the same time, We also declare to you from the word of God, that if you add to your other Offences the Contempt of this Ordinance of Christ, and goe on obstinately in your sins, you must be condemned with the world, when the Lord Jesus shall be reveal'd from heaven, with His mighty Angels, in flaming Fire, taking vengeance on them that know not God, and that obey not the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ : who shall be punish'd with everlasting destruction from the Presence of the Lord, and from the Glory of His Power.

May God prevent this of His infinite mercy in Jesus Christ our Lord, to whom be Praise and Dominion for ever and ever, Amen.

JOSEPH SEWALL.

THOMAS PRINCE.

N. B. Said Wardel left the Assembly while the sentence of Excommunication was pronounced. Accordingly it was voted that a copy should be sent and deliver'd to him in writing, which was done.

Augt. 25 1748. Lord's Day.

The Brethren of the church were stay'd, and a letter readd sign'd Tho. Fillebrown, James Davenport, Nathl. Procter, desiring our assistance at the Instalment of the Rev. Mr. Crosswell. Vote was in the negative. And then Voted that the Hon J. Osborne, E. Lewis, J. Willard and S. Welles, be a Committee to join with our Pastors in drawing up a letter to signify our dissent and the reasons of it.

Oct. 2. Said letter was readd and Voted, And was sent accordingly to the New gather'd Church, sign'd by the Pastors in the Name of the Church, directed to the committee who sign'd their letter. And a copy of said letter was also deliver'd to the Moderator of the council conven'd for the Instalment of said Mr. Crosswell.

The last two entries bring us again to the dissensions and divisions which came after the visits of Mr. Whitefield and some of his followers to New England. "On the 17th of February, 1747-8 a number of persons, almost all of whom were members of other churches, thinking it for the glory of God to be a distinct, but not a separate church (as was expressed in several letters sent for dismissions) did after solemn fasting and prayer embody into a church-state." This is the opening sentence in a "Narrative of the Founding and Settling of the New-gathered [the eleventh] Congregational Church in Boston," written by the Rev. Andrew Crosswell, and printed in 1749. It does not appear that any churches had assisted at the organization of the new society, or that it had received ecclesiastical recognition of any kind. Nor does it appear that any formal protests had been entered against it by the neighboring churches before the time fixed for installing its pastor-elect. Had its choice fallen upon a somewhat different man, it is possible that no decided opposition would have developed against it then. Mr. Crosswell graduated at Harvard College in 1728, and was settled for several years at Groton, Connecticut. On the first arrival of Mr. Whitefield in New England, he entered with much zeal into the work of the revival. He warmly espoused the cause of the Rev. Mr. Davenport, as against the ministers who refused to admit him to their pulpits: and he defended his courses, after he himself had publicly and in print expressed his sorrow at much that he had said and done. Mr. Crosswell was a fair representative of certain men and women to be found in

the churches of every generation, who are censorious and uncompromising in their judgment upon the inconsistencies and imperfections of their fellow-members, but very complacent in their estimate of their own religious attainments and of their own standing before the Lord and Master of all. Such people can make themselves very uncomfortable to their associates, and it is altogether unsatisfactory to have much to do with them. When they are willing to go off by themselves, and organize a church of their own, it seems to us that the churches can well afford to let them go and carry out their own ideas in their own way. Mr. Croswell was not strictly what was called a separatist at the time, but he was so much of a controversialist and such a fault-finder that he was always antagonizing his brother ministers. He was a decided Calvinist, but less severe in his opinions than many of those who opposed him. They thought that his tendencies were Antinomian, while he retorted that theirs were Arminian. It is difficult to define his position with any degree of exactitude. He claimed to represent Mr. Whitefield, but ministers like Mr. Edwards and Mr. Prince, and laymen like Mr. Josiah Willard, were opposed to him. David Brainerd, who during his college course at New Haven had come under Mr. Davenport's influence, almost with his dying breath condemned Mr. Croswell's attitude towards the ministers and churches.

Mr. Croswell preached for several months to the little church gathered in 1743, with which (as we suppose) Mr. Wardel was connected for a time. On the 10th of December, 1746, he was invited to become its minister. He continued to preach to it, but did not answer its call until December 2, 1747, when he declined it for reasons given, as follows :—

1st. Because though the number of the members of the Church was at first very small, a considerable part have already turned out rigid Separatists. 2ndly. and principally, because there is a vein of rigid Separation running through the Articles ; no doubt, the general laxness and formality in the churches was a means of the Brethren's running into the other extrem. However, as I believe the Spirit of Christ to be a Spirit of Union, and that this Spirit will not accompany any Zeal which is not countenanced by his Word, I always have had melancholly apprehensions and presages that God will not bless you as a church, though I hope he will bless your persons and families. . . . So I can truly say, that if there were a number who would assent to such articles as I think agreeable to Scripture, and would unite into a

Body, desiring me to preach the glorious Gospel of Jesus Christ to them, and to take the oversight of them: Things would look with a very encouraging aspect, and I should not dare to answer them in the negative.

The members of the little church felt aggrieved at this answer. They complained of the long delay; they said that Mr. Croswell had had their Church Articles in his hands for revision, and they had expressed their willingness to accept any changes recommended by him; and they protested against his evident purpose to create a division among them, and to draw away some of their number after himself. They were desirous that the brethren who were forming a second "new gathered church" should unite with them, and that Mr. Croswell should be the pastor; but the latter was not willing, and he closed his ministry with what, in order to discriminate, we must call the church of 1743, on the 20th of March, 1748. On the 30th of the next September, Mr. Ephraim Clark was ordained to the pastoral office in this church, with the imposition of hands, "three churches being met in Council by their pastors and delegates, and assisting in the work." We know nothing whatever of this council, and nothing of the further history of the church, except that Mr. Clark was preaching to it three years later.¹

Only two of the Boston churches were invited to assist at the installation of Mr. Croswell as pastor of the church gathered in 1748. Of these, one was the South Church; the other we do not know. Only four churches were represented in the proceedings: the First Church, Plymouth, the Rev. Nathaniel Leonard, pastor; the Fourth Church, Bridgewater, the Rev. John Porter, pastor; the Second Church, Plymouth, the Rev. Jonathan Ellis, pastor; and the Church in Middleborough, the Rev. Sylvanus Conant, pastor. Mr. Leonard, Mr. Porter, and Mr. Ellis signed the "Testimony" of July 7, 1743. Mr. Conant was settled as the successor of the Rev. Peter Thacher, in 1745.²

¹ In the Congregational Library, Boston, we find "A Discourse on Justification by Grace: Being the substance of two Sermons delivered to the new gathered Congregational Church of Christ in Boston, By Ephraim Clark, Pastor of the said Church. Boston 1751." A Narrative is appended, from which we have gained most of the information given in the text.

² Mr. Thacher died April 22, 1744. The Rev. Sylvanus Conant, Harv. Coll. 1740, began his ministry at Middleborough September 9, 1744, and was ordained March 28, 1745. "He continued his ministry, at first, at the house of Madam Thacher, and after the new meeting house was built (which was the same year) in that house till his death, which was of the small-pox, Dec. 8, 1777."

There were three courses open to the South Church, when invited to assist at this installation. The first was to be present, and to participate in proceedings of which its judgment did not approve, in a compliant spirit of easy-going good nature. The second was to be present, and to spoil the proceedings by an unseemly interference and dissent.¹ The third was to decline the invitation, and to communicate its reasons for so doing in writing. We might be sure beforehand that the church would choose the last of the three, as it did ; and it selected some of its wisest and most influential lay members to unite with its pastors in drawing up its letter, which was addressed to Messrs. Thomas Fillebrown, James Davenport, and Nathaniel Procter,² and was as follows : —

Brethren,

We have received yours of the 29th of August last, desiring our assistance at the Rev Mr. Crosswell's instalment.

We send these to give you the Reasons why we decline answering your Request.

1. It seems to us that your leaving the Ministers and Churches in this Town, which you belonged to, is from such a Disaffection to them as is unjustifiable.

2. Though we would be very tender of the Rights of Conscience, yet inasmuch as there are other Congregational Churches in Town, who have pious and orthodox Ministers, where you might be conveniently accommodated, we cannot see any just reason for such a Multiplication of Churches ; but judge it hath an unhappy Tendency to crumble them into small Societies, and hinder their Christian Union and Communion.

3. We apprehend that Mr. Crosswell hath given just Matter of Offence to these Churches, and their Pastors, and vented some dangerous Errors, without publishing any Retraction. Thus in a pamphlet entitled *A Reply to the Declaration of a number of the associated Ministers in Boston and Charlestown* ; Mr. Crosswell hath justified the

¹ "To which end we find reason also to add our Testimony against all Indecency and Irregularity in the Management of a Publick Dissent from and Opposition unto the Ordination or Instalment of a Pastor over a Flock, whensoever there may be Occasion for so Melancholly an Action, which rarely happens. . . . Christianity requires that this be done, when it becomes Necessary, with much Modesty and Calmness, Meekness and Gravity, Wisdom and Seriousness ;

and not with a Noise, Wrath and Bitterness, Disagreeable to such a Solemnity." — *A Seasonable Testimony to Good Order in the Churches*, by Inc. Mather, p. 18.

² The only other members of the church known to us are William Hickling and Thomas Handasyde Peck. Mr. Procter became a member of the Second Church, August 16, 1730, and Mr. Hickling of the South Church, January 17, 1730-31. The latter, a "noted distiller," died December 10, 1774.

Rev. Mr. Davenport's disorderly Conduct, and injuriously treated said Ministers for bearing their faithful and seasonable Testimony against those Disorders, which Mr. Davenport himself, hath since publickly condemned and retracted ; Mr. Crosswell hath also published a Reply to a Book of the late Reverend and Excellent Mr. Dickinson, entitled *A Display of God's Special Grace, attested by Seven Ministers of Boston* :¹ In which Reply, are contained such offensive Passages as these following, "telling how to come to Christ, however specious it may look, is indeed and in Truth, stopping Sinners from coming at all." *Page 7.*

"That Manifestation, or a Persuasion of our Justified Estate is essential to the Exercise of saving Faith." *Page 11.*

"That when Men do exercise true saving Faith, they are always sensible of it." *Page 12.*

Again Mr. Crosswell blames said Ministers for holding "that Persons must find out their Justification by their Sanctification," and for holding that "if Persons maintain a Course of vital and true Holiness, they need not doubt but they are the Children of God." *Page 12, 13.*

He charges said Ministers in joining with Arminians in the same dreadful Work of stopping Souls from coming to Christ ; and saith that the said Ministers do in effect, tell close Hypocrites that they are travelling apace to Heaven, though God knows they are going down to Hell. *Page 14, 15.*

He further saith that the Doctrine of Men's finding out their Justification by their Sanctification, would be likely to fix such as are enquiring what they shall do to be saved, upon a sandy Foundation. *Page 16.* And that said Ministers have done what will be a Means of damning many Thousands of Souls, unless the infinite Mercy of God prevent. *Page 18.*

He further declares as follows, "I have heard much of your humble doubting Christians, but I never saw one yet, nor did any one else ever see one ; they are meer Chimeras in Religion, certain imaginary Monsters that never were nor indeed can be." *Page 20.* "That a Believer in the dark can't repent of one of the Sins which he daily commits." *Page 22.*

We might mention other Expressions which Mr. Crosswell hath

¹ [The seven ministers were Dr. Colman, Dr. Sewall, Mr. Prince, Mr. Webb, Mr. Cooper, Mr. Foxcroft, and Mr. Gee. A preface, dated New London, Conn., November 5, 1742, is signed by Timothy Allen, Andrew Crosswell, Timothy Symmes, and John Curtis, and in it is quoted the opinion of Eleazer Wheelock and Benjamin Pomroy, in condemnation of the book issued by the

Boston pastors, "as containing doctrines that are most dangerous and destructive to the souls of men." Mr. Pomroy was arrested in May, 1742, with Mr. Davenport, and taken to Hartford, to answer to the charge of collecting assemblies of people, mostly children and youth, and under the pretence of religious exercises, inflaming them with doctrines subversive of all law and order.]

published in this and other Pamphlets, which are grievous to us, and many godly People which have read them ; but we forbear, and it is with Sorrow that we have been obliged to recite these, not only as a Reason of our present Conduct, but as a Means, if God please, both to awaken Mr. Crosswell to a serious Consideration and Retracting of them, and of warning you against them

4. From the before mentioned offensive and dangerous Passages, we can't but be greatly concerned for you, in proposing to sit under his Ministry, unless proper Satisfaction be given, and are afraid of his leading you both into greater Disaffection to pious and orthodox Ministers, and into such Opinions as may endanger your Souls.

On which Accounts also, we can't comply with your Request, in assisting his Settlement with you, but earnestly pray that the God of all Light and Grace would open his and your Eyes, and lead you into the Paths of Truth and Righteousness and Peace, through Jesus Christ, to whom be glory forever, Amen.

We are your Brethren in the Bonds of the Gospel

JOSEPH SEWALL } Pastors of the South
THOMAS PRINCE } Church in Boston

In the Name and at the Desire of the Church.

"The South Church," says Mr. Crosswell, in his Narrative from which we take the correspondence, "seemed to be set upon making sure work ;" and, on the 5th of October, it sent Deacons Hinchman and Hubbard with a copy of this letter subscribed to the Reverend Moderator of the installing council, Mr. Leonard. "This being read before the Council," adds Mr. Crosswell, "I was desired to speak to it ; which I did for an hour or more : during a great part of which time I did not recollect that the cause I was pleading concerned me ; nor do I remember that my will was ever so long a time, and so entirely swallowed up in the Will of God." He denied that he was controlled by any spirit of separatism, and insisted that the passages quoted from his writings should be taken in the connection in which they were written. The council adjourned to the next day, to enable him to reduce his remarks to writing, and he was then inducted into the pastoral office.

The council sent a communication to the South Church, justifying its action on the ground that the new church was not gathered in a spirit of separation, that its articles and covenant were in harmony with Congregational usage, and that no charges had been brought against the moral character of Mr. Crosswell or any of the members. The committee sent the following reply to the letter which had been addressed to it :—

Reverend and Beloved

The two first articles of your Letter relate to us only and not to our Minister: To which we would reply, that our leaving the other Ministers and coming together into a Church-State, was not for such Disaffection as you seem to imagine, but for our better Edification, and also, that we, being professed friends of the present Reformation, might have a pulpit open to receive Mr. Whitefield, and others whom we look upon to be the zealous and faithful Ministers of Jesus Christ, who are so commonly shut out of other pulpits.

To the Rev. Messrs. Joseph Sewall and Thomas Prince, Pastors of the South Church in Boston, to be communicated to said church

THOMAS FILLEBROWN,	} Committee
JAMES DAVENPORT,	
NATHANIEL PROCTER	

In the Name and at the Desire of the Church.

Mr. Croswell also sent a letter, from which we quote the opening paragraphs:—

My Fathers and Brethren,

The great freedom you have lately taken with my name and character in representing me, by a Letter to my People, and to an Ecclesiastical Council, as a minister very dangerous to the souls of men, whereby you did what lay in your power, to stop my mouth from preaching the glorious Gospel of the blessed God; will at least, excuse the freedom I take in writing you this letter.

As soon as I heard you were taking counsel together against me, by your committee, I went and told Jesus: I poured out my complaints before him, I showed before him my trouble; and was enabled so entirely to put over my cause into his hands, that from that time, though I was not thoughtless, I was no more distressed about the event, than if I had only heard you were consulting together against some other man, whom I knew nothing of.

However, though I stayed myself upon my God, and was kept in perfect peace; it was my constant cry at the Throne of Grace, that I might learn all those lessons which I ought to learn from such an extraordinary procedure against me; and particularly that I might be brought so low, that whereinsoever I was blameworthy, I might be willing to confess and to give glory to God. God heard this prayer—and accordingly, when I answered for myself, I did not perceive the least disposition to hide or cover, but owned I had been out of the way; and that many expressions in my pamphlets were too sarcastical and cutting, and had cut me since a great many times. Nay, I took a sweet pleasure in making these confessions; because by bearing testimony against myself, I bore testimony for the Lord Jesus Christ.

And from the same principle, I trust, of magnifying Christ, whatever

it costs me, I now declare, that if you will take the pains to shew me the particular passages in my books, which you apprehend, bear too hard upon ministers in general, or Boston ministers in particular ; wherein the word of God appears against me, I will give you a written, or, if you please a printed recantation.

But this very principle which makes me with delight, condemn myself for every word I have printed, which don't savour of a gospel-spirit, keeps me from condemning myself for any doctrines, because I verily believe them to be the truths of the gospel.

He goes on to explain and defend his views on justification and sanctification, and, before he closes, administers this rebuke to the South Church and its ministers :—

Nay, let me leave this one word with you to think upon, viz. That you cannot reasonably expect much of the presence of Christ in your assemblies, while Mr. Whitefield and other godly Ministers, who occasionally come to Boston, are industriously kept out.

Mr. Croswell's disappointment and irritation, in view of the opposition which he met on his removal to Boston, should be accepted, perhaps, as an excuse for this unjust remark ; for he must have known that Dr. Sewall and Mr. Prince had been from the first among the warmest and most valued friends and advisers of Mr. Whitefield. Dr. Sewall, in the annual convention of 1743, had led the minority in calling for a proper recognition in the "Testimony" of the recent revival ; and Mr. Prince, in his writings in the *Christian History*, has preserved for all time the most accurate and sympathetic record we have of the work of grace of that period in the various churches of New England. That the South Church was one of the only two churches in the town invited to the installation shows that its attitude was regarded as not unfriendly to the general religious movement which the new church was supposed to represent. The trouble was that its pastors and their brother ministers discriminated between Mr. Whitefield and many of those who followed him and who shared his zeal but not his power. It is very doubtful whether any organized opposition would have met the great revivalist on his second visit to New England had it not been for these men, towards whose extravagances he was himself only too lenient.¹ It is a question whether even Mr.

¹ Mr. Whitefield wrote to Dr. Colman, September 24, 1742 : "I go on preaching the cross and the Redeemer, and desire to say as little as possible about others, lest I should divert people's minds from the simplicity of the gospel. I have often found that opposing, instead of hurting, makes erroneous people more consider.

Tennent's coming to Boston, which was at Mr. Whitefield's suggestion, was an unmixed good; certainly, Mr. Davenport's coming was an unmixed evil.

It does not appear that the South Church and its ministers replied to any of these communications; they had accomplished their object, which was to protest, and not to enter into a controversy. The new church bought the Huguenot Meeting-House, in School Street,¹ and continued in existence until the death of Mr. Croswell, in 1785.

Octr. 16. 1748. Lord's Day.

The Brethren were stay'd, And the Hon. John Osborne, Ezekiel Lewis, Josiah Willard Esqrs Deacon Hubbard and Mr. Edward Bromfield were chosen to be the Committee for the year ensuing.

JOSEPH SEWALL.

Lord's Day, Octr. 23. 1748

Church stay'd. Letter read from the Church in Medfield, desiring our Assistance in Council. Granted, and one of the Deacons, and Messrs Thomas Paine and Andrew Eliot were chosen as Messengers.²

able. This made me wish the Boston ministers would not say so much about the exhorters. It will only set the people more upon following them."

¹ The French Protestant church, in January, 1704-5, bought of James Mears, hatter (a member of the South Church), a piece of land in School House Lane, now School Street, and ten or eleven years later a small brick meeting-house was erected on it. This is the property which was sold to Mr. Croswell's congregation. Subsequently, it passed into the hands of the Roman Catholics, and mass was said there for the first time November 2, 1788. See *Memorial History of Boston*, vol. ii. pp. 253, 254.

² [The Rev. Jonathan Townsend, Harv. Coll. 1741, was ordained as the successor of Mr. Baxter, October 23, 1745. There was some dissatisfaction with the selection, "which grew into a permanent disaffection." In 1746, "several dissatisfied brethren asked to be dismissed to the second church in Wrentham. This was refused, and they then asked that a council be called to

adjust the differences between them and the church. This was also refused. It seems that these brethren had charged that the church had broken covenant in regard to discipline, but in what particulars is not known." In 1747, "the church voted that those who have charged the church with a breach of covenant should come no more to the communion till satisfaction was made for the injury done by the charge. This was defined, by vote, to mean exclusion from sitting at the Lord's table, and taking any part in church action." In 1748, "the number of dissatisfied church members was increasing, and the church finally voted to call a council. Some matters in dispute had been laid before the council called at the time of Mr. Townsend's ordination. The church now did not wish to have those matters reopened. As a result of the council, the platform of church discipline agreed upon at Cambridge in 1648 was accepted; and one of the disaffected, William Plimpton, was received back to fellowship."—Tilden's *History of the Town of Medfield*, pp. 136-138.]

Lord's Day, Novr 13. 1748

The Brethren of the Church and Congregation were stayed; and Voted,

1. That the Deacons be empower'd to expend the whole of the last Collection which is not appropriated, for the relief of the poor of this Church and Congregation.

2. That there be a Collection for Charitable and pious uses, on the Anniversary Thanksgiving Nov. 24 current; and that the Rest of the Congregation be notified of this Vote next Lord's Day, and desir'd to assist in said Collection.

J. SEWALL.

Lord's Day Nov. 20. Church stay'd. Letter read from the East Precinct in Attleborough desiring our Assistance in the Gathering of a church there, and in ordaining Mr. Peter Thacher Pastor. Granted, and Messrs Oxenbridge Thacher and Joseph Jackson were chosen Messengers.

JOSEPH SEWALL.

The East Church, Attleborough, was organized November 30. Mr. Thacher, who had been preaching stately to the congregation for five years, was eldest son of the Rev. Peter Thacher, of Middleborough, and a great-grandson of the Rev. Thomas Thacher. His mother was a sister of Mr. Prince. Mr. Oxenbridge Thacher was an uncle of the pastor-elect; he was a graduate of Harvard College, in the class of 1698, had been a preacher, and later was a prominent citizen of Boston, select-man and representative.

Public Thanksgiving Novr 24. 1748

Collected

To the pious and Charitable Fund	£10. 0. 0
Rev. Mr. Spencer	10. 0. 0
Mr. White of Nantucket	5. 0. 0
Minister of Freetown	1. 0. 0
Widow Arnold	2. 0. 0
Widows Thwing and Rouse	3. 0. 0
	<hr/>
	31. 0. 0
Unappropriated	229. 12. 8
	<hr/>
	260. 12. 8

Since added

To the Rev. Mr. Cambell of Tiverton	10. 0
Mr. Brett of Freetown	10. 0

Lord's Day March 12. 1748-9

The Brethren of the Church and Congregation were stayed; and Voted,

That the Deacons be empower'd to expend the whole of the last unappropriated Collection, for the relief of the poor of this church and congregation ; which they apprehend will be sufficient till the next Fall : And whereas it was necessary that sundry repairs should be made on the Meeting-House and Fences, and on the Ministerial House in which Dr. Sewall dwells, to the amount of about £400. O. T.,

Voted That there be a Collection on the Anniversary Fast, March 23, Instant, P. M. towards defraying said charges ; and that the Rest of the Congregation be notified of this Vote next Lord's Day, and desir'd to assist in said Collection.

J. SEWALL.

March 19 1748-9 Lord's Day.

The Church was stayed ; And James Bow, negro, was admonish'd and suspended from the communion of this Church upon account of a course of gross Lying, Promise Breaking, and fraudulent Dealing.

JOSEPH SEWALL.

Anniversary Fast March 23 1748-9

Collected for the uses aforesaid [March 12] £186. 7. 11

Lord's Day April 16. 1749

The church was stayed, and the following Proposal was made and generally agreed to ; viz :

Having taken into serious consideration the lamentable decay of the Power of Godliness, and our own unfruitfulness under the means of Grace ;

Voted, that Tuesday the second of May next, be observed by us as a Day of Prayer with Fasting, to humble ourselves before God, and seek to Him to revive His work among us and His people by pouring out His Spirit from on High upon us and our offspring ; And that the Congregation be notified and be desired to join with us in the religious exercises of said Day.

The second of May (1749) was accordingly observed by us as a Day of Prayer with Fasting.

JOSEPH SEWALL.

The admissions to the church had been very few for several years, nor was there much advance in the number until 1756.

At a Meeting of the Church and Congregation, May 22 1749,

Voted, That Messrs. Oliver, Walker and Cushing be a Committee to receive from the Deacons an account of the weekly contributions since the subscription of the Pew holders Jan 13. 1747, for the support of the public-Worship, and make report to the Church and Congregation of any deficiency in the Payment of said subscription : And whereas, the sum of £737. O. T. is now wanted to lay in Wood for the Rev'd Ministers, and to repair the Meeting House ; that said Committee make an assessment of said sum upon the said deficient per-

sons, and the remainders on the several Pewholders and others in the same proportion as the former assessment was made both upon their Pews and Persons, or as near as may be, and offer the same at the Adjournment of this meeting, with the Preamble of a Subscription ; that each person may give his consent to the Payment of the sum assess'd upon him.

Voted, The same allowance to the Ministers [twenty pounds, old tenor, a week] for another year compleat.

Voted, That the Deacons be impowered to receive the Sum of £500. O. T. left to the poor of the Church and Congregation by Mr. Nath. Cunningham deceas'd, and give a full discharge, with the acknowledgments of this Church and Congregation for so generous a Benefaction.

Voted, That the Committee of Seaters be impowered to make a suitable number of Wall-Pews in the lower Gallery, at the West End of the Meeting House, to set a price upon them, and a weekly tax as a condition of the Proprietors holding the same.

Voted, That 20/s O. T. per week, be allow'd the sexton for the year ensuing.

Adjourned.

July 10. 1749

Voted — That Messrs. Ox. Thacher Esq. T. Paine, J. Prince and W. Taylor, be a Committee to wait upon the absent Brethren with the subscription prepar'd and now laid before the Church and Congregation, in order to raise the sum of £700. O. T. for purchasing Wood, repairing the Meeting House, and discharging debts already contracted for the service of the Society ; and that the said Committee take with them the list of such of the Brethren as are by the Deacons rendred deficient in their contributions, and labor to collect the deficiency of such as shall appear to them to be in arrears ; and pay the money collected into the Hands of the Deacons, to be applied to the uses aforesaid.

And that Col. Winslow and Mr. Foster be desired to advise and assist in repairing the Meeting House. J. SEWALL.

On the 24th of August a general thanksgiving was observed throughout the province, "for the extraordinary reviving rains, after the most distressing drought which have [*sic*] been known among us in the memory of any living." Mr. Prince preached from Psalm cvii. 33-35, on the Natural and Moral Government and Agency of God in Droughts and Rains. This sermon was printed, and passed through two or three editions, one of which was inscribed to the Royal Society. We quote two or three paragraphs :—

Let us remember how greatly he distressed us in the late most extraordinary long, extream, destroying Drought, and in many Places Swarms of various Sorts of Insects devouring all before them. I have met with none that remembers the like Distress. The first Crop of Hay which was our chief, yea with many the sole Dependance, to support the Cattle for our five Months foddering Season, so far cut off; that most of the people had but a Fourth Part, many but a Fifth, many but a Tenth of what they us'd to mow; and many none at all, being oblig'd to turn their Cattle into their only mowing Ground to keep them from perishing: And how affecting was it to see them empty, pining and go lowing about for want of Food; their Owners pitying, but unable to help them. . . .

Let us never forget our great Extremity, our growing Difficulties, our threatenng Dangers; our affecting Prospect of loosing half our Stocks; being oblig'd to send not only five Hundred Miles to Pennsylvania, but even to England above three Thousand, neither of which was ever done before, for Hay, to save some of our Cattle alive;—Yea the Prospect of more distressing Want of Bread for Ourselves and Children; neither having it, nor wherewith to purchase it.

Let us remember how awful the Displeasure of God appeared; and how we humbled ourselves before Him, fasted, confess'd our Sins, and cried for Mercy. Thursday June 15, was our Day of general Fasting and Prayer throughout the Province

And now behold in what a wonderous Manner, he has heard and answered; given us gentle and moderate Showers, almost every other Day, with most suitable Intervals of warm Weather, revived many of those Fruits of the Earth which seemed irrecoverable, causing them surprizingly to flourish, that we are like them that Dream; destroying the devouring Insects, and even giving the Hopes of a plenteous Harvest!

Lord's Day, Sept. 10 and by Adjournment, Sept. 24. 1749

The Brethren of the Church stayed, And the Hon. Josiah Willard, Deacon Hubbard, Oxenbridge Thacher Esqrs Mr. Hugh Vans and Mr. Jonathan Loring, were chosen to be the Committee for the year ensuing.

JOSEPH SEWALL.

Lord's Day Octr. 1, 1749.

The Brethren stayed, when a Letter was communicated from the Church in Shrewsbury, desiring our Assistance in Council. Granted. Messengers chosen, One of the Deacons and Mr. Oxenbridge Thacher.¹

J. SEWALL.

¹ [The Rev. Job Cushing was minister of Shrewsbury at this time. There had been differences of opinion among the members there for many years, on the

subject of church discipline, and at length a council was called to harmonize them. Of the eight churches invited, six "met on the 11th of October, 1749, and, on

Lord's Day Novr 5. 1749.

The Brethren of the Church and Congregation stayed, and Voted,
That there be a Collection for Charitable and pious uses on the
Anniversary Thanksgiving Novr. 16. Current: and that the Rest of
the Congregation be notified of this Vote next Lord's Day, and be
desir'd to assist in said Collection.

J. SEWALL.

Thanksgiving Novr. 16. 1749.

Collected 242. 11. 8

the evening of the 13th, gave a result
and read it to the brethren. It was left
with them, and on the 30th of October
the church, by a vote, accepted it."

Nothing further respecting the proceed-
ings of this council can be gleaned from
the record. — Ward's *Hist. of the Town
of Shrewsbury*, p. 172.]



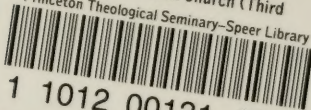
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